

MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRIKH

BY

‘ABDU-L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪK SHĀH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADĀONĪ.

VOLUME I.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

AND EDITED BY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IN presenting this translation of the first volume of Badāoni's *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh* (Selections from Histories) I cannot but be conscious of its many defects.

No one who has not attempted to translate from Persian into English can form the slightest idea of the special difficulties of the task.

The inherent differences of idiom in the two languages, the rich expansiveness of the one, and the rigid inflexibility of the other, render the attempt to fitly represent the glowing colours of Persian in the dull monotone of modern English, all but hopeless. It has been said that the test of a translation is not its literalness but its truth: that is to say, not its fidelity to the author's expression, but its response to his inspiration. It must not merely reproduce the letter, it must embody the spirit of the original composition.

How great is the demand thus made upon the translator must be evident to anyone who is acquainted with both Persian and English: and the difficulties which appear so formidable in prose translation, become insurmountable in the case of poetry.

The various metres of Persian poetry are so entirely characteristic and essential in their nature, that it has appeared to me futile, if not impertinent, to attempt similar metrical renderings in English.

Even where it is possible to reproduce by conjunction of English words, the rhythm and accent of any Persian metre, such a composition no more recalls the original, than does the skeleton of the anatomical museum summon up the living and breathing animal.

For this reason, the poetical portions of Badāoni's work have, in the present translation, almost without exception

been rendered, not in verse but in prose, thus preserving the substance while sacrificing the form, as the transparent cube of salt may be crushed so as to be unrecognisable by its crystalline form, but still retains its chemical composition. To render poetry satisfactorily a translator must be both linguist and poet; if he be only a linguist he should not tamper with the finished work of the poet; he can, at best, only hope to outline the subject, leaving the colour-scheme untouched.

I am aware that a high authority* has expressed himself in favour of the translation of Persian poetry into English verse, but the qualifications which shall render a translator competent to undertake such a task must fall to the lot of very few.

With this full knowledge of the difficulties to be encountered, the present translation was undertaken, and it is presented in the confidence that those who are the best judges of the nature of the task will be the first to make allowances for defects in its performance.

قدر زر زگر شناسد قدر جوهر جوهری

CALCUTTA :
July 18th, 1898. }

GEORGE RANKING.

For a life of Badāonī reference should be made to page 117 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. III, 1869, where an excellent biography will be found written by the late Professor Blochmann.

The sources from which this translation has been made are the following:—

1. The “*Muntakhab Al-Tawārikh*,” edited by Maulavi Aḥmad Ali, printed at the College Press, Calcutta, 1868, and published in the Bibliotheca Indica of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, referred to in the translation as the Text.

* Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., “on Translations from and into Persian,” Transactions of Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, 1892.

2. Manuscript No. 1592 of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* of 'Abdu-l-Qādir Mulūk *Shāh* Badaoni, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Written by one Muḥammad Saiyyid (?), in the year 1255 H. (1839 A.D.). This is referred to in the translation as MS. (A).

3. Manuscript No. A. 44, also from the above library. This is referred to in the translation as MS. (B). The transcriber of this Manuscript is one Muḥammad Nāẓim. It bears no date.

The printed text has been carefully collated with these two manuscripts, and all variant readings noted.

TRANSLATION

OF THE *منتخب التواريخ* OF AL-BADAKONI.¹

· IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

Oh thou² from whose name spring all other names,
Kings at thy door are suppliant as I at theirs—
When once the impulse of zeal for thee was felt,
No foot remained shod, no head remained crowned.

Emperor of the world! with this unprofitable soul of mine
which has become the abode of demons and wild beasts,³ in what
way can I conceive thy praises, and with this worn and foolish
tongue of mine, which has become as it were food for cats and
dogs, how can I chant thy eulogy.

How can the miserable dust proclaim the Unity of God.
How in this state of defilement praise the Divine Being.

Moreover, the foot of search limps feebly in this unknown
road, because of my constant anxiety and habitual fear, while in
this limitless desert, my stammering tongue finds the sphere of
speech always contracted.

That which my soul knows is but secondary,⁴ what my tongue
speaks are but particles—(and therefore unintelligible).
How can I know thee in my soul or express thee with my
tongue.

¹ *Al-Badāoni*. Vide Preface.

² This invocation is to the Almighty in whose name all literary works are
commenced.

³ *مَنْزِل دِيُو وَدَد شَدَّ*.

⁴ *حُدُوث* That which is dependent for its existence upon some pre-exist-
ing state or object, opposed to *حُرُوف—قَدَم* Particles, which alone convey no
intelligible meaning—*حرف* also signifies a letter which is also *per se* meaning-
less.

This seems best, that I should restrain my pen from travelling in this valley, and having hidden the head of bewilderment in the cloak¹ of meditation on men and regions² should open the eye of my understanding to the knowledge of Thy all-perfect works and unfading kingdom, and proceeding, through the vicissitudes of affairs of created beings, to the Unity of thy exalted personality, should end with the world of proclaiming and confessing the Unity of God,³ so that I may see with the eye of certainty—nay more that I may recognize that

In thy excellence there is no room for duality,⁴
Thou and thy majesty make up the universe.

and I have moistened my lips with the pure water of the praise of that chieftain whose name is "praised"⁵ whose end is lauded;

حدوث^١ is of two kinds ^{حدوث زمني} which is A thing's being preceded by

non-existence, and ^{حدوث ذاتي} which is A thing's being dependent upon another for its existence. Vide Lane, art حدث. 1.

گريدان Lit. Collar or hood.

سنريهم آياتنا في الآفاق وفي أنفسهم Cf. Qurán xli. 53 ^{انفسى و آفاتي} 2
we will show them our signs in the regions and in themselves.

3 The Unity of God is the fundamental proposition of the faith of Islám

سورة الاخلاص - قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له

كفوا احد Say. He is God alone. God the eternal. He begetteth not, nor is begotten—and there is none like unto him. Qurán—Súrat-ul-Ikhlás,

4 That is to say, no one can stand beside him in this position of excellence Cf. Qurán xxvii. 61.

أَلِلَّهِ مَعَ اللَّهِ بَلْ هُمْ قَوْمٌ يَعْدِلُونَ Is there a God with God? Nay! but they

are a people who make peers with him.

See also Súra vi. 1. Also the Súra quoted in note 3.

5 ^{محمد} Muhammad—the literal meaning of which is "Praised." He was thus named by his grandfather 'Abdul-Muttalib, who when desired to give the child a name after some member of the tribe of Quraish to which he belonged, said, "I wish that God who has created the child on earth may be glorified in heaven" and he called the child Muḥammad. Vide Hughes, Dictionary of Islám Art. "Muḥammad."

Lord of the promised fountain,¹ and of the praise which is on every tongue² (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family) because the mantle of the honour of eternal and everlasting empire lies gracefully upon his noble figure, and the proclamation³ and stamp of undiminishing power and glorious sovereignty of right belongs to his exalted name

The monarch of Arabia of whom the world is a manifestation,

The Lord of the earth, whose servant he is, swears by his name

He was the near neighbour of the Truth for this reason had no shadow⁴

To the end that no one should place a foot on (the shadow of) his head—

Countless⁵ praises and eulogies on the elect family and the truth perceiving companions of the Prophet, especially upon the rightly-guided Khalifahs⁶ (may the favour of God be on them all) who, for the elevation of the standard of religion and the promulgation of the word of evident truth⁷ risked their lives and laid down their heads as a ransom, and thus cleared the thorns

1. M S (A) has, &c حوض كوثر و ورد مورد صلى — a river in Paradise
كُوْثَرُ إِنَّا أَعْطَيْنَاكَ الْكَوْثَرَ Verily we have given thee al Kauṣar Quran cxxv 1
literally means "abundance"

2 مورد

3 خطبه و سكه

The coronation ceremony of Muhammedan monarchs consist chiefly in the recital of the Khuṭba and issuing coin (sikka) stamped with his name

4 Muḥammad was said to have no shadow

5 Thousands upon thousands

6 خلفای راشدین The four immediate successors of Muhammad, Abū Bakr, A H 11 'Umar A H 13 'Usman, A H 23 'Alī, A H 35, acknowledged by the Sunnis. The first three of these are rejected by the Shīas who hold that 'Alī was the first legitimate Khalifah

7 مَتَّوَكِّلٌ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّكَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ الْمُبِينِ Cf Quran xxvii 81

Rely then upon God Verily thou art standing on obvious truth

of infidelity and the undergrowth of heresy from the plain of the kingdom of the sacred law.¹

After the praise of God and of the Lord the protector of the divine missive (may the blessing of God be upon him, his family and his companions, a blessing safe from all termination), we have to declare that the science of History is essentially a lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the fountain-head of the learning of the experienced, and the source of the experience of the learned and discriminating, and the writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to this present time in which we live, have completed reliable compositions and comprehensive works, and have proved the excellence thereof by proofs and demonstrations, but it must not be supposed that the reading and study of this science—as certain lukewarm religionists, and the party of doubt and dissent, shortsighted as they are, are wont to affirm—has been or will be a cause of wandering from the straight path of the illustrious law of Muḥammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family), or become the entry into and way of ascent to the fountainheads of scepticism, and drinking places of defilement of the licentious and heretical, and those who have gone astray; because for a body of men who in the very essence of their constitution are devoid of any share in religious principle, the reading of the eternal word which is the key of evident happiness and “*a healing and a mercy for the worlds*,”² becomes a cause of misery

لِكُلِّ جَعَلْنَا مِنْكُمْ شُرْعَةً وَمَنْهَاجًا¹ Cf. Qurán v. 52 الشَّعْرُ¹. The sacred law. For each one of you have we made a law and a pathway. The Mosaic law is always called التَّوْرَةُ At-Taurát (Hebrew תּוֹרָה.)

The word in the text is always used for the sacred canon of the Qurán الشَّعْرُ is divisible into five sections إعتقادات beliefs—آداب moralities—عبادات devotions معاملات transactions — عقوبات punishments. Cf. Kashsháf. Isti-láhát-ul-Funún, art. شَّعْرُ.—

² Qurán xvii. 84. وَنَنْزِلُ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ مَا هُوَ شِفَاءٌ وَرَحْمَةٌ لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ and we will send down of the Qurán that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers. Vide also Qurán xli. 44.

and everlasting loss "and if they are not guided by it they say—
"this is an antiquated lie" ¹

If this is the case with the Quran ² what chance has History?

"When any man has lost his hearing through melancholia,³
He cannot participate in the music of David and its harmony"

But I address my words to those who are endowed with the
qualities of sound intellect and brilliancy of genius, and natural
equity—not to those who are not led by the sacred law and who
deny all principle, fundamental or derivative,⁴ because such men
are not worthy of this discourse, nor are they within the pale of
the wise, and discreet, and understanding, and how can one ab-
solutely refuse to admit a science which is one seventh of the 4

¹ Qurán xlv: 10 In the original we read—سَيَقُولُونَ In both this and
the former quotation there are verbal errors which lead to the conclusion
that the author was not thoroughly at home in the Quran

² I have inserted these words as the only means of giving an adequate
rendering of the phrase تَأْتِيهِمْ بِهِ رُسُودٌ

ماحوليا μελαγχολία The orthography of this word is ماحوليا Sadidi
(الشرح في الموح) gives the etymology اسود the black humour, but
gives no hint of deafness as one of the symptoms of the disease Deafness
is not a concomitant of melancholia as known to modern medicine, but the
cases of so called hysterical deafness with mental depression are not un-
common The Bahr ul-Jauhar says انما يقال ماحوليا لما كان حدوثه عن
السوداء غير متحركه وهو تغير الطول والعرض المستقر الطبعي الى السواد
It is only called "málíkhulia" where it is
the result of (the humour called) "Sauda" (black bile) which is not in-
flammatory It takes the ideas and thoughts out of their proper channel
and tends to despondency and fear because of a melancholic temperament
which depresses the mind

⁴ اصل ومزج The two chief divisions of علم العقدة Jurisprudence Ac-
cording to the Ittiláhat ul Funun علم العقدة treats of the soul and of all that
appertains thereto thus including all theological science, (Kashsháf Ittiláhat
ul Funun art فقه) cf الاشباه والنظائر al Ashbah wal Nazair by Zainul Abidin
bin Najm, (II h. 774) واصوله ثابته وقروعه ثابته ..
الفقه اشرف العلوم قدراً

⁵ Its fundamentals are firmly established and its derivatives evident

seven sections ¹ upon which the foundation of the establishment of Faith and Certainty is laid.

"And all that we relate to thee of the tidings of the prophets with which we have established your hearts" ² tells us of this, and a large body of the learned expositors of the traditions and commentators on the Qurán, as for example Imám Bukhárí ³ and Qází Baizáwí ⁴ up to our own times have occupied themselves in writing about this heart-enthraling science, and their words and practice have become an authority for the nations both East and West, in spite of the diversity of their origins and the distinction of their various degrees. While on the other hand an insignificant band of innovators and inventors who with the disgraceful partisanship of greedy mindedness and importunate desires, and shortsightedness as regards both outward and inward qualities, have placed their feet in the valley of audacity, and have introduced interpolations and errors into true and memorable histories, and having abandoned

¹ سَبْعُ الْمَثَانِي The first chapter of the Qurán which contains seven verses; so called in Súra xv. 87. وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَاكَ سَبْعًا مِنَ الْمَثَانِي وَالْقُرْآنَ الْعَظِيمَ.

مَثَانِي being plural of مَثْنِي repeating or reiterating. The number seven relates to the *manzils* or divisions of the Qurán each one of which is to be read so that the whole is completed in a week. See also Tafsír ul Baizáwí ^{الم}

² Qurán xi. 121. This quotation is correctly given.

³ Háfiz Abú'Abdullah Muḥammad ibn Abil Ḥasan Isma'íl ibn Ibráhím ibn-al-Mughair ibn-al-Ahnaf Yazdibah, or Yazdezbah according to Ibn Mákúla a Maula of the tribe of Jáfí. (Slane Ibn Khalliqán, ii. 595.) The last named was a Magian and died in that religion, his son Al Mughhairat embraced Islám.

He was the author of ^{صحيح البخاري} Saḥíḥ-ul-Bukhárí, a collection of authentic traditions—in which an account of Imám Bukhárí is given. He was born A.H. 194 and died A.H. 256, and was buried at the village of Khartang.

near Samarqand leaving no male issue. The ^{صحيح البخاري} is held in great esteem by Muslims.

⁴ Qází Násir ud-Dín Abul Khair Abdullah Baizáwí, ibn Umar ibn Muḥammad, was born at Baizá, a village of Shíráz, and was appointed Chief Qází. He was the author of many works, among others *Algháyatul fil fiqh*, *Shariḥ ul-Masábiḥ wal mandhij*. His most celebrated work was a commentary on the Qurán called *Anwáru-t-tanzíl*. He died A.H. 685 and was buried in Shíráz. See also De Sacy: Anth: Gram: Arab: notes on Baizáwí, p. 37. See also Elliott and Dowson, Vol. II., 252 and note.

recognised constructions¹ and explanations, and interpretations of obvious nature, and estimating the conflicts and discussions of the noble companions and mighty followers (of the Prophet) by their own condition, attributed them to mutual contradiction and hatred, and to rivalry in the splendour and amount of their property and family, and having seduced simple minded people of elementary belief, have led them, by their own error and by attributing error to others, to Gehenna, the house of perdition

“When the crow² becomes leader of a tribe, he will surely lead them along the path of destruction”

And if the eye of a man be instilled with the collyrium of the Divine guidance, and illuminated by the light of truth, and guarded from every calamity which happens in the world of existence and evil, he passes to the Unity of the Creator, the Ancient of days, the Glorious, freed from the stain of innovation, and purified from the blemish of change and alteration And when I look carefully, I see that the world is itself an ancient archetype which has neither head nor root its pages are a confused record, and in each page there is a list of the affairs of a section of mankind who have had the reins of the management of affairs entrusted to their hands 5.

This ancient Shahnama relates the affairs of the Kings of the world

Do thou always look and read therein with circumspection

1 حَمَلَةٌ أَحْسَنَ مَحْمَلٍ is the plural from مَحْمَلٌ an inf eg حَمَلٌ

He put the best construction upon it namely a saying (Lane s v حمل)

2 عَرَابٌ The Arab proverb runs thus

مَنْ يَكُونُ الْعَرَابُ لَهُ دَلِيلًا يَمُرُّهُ عَلَى حَبِّ الْكَلْبِ

‘He who has the crow for a guide will be led by it to the carcasses of dogs’

The crow was considered as the most inauspicious thing on earth, thus the Arabs say عَرَابٍ مِنْ أَشْأَمٍ More ill omened than a crow

Its appearance is thought to be ominous of separation, therefore they say also عَرَابُ الْفُرْقَانِ The raven (or crow) of separation

The spell of this narrative brings sweet sleep to him
Who is in delirium, and has become distracted with mad-
ness of the brain.

But it also wakens him who on account of pride, has fallen
into the slumber of carelessness and whom the devil has
deceived.

And inasmuch as the invoker of blessing upon all mankind,
'Abdul Qádir ibn Mulúk Sháh Badáoni (may God erase his
name from the book of sins) in the beginning of the year 999¹
in accordance with the fateful order of his excellency the
Khalifah of the time, the shadow of the Deity, Akbar Sháhí²
when he had finished his selection from the History of Kashmír³
which, by the soul-inspiring order of that world-conquering
Emperor whose throne is the heaven, one of the incomparable
doctors of India had translated from the Hindí into Persian,
yielded to a liking which he had for this science from youth
to maturity, and as it was seldom that he had not been occupied
in reading and writing it, either of his own free will and accord
or in obedience to orders, it used often to occur to him to write
as well an epitome of the affairs of the Emperors of the metro-
polis of Dehli, from the time of the commencement of Islám to
the time of writing, in a concise manner,—

All the world is but a village that (city of Mecca) is the
central point⁴ (of Islám).

that it might be a memorandum comprising a portion of the
events of each reign in brief form, and a memorial for my
friends, and a conspectus for the intellectual, and although it

¹ 999 of the Hijra (1590 A. D.)

² The Emperor Akbar, who about this time employed Badáoni "to make
translations from the Arabic and Sanskrit as in the case of the Mu'jamu-l-
Buldán, Jámiu-r-Rashídí, and the Rámáyana," (Elliott and Dowson, v. 478.)

³ Said to have been translated from the original Hindí by Mullá Shah
Muhammad Sháhábádí—but not apparently the Rájá-tarangíní, for the trans-
lation of that work is usually attributed to Mauláná Imád-ud-dín. Cf. Ain-i-
Akbarí, Blochmann, I. pages 105-106—footnote 1.

⁴ Mecca, as being the central meeting place of all Muslims. The Arabic
phrase is السَّوَادُ الْأَعْظَمُ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ The collective body of the Muslims.

Vide Lane Art. سواد.

might not be a book to be relied upon, or a notable composition, still in accordance with the saying —

“ These ancient pages of the sky whose beauty the stars are, 6
Are an ancient history of many Emperors whose armies
excel the stars in number,”

it may be that from the perusal of this book a messenger from the world of spirits and invisible mysteries may cast a ray of light upon the receptive mind, and thus being a cause of abstraction and seclusion, may wean the soul from the love of this transitory world, and may aid the compiler of these pages in the prosecution of his task, and his hopes may not be blighted, and inasmuch as each day some new grief used to appear, and some vexations and annoyance used to shew itself, helps being few and hindrances many, moreover by reason of flesh toils and temporal changes it was difficult to remain in one place

“ Each day would bring a different place, each night a different roof ”

And besides all this, my sustenance was by no means assured, hanging as it were between heaven and earth, and my heart utterly distracted by separation from kindred and friends, accordingly that commission was only accomplished by fits and starts,¹ until a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed, and happily furnished with this world's goods, who was very devoted to me, and for whom I too entertained an indescribable affection, having completed the writing of the *Tarikh-i Nizami*² which is a bulky volume, and which is here being completed by me—removed the furniture of life to the sublime abode of Paradise

1 در حذر تعویق و تسویق می آید *Let used to fall into the region of holding back and pushing on*

² Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad son of Khwaja Muqim Harawi diwan of the household of Babar is said in the *Zakhiyat-i Qawaniin* (E D v 178) to have been appointed diwan of Akbar's household. He was subsequently appointed *bakhshi* of the province of Gujrat

The history referred to in the text is one of great repute and authority, it was called by the author *Tabaqat-i Akbar shahi* by which title Badaoni himself also styles the work. Its name is also known as *Tabaqat*

"He has departed—I too follow him.
Each one at last must go the self same way."

At this juncture, when Time departing from its usual custom, has treated me in the matter of leisure with some sort of liberality, it has come about that I have been able to steal a morsel of the choquered ¹ hours of my life from his grasp, so that I renewed my intention and confirmed my purpose, and on this ground that there is no bygone event which has not left something for the present,

"If the peasant thoroughly clears under the sheaves of wheat
He leaves the sparrow's portion on the ground,"

I have selected and transcribed accurately a portion of the circumstances of some of the autocrat Emperors of Hindustan from the *Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhí* ² and the *Nizámu-t-Tawárikh* of Nizámí ³ which is as it were a drop in the ocean and a bubble of the turbulent floods, and have also added somewhat of my own, and have kept before me the desirability of conciseness and have

i-Akbari. Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted this is the only one he found complete. (Elliot and Dowson, v. 177-178.)

Nizámu-d-dín died in 1003 A. H., 1594 A. D. From the author's preface in the text above it would appear that he had had the work in hand some considerable time, but had not been able to give his undivided attention to it until after the death of Nizámu-d-dín. In the space of a year from that event he had completed his abridgment so that, it must have been fairly far advanced at the time of Nizámu-d-dín's decease.

¹ معوج see Lane, *Art.* عوج. The days are apt to decline from the right course apt to return ^{الأيام عوج} رواجع and ^{العوج} العوج. The days.

² This work was written by Yahyá ibn-Ahmad ibn-'Abdullah Sirhindí according to Firishta with the express purpose of recording the reign of Mubárak Sháh. It commences with the reign of Muhammad Sám, founder of the Ghorí dynasty; the only known MS. terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultán Sayyid Muhammad, 852 A. H.—(1448 A. D.).

³ This must be the work already referred to, i. e., the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí* although the name *Nizámu-t-Tawárikh* does not appear to be given to it elsewhere.

The name *Nizámu-t-Tawárikh* is generally restricted to the work by Baizáwí (*vide* Elliott and Dowson II. pp. 252-253.) Its date is about 674 H. (1275 A. D.)

imposed upon myself the necessity of avoidance of all affectation of style and metaphor, and have named this model composition *Muntakhabu t Tawarikh*¹ I hope that this imperfect collation and composition, whose object is the perpetuation of the auspicious names of the Emperors of Islam, and the transmission of a memorial thereof in this changing world until the final consummation, may lead to the pardon of the author in the world to come, and not be an augmentation of the crimes laid to his charge

“ And do thou, O Nightingale, as thou roamest through this garden,
With all thy sweetness, abstain from blaming the defects of the crow ”

Since the object of my ambition is to write correctly, if I should by accident let fall from my pen the instrument of my thoughts, or commit in my thoughts, which are the motive agent of my pen, any slip or error, I hope that He (may He be glorified and exalted) in accordance with his universal mercy which is of old, will overlook and pardon it

By speaking evil do not change my tongue,
And do not make this tongue of mine my wrong²

And since the first of the Emperors of Islam who were the cause of the conquest of Hindustan—(after Mahomed Qasim,³

¹ This title is common to works by many other authors (Elliott and Dowson v 477) specially given to a history by Haran ibn Muhammad al Khakhash Shirazi completed A H 1019 (1610 A D) The work of Badaoni is known better as *Tārīkh i Badāoni*

² There is a play on the words *لسان* wrong and *لسان* tongue which cannot be preserved in translation

³ The incidents of Muhammad Qasim's engagements and victories are related in the *Chach Nama* extracts from which will be found in Elliott and Dowson (Vol 1 pp 131-211) See also Futuh ul Balad of Al Bilavari (E and D 1 113) His full name was Muhammad ibn Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Hakim ibn Abi 'Uqail and he was sent during the *Khalifat* of Walid ibn Abdul Malik 705-715 A D, to command on the frontiers of Sind (E and D Al Bilavari Vol 1 p 119)

See also E and D Vol 1, Appendix 432, &c

cousin and son-in-law of Hajjáj-ibn-Yúsuf Şaqfí,¹ who in the year, 93 A.H., (711 A.D.), conquered the countries of Sind, Multán and Gujrát, and, by the order of Walíd ibn-'Abdul Malik Marwání² who on an important occasion wrote to him from Damascus and summoned him to his presence, starting from Oodypur in India, and wrapping himself in a raw hide, while on his journey yielded up his life to God, and after him the affairs of Islám in that

¹ Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥajjáj was son of Yúsuf-ibn al Ḥakam ibn-'Uqail ibn-Masúd ibn Aumir ibn Miattib ibn Málík ibn Ka'b, ibn 'Amr ibn Sa'd ibn 'Auf ibn Qassí (called also Şaqíf). He was governor of Irák and Khorásán for 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwán (692-705 A.D.) and was confirmed in that office by Walíd ibn Abdul Malik (705-715 A.D.) For an account of him see I. K. (Slane) I. 356 and seqq). He founded the city of Wásit between Basra and Kufa (75 A.H.) He died on 21st Ramaẓán A.H. 95, at the age of fifty-four and was buried at Wásit. Ibn Khalliqán states, "His malady was a cancer in the stomach for which he called in a physician, who, having examined into his case, tied a piece of meat to a string and passed it down his throat; after a lapse of some time he drew it out, and found a swarm of worms adhering to it: God gave also a cold ague power over him and although vases filled with lighted coals were placed around him so close as to scorch his skin he felt them not. (I.K. Slane *loc. cit.*).

He was a brutal ruler, and at his death it was said in thanksgiving "O my God! thou hast caused him to die: let his example also die from among us."

"The tribe of Şaqíf was a great and well-known tribe dwelling at Táif, who before their conversion to Islám were devoted to the special worship of the idol Lát; the founder of the tribe was Qássí (called also Şaqíf) whose descent from Ma'dd is supported by two different genealogies." (Caussin de Perceval, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. 272). After refusing to hear the prophet in a personal appeal made to them, they made war against him, but eventually embraced Islám in 630 A.H., shortly after the return of Muḥammad to Medina.

² Walíd ibn-'Abdul Malik Marwání, became Khalífah in the year 86 A. H. and died in the year 96 A. H. His father was his predecessor in the Khalífate, his name was 'Abdul Malik ibn-Marwán whence Walíd is called Marwání. It was during the Khalífate of Abdul Malik that al-Ḥajjáj pulled down the Ka'bah and restored it to the condition in which it was in the time of As Suyútí. Walíd was ignorant, despotic and tyrannical, but withal discharged the duties of Khalíf well, he built the mosque of Damascus and during his Khalífate many foreign conquests were achieved. (See Jarrett's translation of As Suyútí's Tárikhu-l-Khulafá, pp. 227-230.)

The incident in the text relates to the vengeance taken for their father's death by the two virgin daughters of Rájá Dáhir, who were taken captive when he was killed at the siege of the fort of Ráwar, 93 A. H. Muḥammad Qásim had sent them to Baghdád under the charge of his negro slaves.

came the seat of Government, so that Islām never again lost its hold on that country—accordingly I deemed it right to commence this history with an account of that monarch whose end was glorious, so that it may be fortunate from the first, and lauded at the last—and God is the best of helpers and defenders.

THE GHAZNIVIDE DYNASTY.

From Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Subuktigīn to Khusrāu Malik, who, prior to the conquest of Dehli, proclaimed Islām in Hindustān, from the year 367 A.H. (977 A.D.), to the year 582 A.H. (1186 A.D.). Their sovereignty thus lasted two hundred and fifteen years under the sway of fifteen monarchs.

SULTĀN NĀSIRU-D-DĪN SUBUKTIGĪN

Was of Turkī origin, the slave of Alptigīn who was a servant of } Amīr Mansūr-ibn-Nūh Sāmānī.¹ In the year 367 H. after the death of Abū Ishāq, the son of Alptigīn, by common consent of the soldiery and populace he succeeded² to the imperial throne in the city of Bust³ and raised the standard of conquest, and

¹ The eighth prince of the Sāmānī dynasty who reigned 22 years. (D'Herbelot).

The Sāmānī dynasty was founded by Asad bin-Sāmūn. It held sway over Khurāsān and Transoxiana, holding its court at Bukhārā—from 279 A. H. to 395 A. H. See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Raverty pp. 26, 27 and 53. Amīr Abul Hīr Mansūr died at Bukhārā 366 A. H. and was succeeded by his son Abul Qāsim-i-Nūh. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Raverty 44.) For an account of the Sāmānī dynasty, see D'Herbelot III. 193. Abū Ishāq was appointed by Mansūr as governor of Ghaznī upon the death of his father Alptigīn in the year 365 A. H., and died in 367 A. H.

According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Alptigīn died in 352 A. H. and Ishāq in 355 A. H. upon the death of Ishāq Balkatigīn, the slave of Alptigīn succeeded him, dying in 362 A. H. after him again Pīrey obtained the government, but was deposed in 367 A. H. when the Government passed to Subuktigīn. (See Raverty *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, pp. 71-73.)

² The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* states that Subuktigīn succeeded Alaptagīn in Ghaznī (Raverty pp. 46-74.)

³ Bust, the capital of Zābulistān (*vide* *Abul Feda* II., ii. 201) which includes Kābul and the adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond. Derived by Yākūt from Zābul, grandfather of Rustam. (*Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) Vol. II. p. 115, and p. 408). "According to the Qānūn Bust is situated in 91°33' long: and 32°15' lat: according to the Aṭwāl in 90° long. and 33° lat. Third climate [*see* *Aīn-i-Akbarī*. Vol. II. 115, footnote 4] Chief

girding up the loins of energy and effort for foray and religious war, he invaded Hindustan on the frontiers of the country of Koh-i-Jud¹ and having fought a severe battle with Jaipál who was the ruler of Hindustan, concluded peace with him. Jaipál, however, broke the treaty. Accordingly Nasiru d din Subuktigin equipped an army composed of 10,000 cavalry and numberless elephants huge as mountains, and engaged in conflict with him a second time, fought a great battle with him in the neighbourhood of Lamghánat,² the breeze of victory stirred the banners of Amir Nasiru d din, the army of Jaipál suffered defeat, and he himself took to flight and sought refuge in Hindustan. Thus Lamghánat came into the possession of Amir Nasiru d din, the *Khutbah* was read and the coin struck in his name³. Then he proceeded to the assistance of Amir Nuh ibn Mansur Samaní⁴ and was the means of procuring notable victories in *Khurasan* and the regions beyond the river⁵. Finally in the month of Sha ban⁶ of the year 387 A H (997 A D,) he obediently submitted to the summons of the Almighty, having reigned for twenty years.

YAMINU D DAULAT SULTÁN MAHMÚD IBN NÁŞIRU D DIN GHAZNAVI

When Subuktigin, in the month of Sha ban 387 H, while on the road to Ghazni, receiving the summons of the Almighty

place of the district of Bost. Bost is situated on the banks of the Hendmand and is part of Sijistan. From Bost to Ghazna one reckons about 14 marches (*Abul Feda* II 11 103). *Abul Feda* further states that at Bost on the Hendmand (Helmund) there is a bridge of boats similar to those of the rivers of Iraq (II 76).

¹ The Koh-i-Jud includes the mountainous region between Ghaznah and Lahore.

² Lamghan. See *Abul Feda* II 11 201. According to the *Lobáb* this is the general name of a collection of places in the mountains of Ghaznah. (See *Abul Feda* I cccxlv.) *Lamghan* Long 101°50 Lat 34°3 A n : *Albari* III 89.

³ The reading of the *خطبة* (*Khutba*) and striking the *سكة* (*sikka*) that is stamping the currency were the usual accompaniments of the accession of the sovereigns of Islam and constituted a proclamation of their authority.

⁴ See *History of the Caliphs As Sayuḡi* (Jarrett) pp 432 433.

⁵ *ما وراء النهر* *Mawara un nahr Transoxiana*.

According to *Yaqut* in his *Mushtarik Turan* is the name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus. See *Abul Feda Transoxiana* for a full account of the countries included under this name.

⁶ The eighth month of the Muhammadan year.

responded "Here am I," he appointed his young son Isma'il as his successor.¹ When this news reached Maḥmūd who was the elder son of Subuktigīn, he wrote a letter of condolence to his brother and sought a peaceful solution of the difficulty on the following terms: That Isma'il should give up Ghaznī to Maḥmūd, receiving in its stead the governorship of Balkh: Isma'il refused these terms, and eventually war was declared between the brothers. Maḥmūd was victorious, and after defeating Isma'il, kept him closely besieged in Ghaznī for a space of six months, at the expiration of which time certain of their friends intervened and made peace between them. Isma'il then came and had an interview with Maḥmūd, and the sovereignty devolved upon Yamīnu-d-Daulat Maḥmūd. After this a quarrel arose between Maḥmūd and Maṣṣūr ibn-Nūḥ Sāmānī and also his brother 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn-Nūḥ.² Eventually Maḥmūd got the upper hand. The Amīrs of 'Abdu-l-Malik also, Fāiq and Baktūzūn, who engaged in contest with Maḥmūd, were defeated by him, and the sovereignty of the whole of Khurāsān, of Ghaznī, and the frontiers of Hindustān came into the hands of Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd's mother was the daughter of the ruler of Zābul³

¹ The question of the right of succession of the two brothers admits of some doubt. From the text it would appear that it was the intention of Subuktigīn to nominate his younger son Isma'il. The author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* ignores Isma'il's succession (see Raverty, note 6, page 75, and Briggs, note on Ferishta, page 29). Subuktigīn died in 387, and Maḥmūd succeeded according to Fanākatī in 388. It appears uncertain how long Isma'il held the Government, but probably the six months during which he was besieged by Maḥmūd in Ghaznī, represents his whole reign.

² The origin of this quarrel is stated by Ferishta to have been a protest lodged by Maḥmūd against the nomination of Bak-Tūzūn to the governorship of Khurāsān (see Briggs, p. 84, see also Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, pp. 49, 50).

Maṣṣūr was deprived of his sight after dethronement by Fāiq and Bak-tūzūn who then by agreement with Maḥmūd were to hold Merv and Nishāpūr.

Shortly after this (in 388 A. II.), the Sāmānī dynasty came to an end after the defeat of Abd-ul-Malik by Ilāk-i-Nasr. It had lasted one hundred and eight years. See Raverty, pp. 53, 54. (see also D. Herbelot iii. 194).

Maḥmūd is related to have assumed the title of Sultān and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term (Thomas, *Coins of Kings of Ghaznī*, J. R. A. S. IX. 270. see also Elliott II. 480-481).

³ She was the daughter of Alptagīn, governor of Ghaznī, which is here meant by Zābul, the words 'that is Qandahār' only occur in one copy and are probably interpolated.

[that is to say Qandahár *] accordingly, he is called Mahmúd Zabulí—as Firdausí¹ says

The auspicious court of Mahmúd Zabulí is an ocean,
An ocean such that no shore can be found for it
I went to the ocean—I dived but found no pearl
The fault is my fortune's—not that of the ocean.

In the early part of his reign he had some unpleasant correspondence with the Khalifah of Baghdad Al Qadí² billahí 'Abbási² Eventually the Khalif despatched a magnificent robe of honour, and many presents of precious things and gems, and conferred on him the title of Amín u l Millat Yamín u l Dawlat

Leaving Ghaznín he went to Balkh and Herát, and in 387 A H, (997 A D) he returned to Ghaznín after having settled those provinces, and thence made repeated incursions and forays into Hindustán, and took several fortresses 'Asjadí³ composed the following *gasida* in honour of this expedition

When the king of kings marched to Somnat⁴
He made his own deeds the standard of miracles

In the month of Shawwal, 391 A H, (1000 A D.) Mahmúd re- 1
turned to Hindustan from Ghaznín with ten thousand cavalry,

* Not in MSS (A) or (B)

¹ Firdausí For an account of this famous poet see this volume page 32 Note 1 and Majma ul Fúrhá I 382

² Al Qadí billahí Abul 'Alhas Ahmad ibn Ishák ibn ul Muqtadir was born in 336 A H His Khalifate lasted from 381 A H to 422 the year of his death, a period of forty one years As Sayutí quoting from Al Khatib says that he was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character (History of Caliphs (Jarrett, p 431)

³ Hakím Abu Nazar 'Abdul 'Azíz ibn Man'úr contemporary of Hakím Ansari, Hakím Farrukhí and Hakím Firdusí He died in 432 A H (Majma ul Fusaha, Vol I p 340) The *gasida* in which the lines quoted occur is given at length in the Majma ul Fusaha, loc cit MS (A) quotes them wrongly, MS (B) is the same as the text which reads چو for و 'Asjadí was a celebrated poet of Merv The *Tabaqat i Nasrí* gives another couplet in addition to the above and attributes the poem to 'Ansari (p 82 note 1)

⁴ Somnat Situated according to the Qanun in 97° 10' long and 22° 15' lat Somnat is on the shore, in the land of pirates which is part of India Ibn Said says that travellers often speak of it and it forms part of Guzerat or the country of Lar (See Bayley, History of Guzerat p 18, etc, *Ain i Akbari* Vol II (Jarrett) 246, etc Abul Feda II ii 116)

See also Albiruni India (Saclau) I 205, and Index Somanatha

See also p 27 of this volume &c

and reduced Pesháwar. He also again drew up his forces on these frontiers for battle with Jaipál who confronted him with large forces of cavalry and infantry and three hundred elephants. Sultán Mahmúd gained the day and Jaipál was taken prisoner together with fifteen of his relatives, his brothers and his sons; and five thousand infidels fell by the sword. Great spoils fell into the hands of the Gházis, among them a pearl necklet which was on the neck of Jaipál, which was worth some hundred and eighty thousand *dínárs*,¹ and the necklets of the others too, on the same.

¹ Note 1. *Dínár*.

There is some uncertainty as to the actual value of the *Dínár*, as there were different coins, one of silver and the other of gold bearing this name—

It was during the *Khalífate* of Abdul Malik ibn Marwán (A.H. 73 to A.H. 86, A.D. 692 A.D. 705) that a separate coinage was introduced. Thus As Suyúfí gives the following account: "Yuhýá-b-Bakayr narrates:— 'I heard Malik say that the first who coined *dínárs* was Abdul Malik and he inscribed on them a verse of the Qurán. Musa'b states that Abdul Malik inscribed on the *dínár* "Say, God is One." (Qur. cxii.) and on the reverse, "there is no God but God;" and its circumference was a rim of silver and he inscribed outside the rim, "Muhammad is the Apostle of God, whom he hath sent as a guide unto Salvation and the true faith.'" (Jarrett, History of the Caliphs p. 222.)

Abdul Malik had introduced the custom of writing at the head of letters the formula, "say there is one God" This was a cause of offence to the Grecian Emperor who wrote saying that unless Abdul Malik abandoned this habit "there will reach you on our *dínárs* the mention of what you will not like." Abdul Malik consequently decided upon coining his own *dínárs* which he did in the year 75 A.H. (A.D. 694.)

The origin of the word *dínár* is attributed to the Latin *denarius* the words *فلس* *fals* and *درهم* *dirham* being in the same way derived from *follis* and *drachma*. (Prinsep I. 19-246.)

The *denarius*, a silver coin was worth approximately $8\frac{1}{2}d$. its average weight being according to the authorities 60 grains. It was first coined B.C. 269.

Its relation to the *drachma* was at first as 8·5 to 9·75, but owing to a falling off in weight of the *drachma* they at one time were practically equal in value. The *drachma* was a silver coin and occupied among the Greeks the place of the *denarius* among the Romans. Both these coins then, the *dínár* and the *dirham*, were silver originally, and were in all probability of equal values, but there is another *dínár* mentioned in the Rájá Taranginí and elsewhere which was a gold coin—this answers almost exactly to the Roman *denarius aureus* of which Pliny speaks, the average weight of which was 120 grains. The gold coins of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanchí inscription weigh from 120 to 130 grains and are indubitably copied from Greek originals in device as well as in weight. Prinsep I. 246.

scale This victory was won on Saturday,¹ the 8th of Muharram, 392 H, (1001 A.D.) Leaving this place Mahmūd proceeded to the fortress of Tabarhindah² which was the residence³ of Jaipāl, and conquered that country.

After this in the month of Muharram 393 A.H. he left Ghaznīn and proceeded to Hindustan by way of Seistān and assaulted Bhatia⁴ which is in the vicinity of Multan. The Raja of that place, Beji Rāi, fearing the punishment of the Sultān killed himself with a dagger, and they brought his head to the Sultān. Many Hindūs, more than one can number, were hurried along the road to non-existence by the pitiless sword, and Mahmūd took as spoil two hundred and seventy elephants while Da'ūd ibn-Naṣr⁵ the renegade ruler of Multan, being reduced to submission by the Sultān, agreed to pay twenty times twenty thousand dirhams⁶ annual tribute.

We may thus take it that the golden *dīnār* was double the weight of the silver *dīnār* and taking the ratio of gold to silver as 10 to 1 this would give us the relative values of the gold and silver *dīnār* in terms of *dīnārs* of silver as 20 to 1.

This relative value is rendered more probable still by a comparison of our author's statement of the tribute paid by Daud ibn Naṣr (page 11, line 18 of the Text) with that of Firishṭa (see note 6 below)

Against this however is the statement in the *Afn i Akbari* (Blochmann I p 36) that "the *Dīnār* is a gold coin weighing one *misqāl*, i.e., 1½ dirhams" but as both the *dirham* and the *misqāl* were variable the accuracy of this statement is open to question.

See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (Art.) *Denarius*

¹ Firishṭa says Monday, the 8th of Muharram

² *Tabarhindah* Firishṭa calls this Batindah which is also the name given to Jaipāl's capital in a history of the Rajās of Jamu. As to the identity of this with Washind, see Raverty's *Tabaqat i Akbari*, pp. 76-80 footnote, see Tieffenthaler's map, Vol III. See also L and D II 438

³ MS (A) has *حاى بودن* Text has *مقر* which is evidently an "improvement" on the author

⁴ MS (A) has *بھاتہ* Bhatā MS (B) has *بھاتا* Bhātā The real name of this place is according to Elliott *Dhera* which lies on the left bank of the Jhelam under the Salt Range—see L and D, Vol II, Appendix pp. 439-440

⁵ Grandson of Shaikh Hamid Lodi, first ruler of Multan (Briggs, p. 40)

⁶ Firishṭa says 20,000 golden dirhams. According to the *Afn i Akbari*, Vol I 35, the *dirham* is a silver coin, and no mention is made of a golden *dirham*. Taking the value of the golden *dirham* at twenty times that of the silver *dirham* the text would give the same amount as that given by Firishṭa (see note 1 p. 18)

As he was advancing to Multán, Anandpál, son of Jaipál, rose up against him to oppose the advance of the Sultán, but fled after the battle to the mountains of Kashmir, and the Sultán reached 2. Multán by way of Hindustán.¹ These events occurred in 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) In the following year 397 A.H. (1006 A.D.) a battle was fought at Balkh between Mahmúd and Ilak Khán² king of Máwará an-Nahr.³ Sultán Mahmúd was victorious; Ilak Khán finally died in the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.)

In the year 398 H. (1007 A.D.) Mahmúd entered Turkistán, and having settled the affairs of the Turkis, pursued Súkhpál⁴ Nabsa, Rájá of Sind (who having embraced Islám had been released from his captivity to Abú 'Alí Sinjuri but had again joined the idolators and apostates) overcame him and threw him into prison where he died.

In the year 399 A.H. (1008 A.D.) Mahmúd a second time entered Hindustán and engaging in battle with the aforesaid Anand Pál defeated him, and betaking himself with his vast spoil to the fortress of Bhímnagar⁵—which nowadays is known

¹ Firishhta says by way of Hatindah. In the text we find by way of Hindustán and MSS. (A) and (B) have the same. According to Elliott (II. 438) we should here read Bihand or Waihind, a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attóck.

² See Raverty's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 52 and note. Ilak son of Bughrá Khán took Bukhárá 10th Zi-Qa'dah, 389 H. See also pages 84-85, footnote 9.

See also Briggs' *Firishhta*, pp. 42-44.

³ Transoxiána.

⁴ Firishhta calls him Sukhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India. MS. (A) and (B) have Súkhpál Naba سوکپال نبة. According to Elliott his name was Sukhpál-Nawása Sháh, the name Nawása denoting his relationship to Jaipál whose grandson he in all probability was (see E and D, II. App. 414.) He is called Rájá inasmuch as Mahmúd when leaving Multán to fight Ilak Khán had (according to Firishhta) left his Indian possessions in his charge. See also Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, p. 280.

⁵ This fortress is situated about a mile from the town of Bhím. The fort itself was called Nagarkot (Firishhta) and is the same as Kot Kangra. In Tieffenthaler's map Nagarkote is placed some 25 miles N. W. of Kot Kangra, but at page 107, Vol. I, he says, "Côtgangra nommée aussi Nagar cott est une ville munie d'une forteresso et située dans les montagnes." See E and D, Vol. II. 34 and App. 445.

"The Town of Bhím which is about a mile from the fort, is now on a spot called Bhawan which means a temple raised to a Sákti or female deity, and Bhím is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhím."

as the Thina of Bhim—reduced it by promising quarter to the garrison, and gained possession of the treasure and valuables which had been buried and stored there since the time of Bhim, and in the early part of the year 100 H he caused several golden and silver thrones to be placed in his court, and ordered that all that boundless and incomputable wealth should be scattered at the foot of his own throne that the people might gaze on it. In the year 101 H (1010 A.D.) he left Ghazni and again marched towards Multán, and took possession of the remainder of the country and put to death the greater part of the Karmatians¹ and heretics of that region, and sent the remainder whom he did not put to death to the fort,² where they died. He took Dúnd ibn Nasr, the heretic ruler of Multán, to Ghazni and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Ghori,³ where he died.

In the year 102 H (1011 A.D.), he set out for Thanesar⁴ and Jaipál, the son of the former Jaipál offered him a present of fifty elephants and much treasure. The Sultán, however, was not to be deterred from his purpose, so refused to accept his present, and seeing Thanesar empty he sacked it and destroyed its idol temples, and took away to Ghazni, the idol known as Chakar-

1

* 1 A heretical sect of Muslims, so called from the founder Karmat, who rose about the year 278 H. They sought to attain their ends by violence and in the year 310 H under Abu Taher took the city of Mecca with fearful slaughter, plundered the temple and took away the black stone which they retained for twenty years.

(Elliot and Dowson II 673) (See also Sale's Quran, Prel Discourse pp 130 131) D Herbelot (*Carmate*).

² MS (A) در قلاع

³ Firishtha عورى MS (A) عورى

⁴ Thanesar 76 62 E. 29 30 N. 11 le Map, Tieffenthaler, Vol. III

Tieffenthaler describes it as a large and populous town one mile in length, having a pond surrounded by buildings towards the east. The Hindus he states, claim that when gold is thrown into this lake it increases in weight. He naively, goes on to say, however, *Mais c'est un fable ridicule car celui qui y jette son or n'en recouvre rien*. The water is accounted holy.

He places Thanesar at a distance of 66 miles from Delhi giving the stages — Narná 12 miles Sonpat 6 Gonor 6 Panipat 12, Carnal 14, Azamabad 7, Thanesar 9. It lies N W of Delhi and is now called Thanesar. See Cunningham, *Anc Geog. of India*, pp 330-332. See Alberuni I 193

sóm,¹ on account of which the Hindús had been ruined; and having placed it in his court, caused it to be trampled under foot by the people. In the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.), he conquered Gharjistán,² and in the selfsame year an ambassador arrived from the ruler of Egypt, and when the Sultán heard that he was of the Bâtiní sect,³ he exposed him to public ridicule⁴ and expelled him.

In the year 404 H. (1013 A.D.), he prepared an expeditionary force to attack Naudana,⁵ a city situated on the mountains of Bálnáth. Jaipál II⁶ left a force to defend that fortress, and himself proceeded to the Kashmír pass. The Sultán gained possession of that fortress with promise of quarter, and left Sárégh Kotwál to defend it, while he pursued Jaipál. He took the vast spoils of that mountainous region and put many infidels to death by the sword of holy war, and honoured the rest by admitting them to Islám—a certain number he led captive to Ghaznín.

In the year 406 H. (1015 A.D.), he contemplated the conquest of Kashmír, and besieged the fortress of Lohar Kot,⁷ which was a very high fort, but was forced to abandon the siege on account of the severity of the cold and rain, and the constant reinforcements available to the Kashmírís, and returned to Ghaznín. In that year he entered into a contract for the marriage of his sister

¹ Chakrásvámin. or the lord of the Chakra. For an account of this idol, see Alberuni, I. 117.

"The city of Taneshar is highly venerated by the Hindús. The idol of that place is called Cakra svámin, i.e., the owner of the *Cakra*."

² Gharjistán, or Gharshistán, the country bounded on the west by Herát, east by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghaznín. See *Jácut in voc. Gharshistán*.

³ Esoterics, a sect of the Shí'a Muslims. For an account of them see Cureton's كتاب الملوك والنمل page 147 — They were variously called القرامطة الباطنية or المزدكية الموحدة - التعليمية - المزدكية

⁴ تشهير كردن Exposing to ridicule by seating on a donkey with the face to the tail, and thus leading him through the city.

⁵ Naudana, a fortress of brick situated on a mountain. Tieffenthaler I. 105, in lat. 32°. (Alberúni, Sachau trans, 317). In Rennell's map (1782) the Belnát mountains are placed in long. 72° E., lat. 32° N. For a full description of this mountain, see Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India, pages 164, 165.

⁶ Son of Anandpál, grandson of Jaipál I.

⁷ Called also Lohkot by Firishta. MSS. (A) (B) have لوهركوت.

with Abul Abbas ibn Mīmūn Khwarazm Shah,¹ and sent her to Khwarazm.

In the year 407 H (1016 A D), a band of russians murdered Khwarazm Shah, and Mahmud leaving Ghazni, proceeded first to Balkh and thence to Khwarazm, where a furious battle took place between his forces and those of Khamaitash, the commander-in-chief of Khwarazm. The Sultan's forces gained the day and Mahmud appointed Altūn Tash governor of that country, investing him with the title of Khwarazm Shah, he also took vengeance on the murderers of Khwarazm Shah, and returned (to Ghazni) after having arranged those important affairs.

In the year 409 H, he marched with the object of subduing Qanauj,² and having crossed the seven³ dangerous rivers of Hindustan, upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of Qanauj, Kurah,⁴ the ruler of Qanauj, offered his submission, and sued for quarter, offering presents. Leaving that place he arrived at the

¹ For a full account of this dynasty, see Raverty's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* pp 231 &c, (note 2) Khwarazm is a country on both banks of the Oxus of which the capital is Gurgang (Jurjan) see Abul Feda II ii 209 Chorasmii of Strabo Herodotus &c The Chorasmii are coupled by ancient authors with the Dacæ Massagetae and Sogdiæ (Smith's Dict of Geog.)

² Qanauj or Qanaj, was for a long time the Hindū capital of Northern India Firishta states that when Mahmūd approached Qanauj, 'he saw there a city which raised its head to the skies and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled. (Briggs I 57) See also Alberuni (Sachau tr I 109) (For a full account of this city consult Cunningham, op cit, 376, &c)

Tieffenthaler states that in ancient monuments Qanauj is called *Cannia coubadj* ce qui signifie *la vierge bossue* Vol I pp 193 194

³ These in the order Mahmud met with them were the—

Indus Skt Sindhu Gr Ἰνδός Indus incolis Sindus appellatus (Pliny)
Jhelam Hydaspes or Bidaspes Skt Vitasta (Vihut) or Vīyatā
Chenab Acesines called in Sanskrit Chandrabhaga
Ravi Hydraotes (Arrian) Skt Iravati Hyarotis (Strabo)
Biah Hyphasis or Hypanis Skt Vipāsa
Satlej Zaradras Hesydrus (Pliny) Skt Shatladar
Jamuna Jannu or Yamunā

(See also *Afn-i-Albari* (Jarrett) ii 310) Alberuni Chaps xxiv xxv

⁴ MSS (A) (B) كوراء Kurah According to Firishta the name of the prince of Qanauj was Kunwai Rai see Elliott Vol ii p 461

fortress of Barnah¹ whose governor Barwat, having entrusted the defence of the fortress to his kinsfolk, retired into seclusion.

The garrison of the fort not being able to withstand Maḥmūd's assault sent a present of a lakh and fifty thousand² rupees, with thirty elephants, and thus obtained quarter. From thence Maḥmūd proceeded to the fortress of Mahāwun³ on the banks of the river Jon,⁴ where the governor of the fort named Kal Chandar⁵ attempted to escape by crossing the river riding on an elephant, but in the meantime the troops of the Sultān arrived, and he destroyed himself by stabbing himself with a dagger—

By that same watery path he went to Hell.

When to live is to fulfil the desires of one's enemies

Death is infinitely preferable to life.

At the taking of the fortress of Qanaui eighty-five elephants and a boundless amount of spoil fell into the hands of the troops. From thence he went to Mathra⁶ which is a place of worship of the infidels, and the birth place of Kishan, the son of Basudev, whom the Hindus worship as a divinity—where there are idol temples without number, and took it without any contest, and rased it to the ground. Great wealth and booty fell into the hands of the Muslims, among the rest they broke up by the orders of the Sultān, a golden idol, the weight of which was

¹ Barnah. Firishta gives Hardat as the name of the governor and calls the place Mīrath. *Baran*. See Elliott II. 458, on the reading برته MS. (A.) has برته Bartah and gives بردت Bardat as the name of its ruler.

² According to Firishta 250,000 silver dīnars. This gives the value of the silver dīnār as $\frac{1}{2}$ of a rupee. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* we find no mention of a silver dīnār, but the dirham is stated to be $\frac{1}{10}$ of a dīnār; as the dirham varied in weight it seems almost certain from the above that the dirham and silver dīnār were identical. (see note 1 p. 18.)

³ Vide Tieff. 166. Mahāban avec une forteresse en brique.

⁴ The river Jumna. Alberuni "the river Jaun (Yamuna) p. 199.

⁵ Kul Chand (Firishta) Elliott I. 462. MS. (A) کلچند Kulchand.

⁶ Vide Tieffenthaler I. 201 et seq.

Muthra or Māhūrā, celebrated as a holy place, the birthplace of Vasudeva,—see Alberuni, ii. 147 i. 199; famous also in the history of Krishna as the stronghold of his enemy Rājā Kansa. Arrian calls it *Methoras* while Pliny states that the river *Jomanes* (Jumna) passed between the towns of Methora and Clisobora (Kalikavartta or Vrindāvana) Cunningham *op. cit.* pp. 374-375.

ninety eight thousand three hundred *misqals*¹ of refined gold and a piece of sapphire² whose weight was four hundred and fifty *misqals* besides a celebrated elephant of huge size, like a mountain, belonging to Rajá Gobind Chaud, one of the Rajás of Hindustan, which the Sultan had long earnestly sought to buy, but which was not to be had. By chance one night, when they were returning, this elephant broke loose and came into the Sultan's camp without a keeper. The Sultan was greatly pleased with its capture, and gave it the name of Khudádad³. When the spoil reached Ghaznín it was found to amount to over twenty million and fifty three thousand dirams, and three hundred and fifty odd elephants⁴.

In the year 110 H. (1019 A D), Mahmúd again turned his footsteps towards Hindustan and encountered and fought on the banks of the river Jon with Nandá the Rájá of Kalinjar,⁵ who

¹ The *Misqál* = 1½ dirhams = 6 *danqa* = 90 barley grains in weight. It is a weight used in weighing gold and is also the name of the coin (*Ala : Akbari*, I 36). Cf. Hebrew *shekel* שֶׁקֶל see also Alberuni I 160-161.

² *ياقوت كحلی* Firsihta says *ياقوت ازرق* a blue gem. The stone was in all probability a sapphire. There are four kinds of *ياقوت* — *احمر ازرق ابيض* — i.e. red, blue, white, and coerulean and *كسمانجوني* i.e. red, blue, white, and coerulean.

³ The gift of God.

⁴ From collating the MSS. A and B., I think the reading here is quite plain. It is

و چون بغزین رسید شمار آن غنائم بیست و یک هزار هزار درم و پانجاه و سه هزار درده و سیصد و پانجاه و یک قیل بود.

Both MSS. have *بوده* but we must read *برده* as in Firsihta, Vol. I p. 51, line 9 *et seq.* we read thus:—

و چون بغزین رسید غنائم معروفه را شمار کردند بیست هزار دینار و هزاران هزار درم بشمار درآمد و پانجاه هزار درده و سیصد و پانجاه و یک قیل و دیگر غنائم خارج اس بود.

and when he reached Ghaznín they counted the spoils of the expedition to Qanauj twenty thousand *dinārs* and thousands of thousands of *dirams* and fifty thousand slaves and 300 elephants besides other booty in addition to these (*Firsihta*, Vol. I p. 51, l. 9 *et seq.*)

⁵ *Kalinjar* in *Dangaya* *Bundelkhand*. A description of this fortress with two plates will be found in *Fieffenthaler*, Vol. I p. 214. He states that the fort was taken by Sher Sháh and passed into the possession of the Rajah of *Dangaya* (*Bundelkhand*) from the time of Muḥammad, king of *Dehli* (1718 to 1748). Lat. 25 N, Long 85 5 E (See *Ala : Akbari* (Jarrett) II 158 159).

16. had with him 36,000 cavalry and 15,000¹ infantry and 610 elephants, and who had put to death the Rájá of Qananj on the occasion of his submission to the Sultán, and who had also come to the help of Jaipál, who had several times fled from before the Sultán. The servants of the Sultán who had gone forward to the attack, found the city deserted, and sacked it. A terrible dread overwhelmed the heart of Jaipál, so that leaving all his property and material of war just as they stood, he took to flight with some selected companies. Five hundred and eighty elephants during the pursuit, emerging from a forest, fell into the hands of the Sultán's troops. He then returned to Ghaznín.—Many regions passed from the possession of the infidels to the Muslims, moreover the people of that country, either willingly or perforce, made profession of Islám.

In the year 412 H. (1021 A.D.), Máhmud proceeded to Kashmír and laid siege to the fort of Loharkot for a month, but it held out being exceedingly well fortified. Leaving Loharkot he went to Lahore, and in the beginning of spring returned to Ghaznín.

In the year 413 H. (1022 A.D.), he again made an attempt on the country of Nandá, and when he arrived at the fortress of Gwáliár, having reduced it peaceably and accepted presents from its governor, confirmed him in his governorship. As part of that present there were thirty-five elephants. Leaving that place he went to the fort of Kálinjar, the commander of which first made an offering of three hundred elephants and sought his protection.²

He also composed a poem in Hindí in praise of the Sultán, and sent it to him, whereupon the Sultán read the poem in the presence of the eloquent men of Hindustán and the poets of his own country. They were all loud in their praises of the poem, and the Sultán was so proud of it, that he wrote a patent conferring upon him the governorship of fifteen forts as a reward for the poem. Nandá also sent large quantities of property and jewels,

Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 412 A.H. See Elliot, Vol. I. 462, for an account of the various statements.

¹ The text has صد و چهل و پنجاه Firishta says 45,000. MS. (A) likewise says 45,000. MS. (B) is same as the text, which says 145,000, but 45,000 is no doubt correct.

² Abul Fazl (*Aín-i-Akbarí*, Text I. 423) says this was in 416 A.H.

and countless articles of value as an offering to Mahmūd. The Sultān victorious and triumphant returned to Ghazni.

In the year 414 H. (1024 A.D.), Mahmūd went to Balkh, and passed the river Juhūn¹. The chiefs of the regions beyond the river,² hastened to meet him, and Yūsuf Qadr Khān king of the whole of Turkistān, came to receive him, and visited the Sultān. They held great banquets and gave presents to each other, and Ali Tagin, of whose oppression the people of the regions beyond the river had complained, learning what was happening took to flight. The Sultān pursued him and having captured him sent him a prisoner to one of the fortresses of Hindustān, then he returned and spent the winter in Ghazni.

Once more³ he led his army against Somnāt, which is a large city on the coasts of the ocean,⁴ a place of worship of the Brah-

¹ The Amú Daryā or Oxus. *Jahūn* is the name of the great river which separates Khwārizm and Khurāsān from Bokhara, Samarkand and that country; all the region on the Bokhara side of the river is called the country beyond the river (*ma wara annahr*) I. K. II. 229. According to Abū Faḍl Balkh is situated in Long 101 10 Lat 35 11. The Jahūn is also called "the river of Balkh". See also Abul Fida (Roman II. II. 103 104).

² *ساوران* - Transoxiana. The country lying between Khwārizm on the west and the Oxus on the south from Balakhsān to the frontiers of Khwārizm. See Abul Fida (Roman II. II. 212 and seq.).

³ The accounts of this celebrated expedition are given in great detail by most authors. Those who follow Ibn Aṣir and Mirkhond make it commence with 416 H. Those who follow Firishta with 415 H. (Elliot, II. 469).

⁴ Somnāt, South west of the peninsula of Guzerat Long 107 10 Lat 22 15, (*Asn i Akbari* (J) III. 58) on the sea shore. At a distance of 50 farsakh from Basāna, (*Alb*). The river Sarasvati falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somnāth (*Alb* 261). It was here that the Yādavas killed each other (*Alb* 105).

The idol of Somnāth is stated by Alberuni to have been the image of Mahadeva erected to remove the leprosy of the moon. The word Somnāth means master of the moon. The image was destroyed by the Prince Mahmūd, may God be merciful to him!—A. II. 416. *Alb* II. 103. Alberuni gives an account here of Somnāth, and states (p. 176) that the day of full moon in the month Śravana is a fast day holy to Somnāth.

See also Elliot, II. 468-470 also Liphinstone 256, note 16-17, Briggs' *Tr.* I. 68, 73 74. *Asn i Akbari*, Vol. II. 246 and note.

Qazwini in his *Aṣṣur ul-Bilad* gives an account of the idol of Somnāth and states that it was suspended in mid air without support of any kind, and

mans who worship a large idol. There are many golden idols there. Although certain historians have called this idol Manát, and say that it is the identical idol which the Arab idolators brought to the coasts of Hindustán in the time of the Lord of the Missive (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him), this story has no foundation, because the Brahmans of India firmly believe that this idol has been in that place since the time of Kishan, that is to say four thousand years and a fraction. Its name too, in the Hindí language, is really Sobha Náth, that is to say Lord of Beauty, and not Manát.¹ The reason for this mistake must surely be the resemblance in name, and nothing else. In this expedition, having taken the city of Patan² which is known as Naharwála, a city of Gujerát, and having obtained a great supply of provisions from thence, he arrived at Somnát where the garrison closed the gates of the fort against him, and reaped their reward in rapine and plunder. The fort was taken and Mahmúd broke the idol in fragments and sent it to Ghaznín, where it was placed at the door of the Jámi' Masjid and trodden under foot³.

At the time of his return, not considering it expedient to fight with Bairám Dev,⁴ one of the mighty Rájás of Hindustán who stood in his way, Mahmúd turned towards Multán by way of

further states that it was supposed to be kept in this position by magnetic action. Qazwíní died A. H. 682, (A. D. 1281.)

¹ Cf. Qurán LIII. 19, 20. Zamakhsharí in the *Kashsháf* states that Manát was an idol worshipped by the tribes of Huzail, Khuzáa and Saqif, and that it was called Manát *لأن دماء النساء كانت تمني عذبة* (Calcutta Edn., Vol. II., page 1422).

² Pattan. Tioffenthaler I. 385, states that Pattan was a very ancient city founded even before Guzerát, 20 miles from Radhanpur, 40 miles north of Guzerát. Its ancient name was Nehroála. It was originally called Anhalpur. See *Ain-i-Akbarí* (J) II. 262, III. 59, 60. Compare Briggs' *Firishta*, I., 69., &c, Anhalwára (Elphinstone).

³ Cf. Alberuni II. 103.

⁴ *Firishta* calls this Rájá Brahma Dev, and states that having fled from Mahmúd he shut himself up in the fort of Gandaba (*Kandama Táríkh-i-Alfí*). Briggs states that the position of this place has not been ascertained, but it appears to me to be the place Canda mentioned by Tioffenthaler I. 402. "Canda est une bonne forteresse à 40 milles de Somnath elle est entourée d'eau comme une île : mais on peut y aborder à gué en quelques endroits." This description tallies so exactly with *Firishta's* that there can be little

utterly destroyed the Turkomans of that country, and thence he hastened to Rai¹ and laid hands on the treasures and hidden valuables of that country which had been there for many years, and eradicated the false religionists and Karamanians of that place, and bestowed Rai and Isfahán on Amír Mas'úd his elder son. He then returned to Ghaznín and shortly afterwards became attacked by consumption,² his weakness day by day increased. Nevertheless he used to take great pains to pretend that he was well and strong, and in that condition went to Balkh and in the spring came to Ghaznín, and died of that disease on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi'ul Awwal,

tude et 37° 20' de latitude. On la nomme encore, dit le Lobâb, Abâward et Bâward (Abul Feda (Reinaud) II. ii. 185-186). Firishta calls it Badward (see also Meynard (Dict de la Perse) p. 13, Abiwerd).

¹ A district of Persian 'Irâq, situated according to Abul Feda quoting from the *Ahwâl*, in long. 76° 20' and latitude 35° 35'. Its original name was he states, Râzî.

Ibn Hauqal in his article on Dailam, speaks of Rey as a large city at a distance of eight marches from Azarbaijân. It is the ancient Rhages or 'Payâ of Arrian, the capital of the province of Rhagiana, first known to us in history as the place to which the Jewish exiles were sent. It was the birth place of the famous physician Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakaríya Ar-Râzî, familiar to the medical world as Rhâzes who lived in the tenth century. His treatise on small-pox and measles (فی الجدری والحصبه) was published in a Greek translation *περί λοιμικῆς* in 1548, and an English translation from the Arabic by Dr. Greenhill. (Sydenham Society, 1847) It was ten days' march from Ecbatana (*Hamadân*). It was called at different periods Europus and Arsacia. In modern times the ancient name has returned, and its ruins lie now to the south of Teherán and north of Ispahán. The famous juriconsult Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, and al-Kisá'yí the reader of the Qurán, are buried there. Persian Irâq comprised the regions of Rey, Qúshán, Ispahán and Hamadán. (Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog., Vol. II. art Rhagæ), (Abul Feda, (Reinaud) II. ii. 169, &c.) also see I. K. (Slane), iii. 311 *et seqq.*

² Briggs, Vol. I. p. 83, states that Maḥmúd died of stone, but a reference to Firishta in the original shews that this is not the case. The words are &c. مرض سؤالقنية يا سل بيم رسانیده

The disease سؤالقنية *Sû-ul qinya* which literally means an undesirable acquisition, is thus defined by Vüller *sub voce* قنيت "pravus habitus corporis, gr. καχέλια, while the following translation from the MS. copy of *Bahru-l-Jawâhir* in this Library will show how it is there defined :

"The disease is so called because the skin which surrounds a man and changes with his changes (i.e. contracts and expands as necessity arises) is diseased, it is the beginning of drop-y, but inasmuch as the term drop-y is specifically

421 A H,¹ and was buried at Ghaznīn. His age was sixty years, and he had reigned thirty-one years. They say that when he was

restricted to another disease, this term *Su ul qinya* is made applicable to this condition."

In the *Itiḥādāt al Funūn* we find the disease described as "the commencement of dropsy due to weakness of liver and derangement of that organ." The quotation however is an erroneous transcription from *Al Mufasṣṣal* a translation from which follows—he writes 'the commencement of dropsy due to weakness and derangement of the liver, with resulting pallor and whiteness owing to defect in the formation of good blood from disorder and weakness of the liver, it also arises from disorder of the stomach and weakness of that organ.

The face and extremities, that is the hands and feet, and especially the eyelids become swollen owing to the weakness of digestion and the rising of moist vapours, and their effect upon the eyelids and extremities and at times it extends to the entire body, so that the body becomes like dough. One of its symptoms is flatulence and borborygmus, with irregularity of the bowels. All of these are due to indigestion. The gums also are affected with pustules from the evil vapours which arise.

Its cure is a gentle course of treatment for the dropsy. Means must be taken at first to secure a minimum of excrementitious products and drinking much water must be forbidden, and the patient directed to bathe in borax and alum water, or in sea water, as bathing in fresh water is harmful. Drinking wormwood and *dinārī* and *wardī* is beneficial. The food must be appetising and strengthening to the liver, as for instance partridges, Cantharides flavoured with cloves and cinnamon and mastic and saffron are beneficial. The vomiting must be treated with aperients, when it will cease, but if more energetic treatment be required we may add agaricum and rhubarb which do no harm in this disease." (*Al Muḥṣan fī Sharḥi Mufasṣṣal* by Sadīdī).

It is evident from the above description that the disease from which Mahmūd died was not either hectic fever (*Badaḥnī*) or phthisis *سِل* (*Firishṭa*), but an anæmia, very probably "idiopathic anæmia" or "progressive pernicious anæmia." The condition of the gums points to a possibly scorbutic taint, though it was probably ulcerous stomatitis so common at the close of wasting disease. Malaria may have shared in the causation of the illness. There is just a possibility that the disease may have been myxœdema, the increase in bulk of the body with the alteration and sweating of the skin, the turgescence of the mucous membrane of the mouth—all point in this direction. Against this supposition however, is the sex and the age, both of which are in favour of pernicious anæmia. His age was 61.

The question of stone nowhere appears in the original authorities, and it is difficult to see why Briggs should put forward such a statement. See also Elliott, IV 188 note 1.

¹ This date is the same as that given by Firishṭa.

Raverty in the *Tabaqat al Nasrī*, p. 87, note 9, gives Thursday, the 14th of

dying he ordered them to bring all his wealth and treasures and property before him, he lay looking at them from time to time regretfully sighing at having to part with them. He would not give the smallest trifle to any one.

He had made the journey to Hindustán and engaged in holy war, twelve times. Verily his reckoning is with his Lord; and the story in connection with him and Firdausi¹ the poet is well known, and the holy Jámí² says :

It is well to recognize merits for when the arched sky
At last discharged the arrows of misfortune,
The glory of Maḥmúd passed away, nothing remained in the
world

Save only this saying "He recognized not the worth of
Firdausi.

Rabf'u-s-saní, 421 H. (A.D. 1030) quoting the *Maqámát of Amíd Abú Naṣr* by Al-Baihaqí as his authority.

The *Tabaqát-i-Naṣirí* gives his age at the time of his death as 61, and states that he had reigned 33 years.

¹ Abul Qásim Firdausi the celebrated poet, author of the *Sháh Námah*, was a native of Tús in Khorásán where he was born about 339 A.H. (950 A.D.) He died in 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.) or 416 A.H. (Guzída). He was appointed by Maḥmúd to complete the *Sháh Námah*. As a reward for this labour he was promised a thousand *miṣqáls* of gold for every thousand distichs. However by the machinations of Aiyáz one of Maḥmúd's favourites who bore Firdausi a grudge for a fancied slight, the poet was represented to Maḥmúd as being a schismatic and heretic, and eventually was put off with 60,000 silver *dirhams* instead of the promised 60,000 *miṣqáls*. This so enraged him that he divided the 60,000 *dirhams* among the attendants of the bath where he was at the time of receipt. Finally he wrote a brilliant satire on the Sulṭán in the very copy of the *Sháhnámah* which he had presented to him on its completion, and fled from Maḥmúd's court to Mázinderán and thence to Baghdád. Maḥmúd at last relented, and sent Firdausi the 60,000 *dinárs* with a robe of state and apologies for his former harsh treatment, but when the presents arrived the body of Firdausi was being carried out for burial. See *Atashkada 'Ázur* p. 92 et seqq, also Atkinson's *Sháhnámah*, Preface: also Elliott, IV. 191. See also Hunter's *Indian Empire*, p. 219. and Beale's *Dict. of Oriental Biography*.

² Mulla Núrud-Dín Abdur Rahmán (Jámí) author of "Yúsunf and Zulaiḥḥa" Beháristán, &c., was born at Jám in 817 H. (?) He died in 898 H. See *Atashkada-i-Ázur* p. 78.

He was called عارف *the holy* from his position as one of the greatest divines of his day. He was the spiritual guide of the Vazír Amír Alf Sher. He performed the Hajj in 877 A.H., and died at Herát twenty years later.

And in the *Tazkirah* of Muhammad Ufi,¹ the following *Qita'ah* has been attributed to the Sultan Mahmud

From the dread of the world winning sword and the fear of
the fort crushing sceptre,

The world became subject to me as I am subjected to reason,
At one time there would I sit serene in my splendour and
riches

At another time following Avarice roamed I from country 20
to country,

Oft would I boastfully say lo' I am a man of importance,
But now I clearly perceive that the King and the beggar are
equals

I, with one wave of my hand, have conquered a myriad of
castles

With one firm plant of my foot I have broken lines without
number

When Death made the final assault, naught then did my
splendour avail me

Nothing continues but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom

SULTAN MUHAMMAD IBN SULTAN MAHMUD GHAZNĀVĪ,

Who was styled Jalalu d Daulat, in the aforesaid year, by the provisions of his father's will, and with the acquiescence of Ibn Arsalan² a relative of Sultan Mahmud, succeeded to the royal throne in Ghaznin, and a month and a half after his accession Amir Aiyaz³ came to terms with the servants, and having mounted horses from the royal stables took the road to Bust with the object of entering the service of Shahabu d Daulah Mas'ud who was at

¹ Muhammad Ufi author of a biography or *Tazkirah* *Tub lba l Albab*, and of another work called *Jamua l Hikdyat*. The latter he completed in 1288 A.D. (625 A.H.) He was a native of Merv which under the Saljuq princes was the capital of Persia. He was also known as Nuru'din Muhammad Ufi. (Beale O.B.D.) See also J.R.A.S. Vol. IX 113.

Hajf Khalfa calls him Jamalu d Din Muhammad al Ufi. See J.R.A.S., Vol. V, p. 111.

² Called in the *Tazkirat ul Muluk* Ali son of Iyal Arsalan a relative of the late Sultan Mahmud. (Raverty *Tab iqt i Nasiri* 83 note 8).

Firishta calls him Amir Ali son Kizil Arsalan father in law of Mahmud (Briggs 93). See Elliott IV 193. Ali kurbat (Raverty) or Ali Khishawandi.

³ Abul Najm Amir Aiyaz (Firishta)

Sipáhán.¹ Amír Muḥammad despatched Sūndhí² Rái the Hindú with a large army in pursuit of them. Amír Aiyáz was victorious in the fight, and put to death Sūndhí Rái the Hindú with a large number of Hindús, and sent their heads to Amír Muḥammad. Amír Aiyáz joined Amír Mas'ūd at Nishapúr,³ and four months later Amír Muḥammad moved his camp in the direction of Bust,⁴ and came out in full force from Ghaznī with the intention of fighting with his brother, and when he reached Takínábád⁵ all his Amírs having revolted against him, put out his eyes and threw him into the fort of Bujj⁶ in Majbaristán⁷ and having gone over to Amír Mas'ūd with the whole army and treasures, went to Herát and met him there. The blinded Amír Muḥammad reigned five months, but according to Qāzi Baiẓáwí⁸ it was fourteen years, and the period of his imprisonment was nine years. God knows the truth. The author of the⁹ *Iubbu-t-Tawárikh* writes that Muḥammad ibn Mahmūd wielded sovereignty in Ghazna for four years in the first instance, during the reign of his father, afterwards he was imprisoned for nine years by the command of his brother Mas'ūd, and after the murder of Mas'ūd he reigned for another year and then died.

An Amír in whose palace thou seest thousands of sentinels
Now on the vault of his tomb thou seest ravens keeping watch ;

¹ Ispáhán, see Abul Feda II., ii. 170. (Reinaud).

² Sewand Rai (Firishta).

³ The finest city of Khorásán situated at an equal distance from Merv, Herát, Jurján and Damaghán. See Abul Feda II. ii. 189. (Reinaud).

⁴ Fourteen marches from Ghaznī in Sijistán, between Herát and Ghaznī. Abul Feda II. ii. 108. (Reinaud).

⁵ Takínábád, see Elliott ii. pp. 271, 293 iv. p. 193 note 1. Briggs places it 30 miles N. of Ghaznī; see *Ain-i-Akbari* (J) III. 68. Long. 101° 5, Lat. 33°.

⁶ The reading از مسجد رستان in the text is absolutely without authority judging from the two MSS. I have before me. These both read,

در قلعه فتح که از بحر سناپ میل کشیده I am unable to elucidate this,

but it certainly gives no countenance to the reading in the text which, how ever I have translated, as it stands, *faute de mieux*.

⁷ Variouslly called Walāj (Firishta) Mangsál (*Nizāmu-t-Tawárikh*) See Elliott IV. 193 note 3.

⁸ Abú Saíd Abdullah ibn 'Abúl Hasan Alí Baiẓáwí. See Elliott, II. 252.

⁹ Yahyá ibn 'Abdul Latíf Qazwíní Dimishqí. Died 960. A. H. (18th December, 1552) (Háji Khalfá).

Thou didst see the herd of Alp Arslan¹ reach the sky in its
grandeur,
Come to Mair that thou mayest see the body of Alp Arslan
beneath the dust

SHAHĀBU D DAULAT SULTĀN MAS'UD IBN MAHMUD

By the consent of the Amirs and Vazirs of Mahmud he ascended the imperial throne, and having come from Haur² to Balh, spent the winter there, and summoning Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi whom Sultan Mahmud kept a prisoner in the fort of Kalujar, made him a Vazir. Then leaving Balh he came to Ghazni and thence started for Sipsihan and Rai and arriving at Herat engaged in war with the Turkomans and not overcoming them, but on the contrary suffering defeat at their hands, turned back. The Turkomans increased in power day by day owing to his weakness, till affairs assumed the aspect which they eventually did³.

In the year 423 H Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi died, and in the year 424 Sultān Mas'ud having undertaken to conquer

¹ Abu Shuja Muhammad son of Chakirbeg Daud son of Mikail son of Sijūq son of Duqaq surnamed Azdud Daulat Alp Arslan (arm of the Empire the hero lion) was the third monarch of the Saljūqiyyah dynasty who ascended the throne of Khorāsān in 401 A H (see Raverty 132 note 2). Born 424 A H murdered 465 A H. The lines are attributed by the author of the *Tabaqat-i Nāṣiri* to Hākim Sanāi a celebrated poet of Ghazni. His most celebrated work is the *Hadīqat ul Haqīqat wa Shar'atu t Tarīqat* other wise known as *Faḥḥr-nāmah*. His full name was Abu Muhammad ibn Adām Sanāi Al Hākim. He died in the year 525 H (4th December 1130) (H K).

See also *Mayma ul Fuṣal* I 204 and *Atashkade-i Azar* p 108 of I K (Sims) in 230.

² Herat. The well known city in Khurasan the ancient Aria ('Apeia') (see D G R G $\frac{I}{210}$) (Abul Feda II in 193,) founded by Alexander. Meynard *Dict de la Perse* p 592 note 1, says

L'opinion generale des Persans est qu'Herat doit son nom et son origine à un des officiers de Xerimân le Pehlevân et qu'elle fut rebatie par Alexandre

لهراست نهاده است هریرا بنیاد گشتاسپ زبوندای دگر بنیاد بهمن پس
از ابن عمارت دگر کرد اسکندر رومش هه داد بناد

Le nom d'origine qui en derive est Haurwī

³ i.e. The establishment of the dynasty of the Saljūqiyyah in 429 H by Tughril Beg

Hindustán marched towards the fortress of Sarsatí¹ which is situated in the way to Kashmír, laid siege to it and reduced it and made his way to Ghaznín with great booty. Then in 425 H. Sultán Mas'úd reduced Amal² and Sári³ and sending legates to Kálinjar and Tabaristán established his authority there⁴ and sent Tughdí Beg and⁵ Husain ibn 'Alí ibn Maikál with a large army from Nishápúr against the Turkománs, and a severe battle ensued in which Husain was taken prisoner and Tughdí Beg fled and returned to the Amír Mas'úd.

Amír Ahmad Niyál Tigin⁶ the treasurer of Sultán Mas'úd whom Mas'úd had fined and had sent to Hindústán,⁷ on arriving in Hindústán revolted⁸ and the Amír Mas'úd nominated a general of the Hindús named Náhir⁹ to oppose him. Ahmad being overcome in battle fled to Mansúrah¹⁰ in Sindh and was drowned—his head they sent to Ghaznín. In the year 427 H. (1035 A.D.) a new palace was completed in which they erected a throne inlaid with jewels, and suspended above it a jewelled crown. The

Sultān took his seat upon that throne and having placed the crown upon his head gave a public audience. And in this self same year he bestowed upon Amīr Maudud ibn Mas'ūd (his son) the drum and ensign,¹ and despatched him to Balkh while he himself proceeded with an army against Hindustan—captured the fort of Hansi² and thence proceeded to the fortress of Sonpat³ Deipal⁴ the commander of that fortress fled to the forest and lay hid there. They reduced the fort and captured immense booty putting to the sword the greater part of Deipal's army, but he himself escaped alone. From thence Mas'ūd turned his steps towards the valley of Ram⁵ who sent a large offering accompanied by a written apology for his non appearance. Amīr Mas'ūd accepted his excuses and giving the Amīr⁶ Abul Mujaḥhid son of Mas'ūd,⁷ the drum and standard (of commission) sent him to Lahore and retraced his steps to Ghazni.

23

In the year 428 (1036 A.D.) he left Ghazni for Balkh intending to crush the rebellion of the Turkomans who evacuated Balkh and retired into the surrounding country. The Sultān then

¹ As tokens of his commission as a general of the army

² According to Buhārī this fort had been hitherto known as 'The Virgin' as no one had yet been able to take it. It was taken ten days before the close of Rabi' ul Awwal. Hansi, a city with a ruined castle 11 miles to the east of Hisar. Tieffenthaler I 131

³ Sonpath, a city with a brick fortress. Tieffenthaler I 133. It lies North of Delhi. MSS (A and B) read قلعه سپات

⁴ MSS (A and B) دسال

⁵ Firsihta's account is almost identical here

⁶ Firsihta writes فوزید حویش ابوالمعدود. His son Abul Majdīl. See also Raverty p 95, note 7. In the text we should read مسعود ابوالمجادل بن مسعود

⁷ Here I follow MS (B). The readings of the MSS vary here very considerably. MS (A) reads (agreeing with the text) سلطان ازاب خلیفوں گدشته تمام ماوراالنهر را متصرف شد و داود ترکمان که تعدی بیگ و اعیان حسن را قتل ارباب شکست داده بود بمعیت تمام قصد بلخ نمود.

MS (B) reads, و سلطان ازاب خلیفوں گدشته تمام قصد بلخ نمود.

Preference must be given to MS (A), the copyist evidently having mistaken his place after the first تمام and instead of continuing ماوراالنهر he has gone on قصد بلخ نمود that he was a careless and incompetent copyist is shown by the next line where he writes کورگان درار کرد و دریں اثنا تعدی بنواحی کورگان درار کرد.

crossing the Jihún occupied the whole of Transoxiána. Dáúd the Turkomán, who had previously defeated Tughdí Beg and Amír Husain, marched with a large force towards Balkh. Amír Mas'úd thereupon returned from Transoxiána to Balkh and Dáúd the Turkomán¹ leaving Balkh went to Merv. In the meantime Tughdí Beg² had been acting oppressively in the neighbourhood of Gurgán. When the Amír Mas'úd perceived the symptoms of his rebellion he ordered him to be impaled. The Amír Mas'úd then exacted a stipulation and promise from Béghú³ the Turkomán who was the chief of that tribe, that henceforward they would never attempt any lawlessness, and having delimited their boundaries in a suitable way left for Herát. While on his way thither a body of the Turkománs fell upon the army of Mas'úd, killing some and plundering the baggage. The soldiers of the Sultán who were told off to attack them made the whole of that party food for the sword, and brought their wives and families together with the heads of the slain into the presence of Amír Mas'úd who sent asses laden with the heads to Béghú. Béghú apologized, and it so happens that this is the very same Béghú in praise of whom the poet Ziaí⁴ of Persia has composed several odes from which the following verses are selected—

4. It is wrong for me to bewail the misfortunes of others than thee,
It is wrong not to weep with thy sorrow.
My occupation day and night is to lament and bewail thy sorrow.

¹ See Raverty, p. 94, note 2.

² MS. (A) has تغدی not تغدی بگ.

³ Isráíl-i-Béghú. See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) p. 94, note 2, page 116, note 3, for an account of the rise of the Saljuqíyah dynasty. See also Ibn Khall: (Slane) iñ. 225 and seqq.

⁴ Ziaú-d-Dín Khajandí, *Al Fársí*, a native of Shíráz who left Shíráz in his youth and took up his abode at Khajand. He was a contemporary and panegyrist of Sultán Malik Sháh Saljúqí, and died at Herát in the year 522 H. (In the *Majma'-ul Fusahá* from which these particulars are taken, the date of his death is 622 H.; but this is an error as Malik Sháh died in 491 H.)

Beale (*Oriental Biographical Dictionary*) gives the date as 622 H., but this is in all probability copied from the above authority.

Thou did'st say, "Thou did'st weep for love of me," but
 verily there is a difference in shedding blood and shedding
 tears

At all hours I suffer a thousand pangs for the grief of the
 love of thee, nor do I weep alone

I cannot but melt with love of thee, nor is there any remedy
 for the pain I suffer for thee, save weeping

Apart from thee Fate has nothing in store for me

Save vexation, one day, and weeping the next

From thy era discord springs, for if not how comes it to pass
 that the whole world should weep from my time to that of
 the King?

Béglu Malik Shah, he who by his sword made the brave
 warriors to weep openly on the field of battle

The King Nizam Din to whom at the time of his conflict

Came from the tombs of Rustum and Dara the sound of weep
 ing

The gems in the depths of the sea or in the heart of the
 flinty rock were compelled to weep for shame at his elo
 quence,

The inhabitants of the world above were compelled to weep,
 cast down by the destroying arrow of his wrath

From envy of his splendour, which surpasses the sun in its 25
 zenith,

The Gemini were forced to weep constantly in the heavens

Oh! thou in presence of whose pearl scattering hand the
 ocean weeps like a cloud from every pore!

Who in view of thy majesty would dare or desire to weep
 over the corpse of thy enemy?

Thy sword from very fineness of temper weeps tears of blood
 over thy enemies in the field of battle,

What is prepared for thine adversary in either world?

There is the torture of hell, here he must weep

Lo! one who in the madness of his fear at thy displeasure

Seeks to hide himself in a corner and prepares to weep

Thy enemies have many manifest and hidden projects

But the wound is hidden, the weeping is manifest

I believe that this must have come into your exalted mind,

After all what use is praise to me with weeping

When I recite any poem in separation from thee

Both the first and last verses weep for anguish.
 Till lovers pass from excess of grief to endurance and to weep
 like Wámiq and 'Azrá¹
 May it be thy lot to smile after a happy life,
 May it be the fate of thy enemies perforce to weep.

26. The following is also by him:—

Oh thou whose lip distils sugar² at the opening of each
 smile!
 Thy ruby lip when thou smilest, rebukes the soul.
 In every movement thy curling locks ravish the heart
 In every smile thy ruby lip scatters the life blood.
 The trade of thy hyacinthine ringlets is to scatter perfume,
 The habit of thy delicate lips is to smile sweetly.
 Till thou seest not the cheek of gold thou smilest not,
 Every flower smiles from the enjoyment of the gold.
 When thou smilest a whole world smiles looking towards thee
 For no one before this has seen the sun and moon to smile (at
 one time.)
 I have a great sorrow and lamentation, and endless grief
 and pain,
 I have in separation from thee all of these, but nō smile.
 What could mankind have learned of the shape of thy mouth
 Had'st thou not given them from thine own mouth the news
 of a smile.
 Because of thy cruelty I do not smile, for at the time of
 mourning
 The wise and excellent do not approve of smiling.
 All my disorder is due to grief on thy account,
 Why then do you smile at me disordered as I am?
 It may be that from the crown and canopy of kings thy locks
 and cheek have learned to smile both morning and evening.
 27. King of the East Malik Sháh who in his feasting is careful
 always to smile from joy and pride.

¹ The loves of Wámiq and 'Azrá form the subject of two Turkish romances, one by Mahmúd bin Aşmún, Lamáí; and the other by Mu'íd, a native of Tarkhán. (D'Herbelot).

² لب شکرین must be read here.

Conqueror of infidelity, Nizîmu-ud Dîn, whose friends are
 always engaged in enjoyment, and only vary it by smiling
 If the seed could receive the good tidings of his approbation,
 even from the loins of his father would one begin to smile
 A father to whom a son is essential to do him service, smiles
 from the pleasure he experiences at the success of his son
 It is not strange that from the excess of his joy, the cloud of
 weeping which shrouded his moist eyes gives place to smil-
 ing

Oh ye obedient ones, since the beauty of the rose is added to
 your own charms, ye are smiling in this garden¹ of two doors.
 Thy charms have power to add sweetness to sugar
 Thy words have power to add brilliance to the jewel
 Thy shaft when fitted to the bow has established the custom
 In the array of battle to smile at the helmet and shield
 Following after victory when thy sword is furious
 There comes to it from the sorceries of heaven a smile
 Doubtless the enemy of thy grandeur, smiles sweetly
 If scattering his heart's blood (in envy) be to smile

In order that the saffron² may fulfil the promise of its properties,
 namely to bring smiles to the lips of all conditions of men, may
 the lips of thy enemies be saffron, that their lips may always from
 fear of thee smile from his want of success

¹ i.e., the world Birth and death are the two doors

² Saffron was held by the Greek physicians to cause smiling when taken
 internally

It is its property of inciting to mirth and laughter which is here alluded to

With regard to Saffron the محبر الادوية says

اعمال و خواص آن معرج و معري حواس و معري و منصح و محلل و مصلح
 عفريت حلط بلغمي و مانع و حافظ آن از تغير و فساد و مدربول و دقوة
 قابضة و محرك دالة و مقوي حوهر روح حيواني و حگرو احشا و الاب نفوس و
 مورث نشاط و مسك و منقي غردة و مثانة و بشرية و رساننده قوت إدرة به قلب
 و سائر اعضا و مفتح شده دماغ و حگرو سپهر *

Actions and properties of Saffron Exhilarating and tonic to the senses,
 excitant and digestive laxative and corrective of the impure humours of
 the phlegm and preventing and preserving them from alteration and
 badness It is diuretic and constipating aphrodisiac and strengthening to
 the essence of the animal spirits, to the liver, and bowels and respiratory

28.

Then Amīr Maḥmūd marched from Herāt to Nīshāpūr and thence to Tūs and a body of Turkomāns giving him battle met their death, the people of Bīward gave up that town to the Turkomāns and the Sultan having overcome that fortress and having put them all to death spent the winter at Nīshāpūr.²

Then in the year 439 H. having set out to attack Tughral³ the

oregon. It produces mirth and laughter, purifies the kidneys and bladder and skin. It carries the virtues of medicines to the heart and to all viscera—removes obstructions of the brain, liver and spleen.

The following extract from the *تيسر السجهر* gives a further account of its properties.

يمنع سيالان الرطوبات الى العين بطوخا واكتسلا [بلين المواة] حار في
الثالثة يابس في الاولى مفتوح مائل قابض مذغيج مكن اللون وبسكر مع الشراب
جدا حتى يزعم وبصدع وينوم ويجلو البصر ويسهل الولادة والنفس ويقوي
القلب ويدرو بسقط الشبوة وينفع من الاوجاع الباطنة واوجاع الرحم ويذهب
الشمار ويزيد في البلاء ويوافق امراض الطحال —

It prevents the flow of moist humours to the eye when used either as an ointment or a collyrium. It is hot in the third degree, dry in the first degree, laxative, or constipating, digestive, improving the complexion, and very intoxicating with wine causing heaviness, headache, and drowsiness, clears the sight and facilitates parturition, and respiration, is a cardiac tonic and is diuretic and controls the animal passions and cures internal diseases and uterine complaints; dispels the effects of debauch, and is a sexual tonic and cures diseases of the spleen.

Sadīdī, p. 143, says of Saffron. *وله خاصية عجيبه في تقوية جواهر الروح و تفرجة لما يحدث فيه من نورانية وانبساطه مع متانة ويعينها العطرية الشديدة* —

It has a wonderful power as an exhilarant increasing the brilliance and strength of the mental powers. It is assisted by strong perfumes.

¹ Tūs, a district and city of *Khorāsān*, one of the dependencies of Nīshāpūr, distant from the city of Nīshāpūr about 10 farsakhs.

See Abul Fedā II. ii. 190. *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 396. According to Ibn *Khalliqān* the Saljūqs gained possession of Tūs in 429 A. H. and in the month *Ramāzān* of the same year they took Nīshāpūr. I. K. (Slano) iii. 226.

² MS. (B) has *گزارنیدند* showing clearly that the copyist was a native of Hindustān. A line or two lower he writes *قرار نمود* for *فرار نمود*. This MS. is quite worthless for purposes of comparison. It abounds in errors and is plainly the work of an inferior copyist.

³ Tughral Beg. Abū Tālib Muḥammad Ibn Mikā'il Ibn Saljūq Ibn Dukāk Ruknu-d-Dīn Tughral Beg was the founder of the dynasty of Saljūqs (*cf.* Raverty, pp. 94 and 122, and also I. K. (Slano) iii. 224.

Turkoman who had raised a rebellion in Bāward, when Tughral took to flight Amu Mas'ud turned back and came to Sarakhs¹ by way of Mahnah² and gave orders to raise the fortress of Mahnah. Then he put to death some of the inhabitants of Mahnah, and cut off the hands and feet of many more and thence went in the direction of Zirqan³ in which place the Turkomans brought together a large army and fought a severe battle with the Sultan. In this battle the majority of the generals of the army of Ghaznin mutinied and went over to the enemy. The Sultan remaining all alone on the field, felled several of the Turkoman leaders with sword, spear and mace, and eventually came out of that engagement safely. This event took place on the 8th of Rūmāzan, 431 H (1039 A D). From thence Amir Mas'ud came to Merv, and several of the soldiery from the neighbouring country having come in at last sided with him. He went to Ghaznin by way of Ghaur,⁴ and having fined these chiefs who had not fought and had fled, sent some of them, as for instance Alī Daya and Hajib Buzurg,⁵ and Beg Tughdī to Hindustan and imprisoned⁶ them in fortresses. All of them died in imprisonment. Amir Mas'ud now desired to go to India and collect some forces there, and to come from there with a large army against the Turkomans to punish them. With this intention he made Amir Maudud⁷ Amir of

¹ Sarakhs or Sarkhas (Meynard Dict de la Perse 307) said by the Persians to have been founded by Kaikauš a city situated between Nishapur and Merv, in a plain. Abul Feda II n 193

² Mahnah Firishta says ماہناہ Mahtaks but مہناہ is undoubtedly the right reading. In Persian this name is spelt مہناہ Mahtana a small town of the district of Khabaran between Abward and Sarakhs. See Meynard, Dict de la Perse 558.

³ Zirqan is not mentioned by other authors. I have consulted and may be a clerical error. The name of the place where this battle was fought was Dandangan a town in the vicinity of Merv cf Raverty p 94 note 3. Also Abul Feda II n 197. Meynard p 239. It seems to me most probable that we should read رند خان though all MSS give ویرخان. Zandkha رند خان is a fortified town situated at the distance of one farsakl from Sarakhs (Meynard 288).

⁴ Abul Feda II n 201. A province lying between Herat, Karawan and Gurjistan.

⁵ Firishta حاجب شیبانی Hajib Shaibani

⁶ MS (B) در قلعها حبس کرد

⁷ Shihāb al Daulat Maudud his eldest son. Compare the account given by Firishta.

29. Balkh, and having appointed Muḥammad ibn Abduṣ Ṣamad as his Wazīr despatched them thither. He then appointed the Amīr Muḥammad¹ with two thousand soldiers to proceed to Multān, and sent the Amīr of that district² to the foot of the hills of Ghaznīn to restrain the Afghāns of that district who had broken out into rebellion; and having laden camels with the whole of Maḥmūd's treasures which were stored in Ghaznīn and the neighbouring fortresses started for Hindustān and despatched messengers *en route* to bring his brother Amīr Muḥammad who had been blinded³ and was then confined in the fortress of Bazgland.⁴ When Sultān Mas'ūd arrived at the frontier fort⁵ of Mārīkala,⁶ his slaves plundered all the treasure-camels. In the meantime the Amīr Muḥammad arrived there, and the slaves who recognised that this violence would have no successful issue unless another governor were appointed⁷ perforce, approached the Amīr Muḥammad, raised him to the Sovereignty and breaking into open riot assaulted Sultān Mas'ūd who had taken refuge in that fort. The next day the whole army becoming violent brought Amīr Mas'ūd from within the fort of Mārīkala and made him prisoner confining him within the fortress of Kīrī,⁸ till at last in Jamādiu-l-Awwal 432 H. they sent a false

¹ Firishta says امیر مجدود Amīr Majdūd—the second son of Mas'ūd MS. (A) has امیر مكدود Amīr Maḥdūda, which should in all probability be read مجدود Majdūd. MS. (B) agrees with the text, both are probably wrong.

² The words in the text appear to be a misprint for the following امیر ایزدیار which is Firishta's version. The Amīr Izad Yār was Mas'ūd's fifth son. Both MSS. however have امیر این دیار را

³ See page 21.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) برغنه.

⁵ رباط Dozy quoting from de Slane gives *casernes fortifiées* qu'on construisait sur les frontieres de l'empire as the meaning of رباط

⁶ Mārīkala. Firishta says Márkala which according to some is on the Jhīlam river which in those days was called the Behāt. Raverty in his *note* 4, page 95 says: A pass somewhat difficult situated between Rāwal Pindi and Attock—See Elliott II. 273, *note* 2.

⁷ MS. (A) این تعدی پیش MS. (B) این تعدی از پیش In the text read غلامان دانستند که اینقسم تعدی از پیش Cf. Firishta تعدی او تعدی از نخواهد رفت

⁸ Firishta reads کیری Kīrī. Cf. Raverty 95 (5). MS. (B) MS. (A) کیری See Elliott II. 273, *note* 3.

message purporting to emanate verbally from Amīr Muḥammad ordering him to kill Amīr Mas'ūd and to send his head to him. The Kotwāl in obedience to this order severed Mas'ūd's head from his body and sent it to Amīr Muḥammad.

Of the vicissitudes of time, this much pleased me
That I saw good and bad, right and wrong, pass away
He who at morning time wore on his head a jewelled crown
Him I saw, at the time of evening prayer, with a brick 30
underneath his head (in the grave)

This story is according to the relation of Nizāmī,¹ but the Qāzī Baizawī relates that in the year 432 Mas'ūd fled defeated from before the Seljuqs to Ghaznīn, and Amīr Muḥammad who had consolidated his power during Mas'ūd's absence sent him to a fortress whither his son Ahmad ibn Muḥammad followed him and murdered him.² The Government of Sultān Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd lasted eleven years, but we ought to note that the Qāzī Baizawī (may God's mercy be upon him) assigns the year 433 H as the date of the death of Mas'ūd, and writes that Muḥammad ibn Mahmūd reigned in Ghaznīn for fourteen years after his father,³ one year after his father's death, nine years in the lifetime of his brother, and four years after his brother's death, as has already been stated. God alone knows the truth. Apparently this is due to the mistake of a copyist. Among the poets who flourished in

¹ Nizāmī d Din Ahmad, author of the *Tibqat-i Akbari*, Elliott v 177. Died 1003 H.

² Baizawī's account is as follows —

Mas'ūd after his arrival at Ghaznīn sent Yusuf to prison and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Seljuqs crossed the Jihun and invaded Khurasān. He fought with them and made peace with them several times but being defeated in A H 432, he returned to Ghaznīn where his brother Muḥammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival he was consigned to a fort and Ahmad, the son of Muḥammad, went direct from his father to the fort, and there slew him, A H 433, Elliott II 256.

³ That is from 421 A H to 434 A H with interruptions during the supremacy of Mas'ūd. Mahmūd died in 421 A H. Mas'ūd was murdered on the 11th of Jamādī ul Awwal, 433 H (Baverty, pp 95 G).

Muḥammad was put to death by Maudud in revenge for his father's murder in the year 434 H. Maudud reigned seven years and died in 441 H (1049 A D).

the time of Sultán Mas'úd is Manúchihri⁴ who speaks as follows in a *qaṣídah* concerning his Wazír.

Couplet.

Shah Mas'úd is as proud of his rectitude
As is the prophet of Naushirwán⁵ the upright.

SULTÁN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD,

31. Ascended the throne of Empire (after the murder of his father in Bámián¹) with the consent of the Wazírs and Amírs, and with the object of avenging his father purposed to march towards Mári galah, but Abu Naṣr Aḥmád ibn Muḥammad ibn Abduṣ Ṣamad opposed his projected expedition and brought him to Ghaznín, whence he proceeded with a large army to attack his uncle the blind Amír Muḥammad. On arriving at Dípúr² he engaged in a severe battle with the Amír Muḥammad and thus passed the whole day till nightfall when both fell back upon their positions. The next day Sultán Maudúd induced the Amír Saiyyid Maṣṣúr who was one of the trusted (generals) of the Amír Muḥammad to side with him, and engaging in battle took prisoners the Amír Muḥammad and his son Aḥmád and put them all to death. The Amír Maudúd founded there a city which he

⁴ Manúchihri Dámaghání. Hakím Abunnajm Aḥmád, a pupil of the poet 'Unṣuri, whom he is said to have surpassed in sweetness and facility of expression. He was called شصت گله *shast galla* because of his possessing numerous flocks and herds. He died in 432 H. (Majma'-ul-Fuṣahá).

⁵ Nāushirwán. Chosroes I. son of Kobád, one of the Sassanide dynasty, ruled over Persia from 531 A. D. to 579 A. D. (See Dict. G. and R. B., p. 720, Vol. III). The prophet Muḥammad was born in the fortieth year of his reign, April 20th, 571 (Sprenger) or August 20th, 570 A. D. (Caussin de Perceval I. 283). Muḥammad used to boast of his good fortune in having been born during the reign of so just a king. Cf. D'Herbelot III. 57.

¹ Bamián. "Situated ten days' march from Balkh and eight from Ghaznín. There is a building there of a prodigious height ornamented with paintings of all the birds created by God, and containing two enormous images called سرخ بد *Surkh bud*, the Red idol, and خنک بد *Khing bud*, the White idol." Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, p. 80.

Abul Feda II. ii. 203, between Balkh and Ghaznín. The district in which Ghaznín and Kábul are situated.

² Text has Deipúr (MS. A دینور *Dínúr*). For the locality of this place, see Raverty 96, note 2. The name is in all likelihood Dínúr as in Baihaqí.

named Fathabád ¹ This victory was gained in the month Sha'bin of the year 432 H, or according to another account in the year 431 H ² And in the year 433 H being angry with Khwaja Ahmad ibn Abdus Samad he imprisoned him in Ghaznin where he died in prison, and in this same year he sent Abu Nasr Muhammad bin Ahmad towards Hindustan to fight with Nami ibn Muhammad ³ and Nami was killed in the course of that war And in the year 434 H Artigin at the order of the Sultan proceeded with an army to Tabaristan against Da'ud ⁴ the Turko man, and having lost in battle a large number of his men came to Balkh and established the coinage and proclamation of sovereignty in the name of the Amir Maudud Afterwards when the Turko mans attacked him several times in force not being able to contend with them, he quitted Balkh and came to Ghaznin Then in the year 435 H Amir Maudud imprisoned Abu 'Ali the Kotwal of Ghaznin for a time, but eventually appointed him as the Diwan of the kingdom and Kotwal of Ghaznin, and imprisoned Yasun ibn Iyamghur the Diwan, till at length he died in confinement, he also punished Altigin ⁵ and in the year 436 H Khwaja Tahir who had succeeded Khwaja Ahmad as Wazir, died, and was succeeded by Khwaja Imam Abul Fath 'Abdul Razzag ⁶ In this same year he sent Tughril Hajib in the direction of Bust, who took prisoner Abu Mansur Zangi, ⁷ the brother of Abul Fazl and brought him to Ghaznin, he then departed for Seistan and having

¹ Raverty 96 note 2

² The latter date must be the correct one as Mas'ud was not put to death till 433 A H See note 3, page 43

The Tarikh-i Mas'udi however writes as follows —

وامير مودود درين شعبان كه شاه ملك حطه نگرديد [۴۳۲] بدودور آمد و جنگ كرد و عم را گرفت و پسرانش و كسانى كه با او پادشاه دار بود همه را بكشت

See Thomas Coins of Kings of Ghaznin J R A S lx 279

³ Firishtha describes him as ولد محمد مكيول the son of the Blinded Muhammad

⁴ See note 1 p 38

⁵ Altigin Hajib

⁶ Grandson of Hasan Maimandi

⁷ Firishtha says also Zangi Briggs in his translation has said Oozbuky

12. engaged in conflict with the Turkománs at the Ribát Amír,¹ put most of them to death after which victory he went to Garm Sír, where he put to death the Turkománs of that district who were known as Red-caps² and took many of them prisoner, and brought them to Ghaznín.

In the year 438 H., he sent Tughrál to Takínábád who on arrival there revolted. Accordingly Alí bin Rabí' was nominated to proceed thither and Tughrál fled with a few followers. Alí plundered his army, and having captured some of them brought them to Ghaznín. In the year 439 H. the Amír Qazdár raised a rebellion³ and suffered defeat at the hands of Hájib Buzurg Bártagín⁴ and after a time tendered his submission.

And in the year 440 H. having conferred upon his two sons Abul Qásim Mahmúd and Manşúr on the same day robes of honour and the drum and ensigns of commission sent one of them towards Lahore and the other towards Parshúr⁵ and he sent Abú Alí Hasan Kotwál of Ghaznín to Hindustán to punish the rebels there, and when Hasan returned to Ghaznín after having done good service Maudúd made him over to Mírak ibn Hasan with orders to imprison him. He died in prison. As a sequel to this, Mírak ibn Hasan the Vakíl who had murdered Abú 'Alí Hasan without the orders of Amír Maudúd and had kept it secret, incited the King to

¹ Firishta رباط امير Ribát Amír, Long. 105, Lat. 34, *Ain-i-Akbari* (J.) iii. 68. Both MSS. have رباط اسير

² Firishta also says سرخ كلاه and does not mention the word قزلباش though Briggs translates "called Kuzil Básh, owing to their wearing red caps" Briggs, Vol. I, p. 121. قزل Qizil Red is Turkish باش Básh. Head is Turkí.

³ In one copy we find بغی قصد ورزید Firishta has the following امیر قزدار بغی ورزید so we should read here

⁴ According to Firishta باستگین MS. (A) reads بایتگین Báitgín, MS. (B) reads بابتگین Bábtgín. Briggs says, "In the year 439 he was sent against Khoozdár, the ruler of which paid the usual tribute" but in the original of Firishta we find these words: قزدار جنگ کرده شکست یافت which looks as if امیر قزدار Amír Qazdár was his name. Elliott V. App., p. 558, states "Kusdar lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khuzdár of our maps the capital of Jhálawán in Bilúchistán."

See pp. 557-559 from which the above is quoted.

⁵ Parshúr, the modern Pesháwar, called originally Parasháwara. Cunn. Anc. Geog. of India, p. 78.

proceed to Kábul so that that misdeed of his might remain concealed. When the Amír Maudúd reached the fortress of Sankot¹ he was attacked with colic² and was forced to return to Ghaznín, and ordered Mirak to release Abú Alí Kotwal. He accordingly prayed for a week's respite, and in the interim Amír Maudúd departed this life on the 24th of Rajab A H 441, having reigned nearly nine years. The *Lubbu-t-Tawarikh*³ states that Sultán Maudud asked in marriage the daughter of Chughz⁴ Beg Saljúqí, by whom he had a son whom he named Mas'úd, that he reigned seven years, and that in the month of Rajab 441 he attempted to go to Khorásan to visit Chughz Beg, but died on the journey of colic

¹ Firashta writes سانكوت Sankot. Both MSS read ميالكوت very plainly written

² قولنج Probably intestinal obstruction which is included under the term قولنج Qulnj of which there are stated by Sadídi to be five varieties. Cf Sadídi At⁵ قولنج

ⁱ القولنج الحقيقي True or spasmodic colic

ⁱⁱ القولنج السدي Obstructive colic—due as he says to an accumulation of بلغم or mucus in the cecum or colon

ⁱⁱⁱ القولنج الرجي Flatulent colic

^{iv} ورم حار او نارد امعاء وما يتاورها مثل الكبد والكلى An acute or chronic swelling of the bowels and neighbouring parts such as the liver and kidneys

^v القولنج الالتوى Twisted colic which he defines as a twist of the distal end of the small intestine Volvulus

In the لبحر البواهر we find the following definition of the disease "A disease in which the bowels become disarranged on account of some unnatural obstruction (لاحتماس غير طبعي) It is very painful and increases in violence and is fatal

Defining the Colon the author says اكثر تولد القولنج فيها و قولنج شديدا

Colic principally arises in this bowel and is a strangulation of part of it.

³ *Lubbu t Tawarikh*, 'The marrow of History' The author was Yahya ibn 'Abdul Latif Quzwini who composed it in 1541 A D

He died 18 Dec 1552 See H K. *Lubbu t Tawarikh* also Elliott, Vol iv p 293

⁴ Jaghar Beg See Raverty *Tabaqat i Nasiri* p 97, notes 3 & 4

MS (A) چغریک Chaghar Beg MS (B) چغزیگ Chaghz Beg

SULTÁN MAS'ÚD IBN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD.

Ascended the throne in the third year of his age by the machinations of 'Alí ibn Rabí', however his affairs did not prosper and they raised his uncle to the throne after he had reigned only five months.¹

SULTÁN 'ALÍ IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD.

Ascended the throne by the consent of the nobles, and when 'Abdu-r-Razzáq ibn Ahmad Maimandí who had been sent by the Amír Maudúd towards Seistán arrived at a fort between Bust and Isfirár,² and learned that Abdu-r-Rashíd ibn Mahmúd was confined in that fort by the orders of the Amír Maudúd, he brought him back and placed him upon the throne, 'Alí having reigned for a period of about three months. This event took place in the year 443 H. (1051 A. D.).

SULTÁN 'ABDU-R-RASHÍD IBN MAHMÚD.

34. Came to the throne, and with the consent of 'Abdu-r-Razzáq proceeded to Ghaznín. 'Alí ibn Mas'úd fled without engaging in battle, and Tughral Hájib who was one of the household slaves of Sultán Mahmúd having conquered Seistán turned his steps towards Ghaznín. Amír 'Abdu-r-Rashíd fortified himself there till Tughral obtaining an opportunity in the year 445 H. (1053 A. D.) put the Amír Abdur Rashíd with all the descendants of Sultán Mahmúd³ to death and married the daughter of Mas'úd against her will. One day when he was on the throne a body of determined wrestlers inspired with hatred against him tore him to pieces. 'Abdu-r-Rashíd's reign lasted for four years,

¹ The account given by Firishta differs slightly from this—he says—that on the death of Maudúd 'Alí ibn Rabí' who laid claim to the throne placed Mas'úd the son of Maudúd, who was then a boy of four years of age, upon the throne of Ghaznín; this arrangement was opposed by Bāshtigín Hájib who fought with 'Alí ibn Rabí' whereupon the whole populace of Ghaznín rose in arms, and eventually Bāshtigín Hájib succeeded in deposing Mas'úd ibn Maudúd after a reign of five or six days, raising his uncle Abul Hasan 'Alí to the throne. Compare also: *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* (Raverty, p. 97 and foot-note).

² اسفرار MSS. (A) (B) Firishta says Isfirain which is in the neighbourhood of Nishapúr, see Meynard, p. 34. (Abul Feda II. ii. 188).

³ كه نه نفر بودند Nine people in all. (Firishta).

but in the *Nizamu t Tawárikh* his reign is said to have lasted for seven years,¹ and in the *Iubbu t Tawárikh* his death is said to have occurred in the year 445 H. God knows the truth

SULTÁN FARRUKH ZÁD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD

Being released from confinement succeeded to the kingdom by consent of the nobles. A body of Saljúqs came up against Ghaznín, and Farrukhzád put most of them to death and overcame them, and made many of them prisoners and sent them to Ghaznín. Alp Arsalan² the Saljuq king brought an army against Ghaznín from 'Irâq and Khorâsán, and being victorious in fight conveyed a large number of the notables of Ghaznín to Khorasan. Eventually upon the arrangement of terms of peace the prisoners of both sides obtained their release, and since Zabulistan had been laid waste the Sultan remitted the usual tribute, and treated the inhabitants with kindness. He used to fast three months, and used to spend the greater part of the night in prayer. He died of colic in the year 450 H.³ The period of his reign was six years 35

SAIYYIDU S SALÁṬIN IBRAHIM IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD

Ascended the throne. He was a just and devout king and used to write each year a Quran with his own hand and despatch it to the holy city of Mekka. He built no house for himself with the exception of a temple and a school to the honour and glory of God. When the affairs of state devolved upon him, he made peace with the Saljúqs and being free from apprehension, went to Hindustan and conquered many fortresses and districts

¹ Firishta says "less than one year." *Tabaqat i Nádirí* says two and a half years

² Alp Arsalan son of Daúd son of Mikail son of Saljúq was the second Sultan of the family and dynasty of the Saljuqs. He succeeded his uncle Tughril Beg in 455 A.H. (1063 A.D.) He was born in 421 A.H. and was murdered 466 A.H. and was buried at Merv

For a full account of this prince see D Herbelot pp 198-203

See also Ibn Khalliqan (Slane) in 230 and seqq where it is stated that Alp Arsalan was born in the year 424 (A.D. 1032) and died on the 10th of Rabi ul Awwal 466 A.H. (1072 A.D.)

³ Firishta mentions that a year previous to his death an attempt was made upon his life while he was in the hammam

From one city¹ the inhabitants of which were of Khurísánian descent, whom (Afrásíyá) had expelled, and who had become a populous community in Hindustán, he took prisoners a hundred thousand persons,² and sent them to Ghaznín, with other spoils on the same scale. He built a number of towns, among them Khairábád, and Imánábád and others. He has been described by the title of Saiyyidu-s-Salátn, and enjoyed the reputation of being a Wálí.³ In his reign in Ghaznín, the Dárú-i-Chashm (eye medicine) and other mixtures and medicaments and dietaries for all diseased folk used to be obtainable from his store-house. His death took place in the year 472 H.,⁴ after a reign of thirty years. Qázi Daizáwi says that his reign extended from the year 450 H. to the year 492 H. Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán⁵ flourished in his time and the following verses are taken from an ode which was written in his honour.

1 Named "Darra." (Firishta) where we read که افراسیاب از سرکشی
ایشان بشک آمده بازن و فرزند از ولایت خراسان اخراج کرده بود و بچندوستان
فرستاده

In our author's text we read — و آخر ایشان را اخراج کرده — which is evidently corrupt. The words in the *Tabaqát Akbar Sháhi* are almost identical with those quoted from Firishta and some such change as the substitution of the word افراسیاب for the words اخرايشان which may easily have arisen from a copyist's mistake, seems necessary in our text. (MSS. (A) and (B) are like the text).

² Because they were idolaters and refused to embrace Islám, according to Firishta.

³ والی Wálí. Abul Fazl (*Ain-i-Akbarí*) (Jarrett) iii. 350 gives the following definition of a wálí : "In ancient works many significations have been given the outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being : a lofty soul will indeed love God alone A wálí in my opinion is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions. He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceptions. This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it."

⁴ Firishta says 482 H. or 492 H. *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* 492 H. with a reign of forty-two years.

⁵ Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán Jurjání. Known sometimes as Hamadání. The son of Khája Sa'd ibn Salmán. A famous poet native of Jurján who attained

Abul Qāsim Malik Mahmud Ibrahim ibn Mas'ūd
 In whom four things exult, each of them glories in him
 Firstly, his expanded canopy, secondly, his flouting banner,
 Thirdly his golden pen, fourthly his brilliant dagger

This ode he finished completely in the same style, and in another place he says —

Emperor of the higher world, from the blessings of whose
 reign

The sword's lofty occupation is the control of things tem-
 poral and spiritual

Mas'ud (Fortunatus) because from the fortune of the ex-
 pānse of kingdom & conquest

He has gone beyond that which comes within the scope of
 the sword

Ode

Oh thou that hast formed the design of travel and girded
 the loins of conquest,

Right and left of thee the heavens have opened for thee the
 doors of conquest,

Mas'ud, the world conquering for whom the age of fortune
 Has sent forth every moment the heralds of conquest,

Like a lance point thou hast placed thy head in the direc-
 tion of battle,

Like an arrow thy waist girds up the loins of conquest,
 In sooth, a hundred victories thou winnest, and a hundred
 years hence

In Hindustan in all directions will be seen the traces of thy conquest 37

So many are thy conquests, that in the expanse of the world
 Every day in every place they tell the tale of thy conquests

high distinction in the service of Mas'ud bin Mahmud and Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazni but was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Nair owing to the spiteful rancour of Abul Fīraj Rumi. He obtained his release upon the death of Mas'ud bin Mahmud. He was however again made prisoner for some years and upon being released left the court and went into retirement in Ghazni where he died. There is a very long account of him with copious extracts from his various poems in the *Majma' ul Fawa'id* Vol I pp 514 and seqq. See also Beale (O B D p 173) and *At-Iskandariyyat*, p 162

Thy spear and thy arrow and thy sword will be
 If my fancy limns a line, the painter of the forms of conquest.

When thy sword said I will deal a light blow
 Its oath lay not heavy save on the head of conquest.

The Ustád Abul Faraj Rúní¹ too was eulogist of Sultán Ibrahím, and also the panegyrist of Sultán Mas'úd, and many odes in their honour are to be found in his Díwán, and Rúín² is the name of a village of the dependencies of Lahore, and in these days it is as one may say in ruins, because not a trace of it remains, and the following *qīṭā'h* in praise of Sultán Ibrahím is by the Ustád Abul Faraj.

Hail to the might of thy powerful sword
 Precious as the breath of life, and rare as wisdom itself.
 Thou hast imprisoned that lifeless one, as one seizes the throat,
 Thou hast made orphan this which has no issue like a peerless pearl.

38. And Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán with that envious nature which is peculiar to poets, bore a grudge against Ustád, who became the cause of Mas'úd's imprisonment for ten years, he wrote this rubá'í (quatrain) in prison.³

¹ Abul Faraj Rúní, a celebrated poet. The name Rúní is from the village of Rúna. (رونا) in Nísápur. He was a great favourite and companion of Sultán Ibrahím, and we learn from Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán Jurjúní that he fell under the displeasure of that king and was imprisoned in the fortress of Náí by the calumny of Abul Faraj, as is stated in the text a few lines further on. Abul Faraj lived for some time at Láhore, so that he is known to a few as "Láhorí." His writings were very elegant and served as a model for the poet Anwari. A Díwán of his containing about 2,000 verses is extant. (Majma'ul Fuṣṣahá I. 70). See also *Atashkada-i-Azur*, pp. 137, 138.

² Beale (O.B.D., p. 15) says that he came from "Rún a place near Lahore." It would appear from the text above that Badáoni attributed his name of Rúní to his connection with the village of Rúín. The author of the Majma'ul Fuṣṣahá gives no authority for the statement above quoted so that it is difficult to decide which of the places is to be given the honour.

³ He was imprisoned in the year 572 H. by Maḥmúd ibn Ibrahím in the fortress of Náí. (Majma'ul Fuṣṣahá *loc. cit.*). See note 5, page 52.

For thy prison such a prisoner as Malik Sháh is necessary
 So that thy fetter may chafe the foot of monarchs ¹
 That one who springs from the loins of Sa'd Salman
 Even were he a serpent would not sting thy realm

The following verses are also by him

My heart has become rent in all directions like a comb from
 regrets
 Because I saw a white hair in the tooth of the comb

There are extant also Diwans by him in Arabic, Persian and
 Hindi

'ALÁU D-DÍN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM IBN SULTÁN MAS'ÚD,

Succeeded after the death of his father and died in the year
 508 H (1114 A D), having reigned seventeen years

SULTAN SHERZÁD IBN MAS'UD IBN IBRAHIM, ²

By his father's order became king, and reigned for one year
 His brother Arsalán Shah revolted against him and killed him in
 the year 509 H (1115 A D)

SULTAN ARSALAN SHÁH IBN MAS UD IBN IBRAHIM,

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and seized upon the whole 39
 of his brothers with the exception of Bahram Shah who fled and
 went to Sultan Sinjar ³ who was the son of his maternal uncle ⁴
 In spite of all the apologies for Bahram Shah which Sultan Sinjar

1 *تا بد تو پای تا حدارای شاد* MS (A)

² Cf Raverty *Tabaqat : Naṣirī* page 107 note 7 Firishta also mentions
 the accession of Kamālu d Daulah Sherzād and calls the preceding monarch
 'Alau d Daulah also Ell ott II 278

³ Sultan Sinjar Muizzuddin Abul Hārīs Sinjar was the third son of Sultan
 Malik Sháh and the last of the Saljuq dynasty in Khurasan He was born
 A H 479 (1086 A D) in the environs of Sinjar and it was on account of th s
 circumstance that he received this name See I K (Slane) I 600 He
 governed the province of Khurasan for 20 years He died in 552 A H, at
 Merv of a colique compliquée avec un devoyement D Herbelot

See also Beale (O B D p 236)

⁴ The sister of Sultan Sinjar called Mahd : 'Iraq' was married to 'Alau d
 Din Mas ud father of Sultan Arsalan Shah Cf Raverty *Tabaqat : Naṣirī*,
 p 107, note 6

made the subject of several letters, Arsalán Sháh would not listen to him, and eventually Sultán Sinjar raised an army against him. He gave battle with thirty thousand cavalry, and being defeated went to Hindustán. Sultán Sinjar remained forty days in Ghaznín and after presenting that country to Bahrám Sháh, retraced his steps. Arsalán Sháh having collected a large army in Hindustán proceeded thence to attack Ghaznín, and Bahrám Sháh not being able to withstand him sought refuge in the fortress of Bámián and with the assistance of Sultán Sinjar having again seized Ghaznín and taken Arsalán Sháh captive put him to death in the year 510 H. (1116 A. D.). The reign of Arsalán Sháh had lasted for a period of seven years.¹

SULTÁN BAHRÁM SHÁH IBN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM

Succeeded to the throne. Hakím Sanáí² was his panegyrist. *Kalilah Damnah* and many other books were composed in his reign and on the day of his accession Saiyyid Hasan Ghaznavi³ declaimed an ode of which this is the opening couplet.

A shout went forth from the seven heavens, saying
"Bahrám Sháh is Lord of the world."

And this ode he wrote in his honour, and despatched it from the sacred city of Mekka.

Should it ever be that I again behold the face of the king
I will apply, as a thank-offering, the dust of his feet to
both my eyes

40.

¹ This account differs from that given in other authors. The *Tabaqát-i-Nasíri* says that Arsalán Sháh died in 511 H., after a reign of two years. Firishta says three years. Baizáwí gives 512 A. H., as the year in which Arsalán Sháh was put to death. (D'Herbelot).

² Abú Muḥammad ibn Adam Sanáí, died 525 A. H., A. D. 1130 (H. K.). A celebrated poet, author of the *Hadíqatu-l-Haḡíqat*, a Persian poem commonly known as *Fakhrí-námah*. Among his other works were :

طريق التحقيق - عشق امه - سير العباد الى المعاد - كارتنامة بلخ - عشق نامه -

According to Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá (I. 254) he died in 590 A. H. but, see note 1 p. 35.

³ Ashrafu'd-Dín Hasan ibn Náṣirí-l-'Alaví, died 565 H. Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá I.

Bahrám Shah for whom may the lives of emperors be the ransom

May it be that their lives are even worthy of the king
The planets of the sky fall like meteors, if they but place
a foot outside the boundary of fidelity to the king

Another

Bahram Shah from desire of whose sweet honied name
The young tree of the kingdom hereafter brings forth
parrots, (poets)

And the *Hadīqatu l Haqīqat*¹ of Shāhī Sanāi is written in honour of Bahram Shah, it was written during his imprisonment, the reason of which imprisonment was *Ghaznāvide* fanaticism with regard to Sunni doctrine, when this book having reached the capital of Baghdad received the *imprimatur* of the chief men and nobles, it attested the reality of his faith, and they wrote a memorandum which led to his being released. A short time subsequently he departed this life. It is said that when they accused the worthy Shāhī Sanāi of heresy after he composed the *Hadīqat*, he wrote the following letter to the Sultan Bahram Shah

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate

Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds, and blessings upon the best of His created beings, Muhammad his family and companions all of them. To proceed, it is said in certain traditional sayings, that two things tend to prolong life, and to cause rain to fall and trees to grow, one of these is to assist the oppressed—the other to repress the tyrannical. An argument which they have advanced in support of this is that the prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, declared that the heavens are established by righteousness (equity). Equity is like the bird² which, wherever it casts its shadow, secures an amplitude of

¹ The work mentioned in note 2 page 56. Its full title is *Hadīqatu l Haqīqat wa Sharī'atu l Turīqat* (*hortus veritatis et lex viæ*) and it treated among other subjects of the Imams Abu Hanīfa and Shāfi: the founders respectively of the Hanafite and Shāfi'i sects of Sunnis.

² کسی نیاند بزور سائۀ نوم و رهها از حهاں شود معدوم

No one would go under the shadow of the owl even if the Humá were extinct from the world. See Roebuck, *Oriental Proverbs* p 327. The

41. wealth, and the place where it builds its nest becomes the centre of durability, and rain falls from the heaven, while tyranny and oppression is as a bird¹ which, wherever it flies, leads to famine and life and modesty are lost from among mankind. And God, *may He be glorified and exalted*, preserves the Emperor of Islām, and the just king Bahrām Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Ibráhīm Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Mahmúd Sháh, from iniquity and oppression, and although the whole world should combine to write and describe the stock and supply of grateful acknowledgment of this slave's heart, they would have no power to express it, and the tree which the king of the kingdom planted² for the discovery of the secrets of the unseen, even Gabriel and Michäel³ were precluded from having any share therein: it is certain that in all circumstances the just man is happy and the tyrant is miserable, and the worst of all oppression is this that a small party should read a subject and not understand it, but become arrogant with regard to it and loosen the tongue of censure against the learned. Hence it is that our prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, said, Pity three people, a rich man who has become poor, the great man of a tribe who is disgraced, and a wise man among fools.⁴ A book which is written in the language of the learned in the knowledge of God, demands an acute and discriminating mind such as that of Báyzíd⁵ and

Humá, is a fabulous bird of good omen; it is supposed that every head it overshadows will wear a crown.

1 The owl بومة on the other hand is the type of ill omen.

e.g. ماري توكة هوكه را بيني بزني يا بومي توكة هر كجا نشيني بكني

Thou art a snake biting everyone thou seest, or an owl destroying every place where thou alightest.

again بلباك مزده بهار بيار خبر بد بجوم شوم گذار

O nightingale bring the glad tidings of spring and leave bad news to the ill omened owl. Roebuck, *Oriental Proverbs* pp. 140, 349.

2 Expunge كه from line 6 and read جبرئيل و ميكائيل از

3 By this tree is meant the lote tree of Paradise صدرة المنعمى Sidratu-l-Muntahá. See *Mishkát*, XXIV. vii.

4 Cf. Qurán II. 90-95.

5 Báyzíd Anṣári also called Pír Roshan, founder of a Ṣúfi sect, called the Roshániyyah or enlightened. Beale (*O.R.D.*, p. 70).

A good account of him will be found in *The Emperor Akbar* by Beveridge. Vol. II. pp. 139 and *seqq.*

Shibli ¹ these men of wisdom who read that book and appreciate that which is written in it, but who have not the slightest trace of religious knowledge, it must be from spite and ignorance that they find fault with the book, and this is a proof of their blindness of heart that they call the *Al-i-Marwān* contemptible, and carry their eulogy of the elect family, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon it*, beyond bounds while they exalt the commander of the faithful 'Alī, *may God be merciful to him*, above the other companions, *may God be graciously pleased with them*, and they do not see that he has been placed below Siddiq ² and Farūq ³ and Zu' Nurain ⁴ on the ground of descent and rightful succession, and there is a true story related of the Lord of the Created beings Muhammad Muṣṭafa, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, with reference to the vices of the *Al-i-Marwān* and the virtues of the *Al-i-Muhammad Muṣṭafī*, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*. If it is a lie, and most people believe it to be so, reason tells us that it is true, and the word of the true God is this, "Oh God, adorn the world with those learned men who fear thee or who reverence thy people, and do not make me to suffer at the hands of those who are wanderers from the path of thy love, for thy mercy's sake

¹ Abu Bakr Dolaf Ibn Jahdar (or Jafar) Ibn Yunas (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb) surnamed As Shibli a celebrated saint was born and brought up at Bagdad, but his family belonged to Khurāsān. This highly respected Sūfī followed the doctrines of the sect of Malik and had for masters Al Junaid and the other holy men of that epoch. As Shibli died at Bagdad A H 334 (A D 946) and was interred in the cemetery of Al Qizurān. He was born at Sarra man raa (Samarra on the Eastern bank of the Tigris). Shibli means belonging to Shibla a village in the dependencies of Osrushua a large town beyond Samargand in Transoxiana. I K (Slane) I 513. See also regarding Samarrā J R A S 1895 p 36.

² "The faithful. The title given by Muhammad himself to the first Khalifah Abu Bakr, who reigned two years and died A D 634 (A H 13).

³ The second Khalifah Umar A H 13 to A H 23. Called Fāruq or 'the Discerner' as distinguishing Truth from Falsehood in Islam.

⁴ U'man. The third Khalifah A H 23 to A H 35. Called Zu' Nurain the possessor of the two lights because he married two of the Prophet's daughters Raḳaiyyah and Ummu Kulsum.

The above three Khalifahs the first three successors to Muhammad according to the Sunnī Muslims are rejected by the Shi'ahs who assert that 'Alī was the first legitimate successor the others having been usurpers.

and for thy bounty and beneficence oh Thou most merciful," and this verse is from the *Hadīqat*.

If the earth is a fit place for any court

It is for the court of Bahrām Sháh that it is fitted.

Then Sultán Bahrám Sháh brought up several armies against Hindustán and conquered the cities which his forefathers had not taken, and leaving one of his Amírs of high rank in Hindustán returned to Ghaznín. That Amír revolted, and fought a severe battle with the Sultán in the vicinity of Multán, and a bitter conflict ensued; in the end the Sultán's enemy fell a prisoner into his hands and was put to death, and a second time the country of Hindustán came into his possession, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Ḥasan ibn Ḥusain Súrī who is one of the kings of Ghor revolted against him and proceeded to Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh fled and 'Aláu-d-Dín left his brother Saifu-d-Dín Súrī in Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh returned and retook Ghaznín, and having seated Saifu-d-Dín upon a cow, and having exposed him to public ridicule, killed him in the worst possible way. 'Aláu-d-Dín upon hearing this news was most distressed and made for Ghaznín with a huge army—before his arrival however Bahrám Sháh had reached the other world and his son was on the throne in his stead. 'Aláu-d-Dín by way of avenging his brother carried several loads of the earth of Ghaznín to Ghor² and set rivers of blood flowing, he is accordingly famous in his own country. Bahrám Sháh left this world in the year 547 H. (1152 A.D.) the period of his reign was thirty two years.

Mas'úd S'ad Salmán wrote the following hexastich in praise of Bahrám Sháh.

Bahrám Sháh became the world conquering king.

He became the Sun of the Age, and the shadow of the glory of God.

His canopy which was auspicious became the glory of the humá.³

1 Cf. Raverty, *Ṭabaqát-i-Nāṣirí* p. 347 note 2.

2 Cf. *Ṭabaqát-i-Nāṣirí*, Raverty p. 356. This earth was mingled with the blood of certain Saiyyids whom he took prisoner from Ghaznín, and from it several towers were built on the hills of Firúz Koh.

3 The *humá* is according to the *Ghiásu-l-Lughát* "a bird which eats bones."

God be *He exalted and glorified* became his guide
 That polished dagger became of increasing authority
 The face of his enemy became black like his canopy.
 As long as the emperor of the world in his time sowed the
 seeds of justice,
 Every criminal that he detected, he passed over his crime,
 If the sky placed his praise upon the running water
 The flowing water retained ¹ his image like an engraving on
 stone
 He raised ² true religion and justice to the zenith
 The Emperor, dispenser of justice, lover of truth, and defender
 of the faith ³

KHUSRAU SHÁH IBN BAHRÁM SHÁH

Ascended the throne after his father, and 'Alau-d Din Husain
 ibn ⁴ Hasan Ghorí came up against him Khusráu Sháh fled and
 came to Lahore, and occupied himself with the empire of Hin- 44
 dustán, and when 'Alau d Din, as has been related, returned from
Ghazni successful, he went back and recaptured that country,
 and after that the tribe of Ghuzz ⁵ seized Sultán Sinjar he turned
 towards Ghazni Khusráu Sháh was not able to withstand him

and its shadow falling upon any one ensures his attaining royal dignity"
 See note 2 page 57

¹ MSS (A) (B) نداشته not داشته as in the text,

² سرفراشته MS (A) not سرفراشته as in text

³ MS (A) reads دس و زر حق پناه

⁴ The text has حسن نا حسين but the MSS A and B have بن which
 is the correct reading 'Alau d Din Husain Ghorí Jahansoz, the first of the
 kings of Ghor

⁵ A tribe of Tarks They took Sinjar prisoner in 558 H From them
 sprung the Seljuq dynasty the founder of which was Ruknu d Din Tughrál Beg
 Originally from beyond the Oxus they established their power by the conquest
 of Tus in the year 420 A H, when under the leadership of Tughrál Beg and
 Daud they defeated the forces sent against them by Mas'ud ibn Mahmud
 Ravaging Armenia they entered Diarbákr in 433 A H and in 435 A H
 entered Mosul but in the same year were defeated in an encounter with the
 Arabs and fled to Nisibín, and thence passing through Armenia returned to
 Azarbaijan

Cf D Herbelot art *Gaz* who attributes the origin of this tribe to Gaz
 tenth son of Japhet son of Noah, from Bulgar, one of the sons of Gaz, sprang
 the Bulgarians and from Perhas the other son sprang the Ghuzz tribe

and for the second time returned to Lahore, where he died in the year 555 H., after a reign of eight years. In his time many great poets flourished and wrote odes in praise of him. The following poem is of the kind called *Tarjī'band*¹ and was written by one of them in his honour.

The revered Emperor Khusrau Sháh who with ease
Conquers with sword and mace from Hindústán to Khorásán.

It must be stated, that in the historical works by Qázi Baizáwí and others² it has been written that when 'Aláu-d-Dín plundered Ghaznah and put many of the inhabitants to death, he left there Ghiyásu-d-Dín Abul-fath Muḥammad and Shihábu-d-Dín Abul Muẓaffar who were his nephews. They then with great craft put Khusrau Sháh at his ease with regard to themselves and took up their abode in his city. Khusrau Sháh³ was imprisoned in the year 555 H., and died in the same year, and the days of the Ghaznévide family came to an end. After a time Ghiyásu-d-Dín died, and the whole kingdom remained in the possession of Shihábu-d-Dín, but since Khwája Nizámu-d-Dín Aḥmad deceased, has written in the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí* copying from the *Rauzat-u-s-*
45. *Ṣafá* that Khusrau Malik ibn Khusrau Sháh was the last of the kings of the Ghaznévide dynasty, I have followed him—God knows the truth.⁴

KHUSRAU MALIK IBN KHUSRAU SHÁH.

Ascended the imperial throne in Lahore after the death of his father, and spent the greater part of his time in luxury and licentiousness, so that in his time great damage found its way into the

¹ The *Tarjī'band* consists of a series of couplets followed by a couplet in the same metre, but having a different rhyme, recurring at regular intervals.

² See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) iii. 341. See also Elliott II. 258.

³ The *Rauzat-u-s-Ṣafá* however states that Khusrau Sháh reigned at Lahore two years after he fled from Ghaznín, and on his death was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik.

The account in the text is that given by Baizáwí and other reliable authorities.

⁴ Cf. Raverty *op. cit.*, p. 112 note 5.

Baizáwí states that the Ghaznévide dynasty ended with Khusru Sháh. The work here quoted is best known as the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí*, but its author called it *Tabaqát-i-Akbar-Sháhí*, and Badáoni calls it also by that name as well as by the name *Tárikh-i-Nizámí*. As has been seen the present work is admitted by the author to be merely an abridgment of the

kingdom, and the dynasty of the Ghaznávís was growing old while that of Ghor was in full vigour, accordingly Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sam, who is well-known under the title of Sultan Shihábu-d-Din Ghorí, having gained the upper hand and making Ghaznín his capital, brought an army against Hindústán and came with overwhelming force near to Lahore. Khusrau Malik fortified himself there and was compelled to ask for quarter in a personal interview. Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sam took him to Ghaznín, from thence sending him to Sultan Ghiyásu d-Din, who imprisoned him in Firoz Koh¹ and sent an order, and after ten years' confinement made him taste the cup of destruction.

Set not your heart on this world, for it is without foundation

It is a newly wed bride entangled with many a lover

This event took place in the year 583 H (1187 A D). He reigned twenty-eight years; the times of the Ghaznávíde dynasty came to a close, and the Empire passed from their hands to those of the Sultáns of Ghor. "Thou givest the kingdom to whom thou seest fit."²

HEMISTICH

Nothing endureth but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom

And Qází Baizáwí may God's mercy be upon him states that

Táríkh : Nizámí Khwaja Nizámu d-Din Ahmad was the son of Khawja Muqim Harawí Diwan of the household to Bábar, he subsequently served under Akbar (Ellhott V 177 et seqq.). The real facts are that the son Khusrau Malik succeeded his father and reigned till 583 (H) (1187 A D), as is stated by our author.

¹ The Tabaqat : Nasírí states that Khusrau Malik was imprisoned in the fortress of Balarwan in Gharjistan. Firuz Koh was the capital. The story of the treachery by which Shihabu d-Din Ghorí took Khusrau Malik prisoner is told by Firishta.

See also page 44 where the author states that Ghiyásu d-Din imprisoned Khusrau Shah in one of the fortresses of Gharjistan where he died a prisoner.

² Quran III 25 قُلِ اللّٰهُمَّ مَالِكِ الْمَلِكِ تُؤْتِي الْمَلِكَ مَن تَشَاءُ وَتَنْزِعُ الْمَلِكَ مِّنْ تَحْتِ الْمَلِكِ "Say 'O God, Lord of the kingdom, thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever thou pleasest and takest the kingdom from whomsoever thou pleasest'"

10. the duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty from Sultán Maḥmúd to Khusrau Sháh was one hundred and sixty-one years in the hands of twelve persons, while Qází Yahya Qazwíní, *may God's mercy be upon him*, says one hundred and fifty-five years in the hands of fourteen persons, and the author of the *Tarikh-i-Nizámí*, as has already been quoted above, says two hundred and fifteen years in the hands of fifteen persons, and God knows the real truth of the matter.¹

II. THE GHORÍ DYNASTY.

Who reigned in Dehlí. This dynasty commences with Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín Ghorí² who is known as Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad ibn Sám.

SULTÁN MUIZZU-D-DÍN MUḤAMMÁD IBN SÁM GHORÍ.

Ascending the throne as regent in place of his elder brother Sultán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín, king of Ghor and 'Iráq and Khorásán, in the year 569 H., in Ghaznín, had the *khutba* read and the currency struck in his own name,³ and in obedience to the command of his brother brought several armies against Hindustán and raised aloft the standard of holy war. Dehli was reduced in his time.

¹ None of these estimates are exactly accurate, that of the *Tarikh-i-Nizámí* is the nearest. The actual duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty taking Khusrau Malik as the last representative was from 366 A. H. (976 A. D.) to 583 A. H. (1187 A. D.) a period of 217 years during which time there were fifteen sovereigns.

It is difficult to see how Baizáwí arrives at his statement above quoted as from the accession of Maḥmúd in 387 A. H., to that of Khusrau Sháh in 552 A. H. is 165 years during which twelve kings reigned.

The statement of Qází Yahya Qazwíní is so far from the truth as to be impossible.

If we take Khusrau Sháh as the last Ghaznévide king the dynasty lasted from 366 A. H. to 555 A. H., a period of 189 years.

² Who was nominated with his elder brother Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín to the charge of a province of Ghor by his uncle Aláu-d-Dín Husain Jahánsoz.

³ As a matter of fact the coins were struck in the joint names of Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín and Muizzu-d-Dín, and as Thomas remarks the superlative *الاعظم* "The greatest" is applied to Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín while Muizzu-d-Dín is only styled *مظفر* "Great" (Thomas, Pathán kings of Dehli, p. 13).

In brief, Sultān Ghīyāṣu d-Dīn when he had seized Tagīnābād¹ which was one of the dependencies of Garmsir and had made over the governorship of that place to Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn, used continually to bring up armies against Ghaznīn, till at last in the abovementioned year Sultān Ghīyāṣu d-Dīn brought that country within the circle of his conquests, and drove out of Ghaznīn the tribe of Ghuzz, who after the captivity of Sultān Sinjar had been in possession of it, and bestowed upon Sultān Muizzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, the title of Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn.² Sultān Shihābu d-Dīn after one year of sovereignty as vicegerent

¹ *Takīnābād* که از اعظم بلاد گرمسیر بود. *Takīnābād* which was one of the chief cities of Garmsir *Tibāqāt & Nisrī* p. 115, line 9 (Cal Edn.), see *Ain & Akbarī* (J) in CS, also Elliott, II 292-293.

² The statement in the text forms the subject of considerable controversy as there are found those who assert that the title Shihābu d-Dīn is an impossible one as applied to Muizzu d-Dīn popularly known as Muḥammad Ghori (see Paverty's *Tibāqāt & Nisrī* p. 416 note 5). It is true that the author of the *Tibāqāt & Nisrī* states that Muizzu d-Dīn was originally called Zangī while Ghīyāṣu d-Dīn was called Hāshim—both of them being called Muḥammad. He goes on to say that prior to Ghīyāṣu d-Dīn's accession to the throne Ghor he was called Shamsu d-Dīn and that Muizzu d-Dīn was called Shihābu d-Dīn. The actual statement is

و پیش ازین لقب او ملک شمس الدین بود و لقب برادرش شهاب الدین
بعد از مدتی که بر تخت بود لقب او سلطان غیاث الدین شد و برادرش ملک
شهاب الدین بعد از فتوح حراساں سلطان معز الدین شد.

"Before this his title had been Malik Shamsu d-Dīn and the title of his brother had been Shihābu d-Dīn. Some time after his accession his title was changed to Sultān Ghīyāṣu d-Dīn. From this the possibility is not excluded that the author of the *Tibāqāt & Nisrī* intended to lay stress not so much upon the change of names as the change of dignity, the assumption that is, by both of the title of Sultān.

But whatever may be decided about this there can be no question that the name "Shihābu d-Dīn" is just as applicable to the person known more familiarly as Muḥammad Ghori, as is the name "Muizzu d-Dīn," and Badaoni evidently held this opinion as he henceforth speaks of him constantly as "Shihābu d-Dīn."

On the other hand if this really was a subsequently acquired title it is certainly strange that it does not appear on any of his coins on which he is always styled As Sultān Al Muazzam (or Al A'zam) Muizzu d-Dunya wad Dīn Abu l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad ibn Sām.

It is not however a point of serious importance as it involves no disputed question of identity.

17. for his brother, in the year 570.H., conquered Kardíz¹ and in the year 571 H., took Uchh and Multán and drove out the tribe of the Karmatians from those regions, and utterly destroyed the Bhatí² tribe who had fortified themselves in the fortress of Uchh,³ and having entrusted that country to Alí Kirmáj⁴ returned to Ghaznín.

Then in the year 574 H. (1178 A. D.) proceeding by way of Multán⁵ he brought an army against Gujrát, and suffered defeat at the hands of Rái Bhím Dev ruler of that country, and with great difficulty reached Ghaznín and obtained relief.

And in the year 575 H. he seized Parshúr,⁶ and in the year 580 H. (1184 A. D.) marched against Láhore; Sultán Khusráu Malik who was the last of the kings of Ghaznín, shut himself up in the fortress of Lahore as has been related, and after considerable correspondence by letter and messenger, he sent his own son with an elephant as a present, and Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín made peace with him, and set about building the town of Síálkot⁷ and having left his deputy there, proceeded to Ghaznín; and in the year 581 H. he brought an army against Diwal by which is meant

¹ Kardíz a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustán, Yáqút. Or Gardaiz, the name of a large "darak of the Tájiks, *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* Raverty, p. 449, note 9.

² MSS. (A and B) agree with the text *جماعة بھتیہ*. For a full account of this from Firishta with a comparison of other translations, see Raverty, p. 459, note 2. Raverty's translation corresponds exactly with the original and, as he very justly remarks, the incorrect translations given by Briggs and others have placed Muizzu-d-Dín's conduct in a wrong light. Bhátia a strong fort of this name was situated between Multán and Alor. The Rájá referred to according to the *Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá* was chief of the Bhatí tribe. See Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* 451, note 3 last paragraph. See Elliott, Vol. I. p. 61.

³ Uchh. On the Eastern bank of the Panjnad 70 miles S. S. W. of Multán. See Cunningham, A. G. of India, p. 242.

According to Tieffenthaler it is 20 miles from Multán, Tieff. I. 118.

⁴ So also Firishta *علی کرماج* though Briggs translates, Alí Kirmány.

⁵ In the text read *از راه ملتان* Firishta says, "came again to Uchh and Multán."

⁶ *بجانب پیشاور کہ در کتب سلف بکرام و پرشور و فرشور مشہور است* (Firishta) cf. Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, p. 452, note 8. Peshawar was known as Bagrám or Farshúr.

⁷ Síálkot is said by other authors to have been founded by one of the early Hindú rulers. Tieffenthaler. "Un chateau tres fort bâti par Mahmoud

Tattah¹ and having thrown into confusion the cities on the sea shore took a vast amount of plunder and returned.

And in the year 582 H. he came again to Lahore and plundered the surrounding country, and having provided Husain with the means of fortifying and holding Siálkot retraced his steps, and from *Tárikh-i Nizámí* which is the original source of this selection we gather that the building of Siálkot took place in this year, in contradiction to the *Mubárahsháhí*² from which we learn that the building of Siálkot was two years earlier. God knows the truth. And inasmuch as the house of history is, like the house of dreams and other things of that sort, ruinous, apologies must be made for discrepancies, and in that year *Khusrau* Malik with the assistance of the *Khukhars*³ and other tribes, besieged the fort of Siálkot for a long time, but had to return without attaining his object. In this year also Muizzu-d-Din again besieged *Khusrau* Shah in Lahore, who after striving for some days, found himself

Gasnawí . La petite rivière d'Ayek coule le long de cette forteresse au couchant" Firsihta states that Muizzu d Din founded the fort of Siálkot which lies between the Chenab and Ravi and left Husain *Kharmil* as governor, in the year 580 H (1184 A D)

¹ Cf Raverty 452 note 2 See also Tieffenthaler, I 121 Tatta est tres ancienne . on la nomme aujourd'hui Dobil Tatta is not the same as Debal which lies between it and Karachi See Abul Feda, (Reinard) I. cccxxxvi

The position of Debal Judging by the map given in Tieffenthaler Debal lay between Karachi and Tatta at a distance of 30 miles from the former and seventy from the latter, almost due East from Karachi and N W. of Tatta It lay at a distance of about 20 miles from the sea on one of the large arms into which the Mehran (Indus) divided in those days, but which to judge from modern maps have now disappeared or much diminished in size It also lay a short distance to the North of Lari Bunder which was at the head of an arm of the sea which had evidently in former times been an arm of the Indus also, at a distance of about ten miles to the South, the arm of the river joining the sea from Debal lay some six miles or so to the westward

This position tallies with that of the ruined city mentioned by Ibn Batuta, Paris Edition III 112, 113, 114, a translation of the description of which is given in Cunningham's *Anc Geog* p 299, 300

² By Yahyá ibn Ahmad ibn Abdullah Sirhindí Elliott, IV 6

³ The *Khukhars* This seems to be the same tribe as the Gakkhars, of *Ain-i Akbarí* (Bl) Vol I 456 note 1, and Vol II (J) 383 note 1, but see also Raverty (455 note 4), who asserts that the two tribes are quite distinct

unequal to the task, and yielded to the Sultán who conveyed him to Ghaznín and sent him to his brother Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín at Firoza Koh. Ghiyásu-d-Dín imprisoned him in one of the fortresses of Ghurjistán, where he died a prisoner, and the plain of Empire once for all passed to the dynasty of Ghor without the thorn of a partner or rival, as has been already mentioned.

QITA'II.

If you saddle the piebald horse of Circumstance,
 and if the white horse of state leads thee beside him,
 And if the garden of your pleasure in happiness
 copies fair the past memories of Paradise,
 Be not proud, for this mean time will unexpectedly
 draw its pen through the writing of your fortune.
 Time is like a wind, which at the first
 draws from the cheek of the rose the veil with all respect,
 Then after a week has passed in the midst of the garden,
 drags its body with ignominy to the dust.
 The world at one time brings forward by turn in the
 narrow course, the horses of honour and disgrace.
 The crafty fowler gives the bird grain, and then draws it
 into the noose of his artfully laid snare.
 One man who has lost all hope, gains honour,
 Another who is always hopeful in spite of all is disgraced.
 Strange is it if a man who has walked in the shadow of
 poverty should court a favour from the sun ?
 Be content, if you have a portion of wisdom,
 that the ignorant should be oppressed by the foolish
 What of that man who, in the assembly of mirth and merri-
 ment quaffs the wine of pleasure from the cup of
 luxuriousness ?
 What of him who sitting behind the wall of sorrow suffers
 from the after effects of sorrow and the worry of
 toil ?
 At last the hand of fate takes both of them straight off to
 the brink of the pit of death.
 Happy is the brave hearted man who like Sharaf draws the
 foot of fidelity beneath the skirt of retirement.

And in this year Sultan Muizzu d Din left Alī Kirmaj¹ who was governor of Multan, as his Vicegerent in Lahore, and in the year 587 H coming from Ghaznīn he reduced the fort of Tabarhindah² which was the capital of the great rajas of Hindustan, and left Malik Zian d Din Tukilī³ with a *corps d'elite* consisting of one thousand two hundred cavalry soldiers, and was contemplating a return. In the meantime Rai Pathurī the Governor of Ajmir, and Khandī Rai his brother who had been Governor of Dehli before Pathurī, arrived with a vast army at a place called Tarayan⁴ on the banks of the river Sarsuti at a distance of seven *krohs*⁵ from Thanesar. It is now known by the name of Tarawarī⁴ and is distant forty *krohs*⁵ from Dehli. A great conflict ensued with the Sultan and the Muslim troops were defeated. The Sultan evinced great bravery on the field of battle, and in that engagement also Khandī Rai who was mounted on an elephant at the head of his army, received a spear thrust in his mouth from the hand of the Sultan. The Sultan also was struck on the head by the Rai's spear, and his arm was also wounded but both escaped in safety. The Sultan got off his horse and taking up his son Khilji upon his horse and mounting behind him took him off the field, the Sultan proceeded to Ghaznīn, and Rai Pathura took the fortress of Tabarhindah from Ziau-d Din Tukilī on peaceable terms after a

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¹ *Tabaqat* : *Naşiri* says Alī Karmakh Firishta Alī Kirmaj

MS (A) علی کرمج MS (B) علی کرمج

² Both MSS A and B have تهرندہ Jarrott (*Al* : *Albari* trans III 360 note 2) says he is not able to determine the position of Tabarhindah and Raverty (*Tabaqat* : *Naşiri* p 457 note 3) thinks Tabarhindah is a copyist's error for Bathindah apparently relying on the *Lubbu t Tauarikh* : *Hind*. From Rennell's map in Tieffenthaler it would appear that the situation of the fortress of Tiberhind which is there marked though not described in the text, was about half way between Bikanir and Jhunjhnu in Rajputana that is to say about 100 miles north of Ajmir.

See also Raverty 458 note 3

³ Malik Zian d Din Tulakī (*Tabaqat* : *Naşiri*) Raverty p 457 note 3

⁴ MSS (A) and (B) read نراس See Raverty, *Tabaqat* : *Naşiri* 459 note 7. Tieffenthaler mentions this place calling it Narain but it is not to be found in the map he gives see Vol I p 155

It is placed by Cunningham (map facing p 327) S E of Thanesar

⁵ The *کروہ* *Shr* *श्रोत्र* *krosh* is equivalent to about two miles

See also *Atin* : *Albari* (J) n. p 116 note 2 and 414 note 2 Cunn Geog of A I, App B p 571 See also *Tarikh* : *Rashidi* Elias and Ross p 424 note 1

siege of one year and one month. And in the year 588 H. the Sultán again came into Hindustán with a large and brave army of 40,000 cavalry, and divided his forces into four army corps, and having given battle time after time in the place above mentioned gained a victory. Pathúrá was taken prisoner and Khandí Rái having been overcome in battle was killed and hasted to his resting-place in Hell. The Sultán then having reduced the fortresses of Sarsuti¹ and Hánsí proceeded to Ajmír the capital of Pathúrá, reduced it and plundered its environs killing and taking prisoners. From certain other sources we learn that Hazrat Khwájá Mu'innu-d-Dín Chishtí² may God sanctify his heart, that revered one who is the fountain head of the great and holy men and the dignified elders of the land of Hind, whose blessed tomb is a place of pilgrimage situated in Ajmír, was at that time in the company of the Sultán, and this victory occurred through the impulse of the blessed and divine soul of that pillar of holiness. And in this year leaving Sultán Malik Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak who was his servant and adopted son and vicegerent in the town of Kúhrám which is distant seventy *krohs* from Dehli, he invaded and plundered the Siwálik range which lies to the North of Hindustán, and proceeded to Ghaznín. In the same year too Qutbu-d-Dín having captured Dehli took it away from the kinsmen of Pathúrá and Khandí Rái. Then in the year 589 H. (1193 A. D.) Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín fought with Rái Jai Chand the governor of Qanauj, on the confines of Chandwár³ and Atáwah,³ killed him and went to Ghaznín. The fort of Kol⁴ fell into the hands of Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak, and he made Dehli his capital and brought its surrounding districts under his sway. From that date Dehli once more became the metropolis of the Sultáns. The erection of minarets and other buildings of that kind, such as mosques, was

¹ The country south of the Himálaya between the Sutlej and Ganges as far south as Hánsí. (Raverty).

² Khwájah Mu'innu-d-Dín Hasan Chishtí was the son of Ghiyásu-d-Dín Hasan born in A. H. 537 in the village of Sijz of the province of Sijistán.

He died in A. H. 633 and is buried near Ajmír.

³ Tieffenthaler I. 166 mentions Atáva and Chanouá as belonging to the Serkár of Agra. (See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) also p. 470 note 1).

⁴ Cól—ville munie d'une forteresse qu'on appelle Sábetghar et Ramghar. Tieff. I. 200, in the province of Agra 40 miles North of Agra.

commenced in the reign of Sultan Shamsu d Din Altamash¹ in the year 606 H, as will be related, if God (may He be exalted) so will it, in its own place And in the year 591 H, he took the fort of Bhingar² and Badaon And in the year 593 H he conquered Gujerat and took his army to Nahrwal which is known as Pattan,³ and having taken vengeance for the Sultan on Bhim Rai Dev and having taken much spoil returned, and in that year Sultan Ghiyasu d Din removed his effects from the transitory world to the eternal abode,⁴ and Sultan Muizzu d Din having heard this news when on the confines of Tus and Sarakhs,⁵ turned towards Badghis and performed the duties of the mourning ceremonies and having divided his brother's dominions among his kindred⁶ came to Ghaznin and brought an army against Khwarazm, and on the first occasion Sultan Muhammad Khwarazm Shah suffered defeat, and the Sultan pursued him and fought the Khwarazmians at the head of an aqueduct which they had dug from the eastern bank of the Jaihun and a number of the noted generals of Ghor were martyred and he could not take Khwárāzm he also fought a great battle with an army of Khitai⁷ kings of Turkistan who had come to the help of Sultan Muhammad,⁷ on the banks of the river Jaihun—he fought right bravely but at last was defeated, and being left with a hundred thousand cavalry soldiers he entered the fortress of Andl^hud where he entrenched himself, and 52

¹ Sultan Ul Muazzam Shamsu d Dunya wau d Din Abul Muzaffar Iyal Timish the 1st of the Shamsiyah Sultans See Raverty 597 note 4

² MS (A) تهنكر Thankar but it should be تهنكر apparently as in Tieffenthaler we find Banghar described as un Fort triangulaire construit de terre par ordre d'un prince Indou nommé Harcaran Banghar est à 30 milles d Aunla à 40 de Bareli et à 8 de la rive alterieure du Gange

Buddon ville ancienne elle à une forteresse au dehors de laquelle sont des maisons Elle est à 20 milles de Bareli à 10 d Aunla et à 5 de Banghar

Budaon was the birthplace of the famous Nizamu d Din Auliya called Al Bahhaq or the controversialist and Mahfil shikan the assembly router

³ 20 miles from Radhanpur 40 miles from Guzerat to the N W Tieff I 385 See also Bayley Hist of Gujerat 25 & Abul Feda (Reinaud) II n 117 Ain i Akbari (J) II 262 and III 59

⁴ He died at Herat

⁵ See Raverty (Tabaqat i Nasiri) 257 note 2 and 471 text and note 5

⁶ The details of this partition are given in the Tabaqat i Nasiri (Rav p 472)

⁷ Sultan Muhammad Khwárāzm Sháh applied to Gú khan of Qara Khujá for assistance See Raverty (Tabaqat i Nasiri) 473 note 2

having asked for quarter¹ returned to Ghaznín; and at that time the tribe of the Khúkhars in the neighbourhood of Lahore shewed symptoms of revolting the Sultán accordingly brought an army against them, and also summoned Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak from Dehlí, and having given the Khúkhars a severe lesson returned to Ghaznín, and while on the way back was martyred at Damyák,² which is the name of a village of the dependencies of Ghaznín, at the hands of Khúkhar bandits—the following *qitá'h* has been written to chronicle this event³:—

The martyrdom of the king of sea and land Shihábu-d-Dín,
Whose like has never yet been seen since the world began,
On the third day from the first of Sha'bán, in the year 602
Happened in the road to Ghaznín at the stage Damyák.

The days of his reign from the commencement of the rule of Ghaznín to the end of his life were thirty and two years and some months, and he left no heir save one daughter, but he left behind him much treasure of gold and silver and precious stones, among these latter were five hundred *mans*⁴ of diamonds jewels of great value, besides cash and estates and other property the value of which we may estimate on the same scale. He made expeditions to Hindústán nine times, twice was defeated and seven times was victorious.

Thou didst see Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám, who in war
Was stronger in heart and hand than Sám and Narímán
He obtained, like Maḥmúd, from the elephants of Hindústán
Governments of Sásán and many kingdoms of Sámán

¹ For an account of the incidents here briefly referred to see Raverty (*Ṭabaqát-i-Nāṣirí*) 478 note 6.

² A village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznín. Its exact situation is a matter of some uncertainty. Firishṭa (Bombay text) has رشتك! Rohtak

³ No author that I have seen records the name of the author. The *Ṭabaqát-i-Nāṣirí* attributes it to "one of the learned men of that period."

⁴ The Tabriz *man* must be meant, being somewhat less than 2 lbs. while the *man* of Hindustán varies from 40 to 80 lbs. (Raverty).

The *Aín-i-Akbarí* makes no mention of the *man* as a weight unit for jewels.

Two *sérs* are equal to half a *man*. As the *sér* was nearly two pounds this would make the *man* equal to eight pounds nearly. (See *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II. 366 note 4).

The *Ṭabaqát-i-Nāṣirí* says 1500 *mans* of diamonds.

He departed this world, and they say (the writer vouches for it)

That there remained of his secret treasure 500 mans of diamonds.

And in his reign many learned doctors and scientists and poets flourished, of whom was Imám Fakhr-d-Din Rázi ¹ *may God be merciful to him* who wrote the *Lafáif-i-Ghiyáti* and other books in honour of his brother Sultán Ghiyáth-d-Din Abú-l-Fath. He remained with the army of Sultán Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sâm, and every week used to stand up to preach, and at the termination of his sermon the Sultán used to evince great emotion, and since the Imám got very wearied of this continual coming and going, and everlasting service, one day addressing the Sultán from the pulpit he said Oh ! Sultán Muizzu-d-Din, some time hence neither will this greatness and glory of yours remain nor the flattery and hypocrisy of Rázi : The following *qita'a* is by him :

If an enemy does not agree with you O friend
If behoves you to agree with your enemy,
If not, then have patience for a few days
He will not remain, nor will you, nor the pride of Rázi.

And after the assassination of the Sultán certain mischief-makers out of envy accused the Imám of having conspired with the Fidáis, ² and asserted that the Imám was well aware of their

¹ Abú Abdulláh Muḥammad Ibn Omar Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Alí al-Jamí al-Bakrī at Tabarestání Ar-Rázi (native of Rái in Tabaristán) was a doctor of the Sháfíte sect, he was born at Rái A. H. 544 (A. D. 1160) and died at Herát A. H. 606 (A. D. 1210). (Ibn Khalliqán) See D'Herbelot art Rázi. See also *Majma'ul Fusahá* I p. 374, where he is called Al Qurashí at Tamímí, Ibn Khalliqán does not mention the *Lafáif-i-Ghiyáti* among Ar-Rázi's works, while on the other hand Hájí Khalífa gives a work of this name but does not mention the author. His reference to it is as follows "1124 El-Letáif El-Ghiyáthiyeh, subtitulates Ghiyáth ed-Din Liber persicus in quatuor partes divisus, quarum prima de principis religionis, secunda de jurisprudentiâ, tertia de ethicâ, quarta de precatatione agit."

² The term Fidái is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Muláhidah heretics, at whose hands Muizzu d Din met his death according to the express statement of the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. (See Raverty 485 note 3) This attempt to implicate Razi in the responsibility for the murder is recorded also in the *Jam'at Tanarikh*, and the *Toju l-Maasar*. See Elliott II p. 236

hypocrisy. They made an attempt upon the Imám and he fled for refuge to Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí¹ who was one of the distinguished generals of the Sultán; he despatched him in safety to a place of security. A poet has written an ode in praise of him of which the following are two couplets.

Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Sháh Ghází whose sword in the world
has become like the famous Zulfiqár² of Alí Murtazá.

The true Sultán Muḥammad Sám, he whose love for
the people is like the Sun of the friendship of Mustafá.

¹ *Ṭabaqát-i-Nāṣiri* states that he held the office of Vazír, and was put to death by the Turkish Maliks and Amírs of Ghaznín, together with Malik Nāṣiru-d-Dín Husain the Amír-i-Shikár.

² *Zúl Fiqár*. The following is extracted from Ibn Khalliqán (Slane) Vol. IV. p. 220.

"It is related that Hárún ar Rashíd on sending Yazíd ibn Mazyad against Al Walíd gave him Zúl Fakár the sword which had belonged to the Prophet "Take it, Yazíd, by it you will be victorious." To this Musím Ibn al-Walíd alludes in the following verse of a *kasída* composed by him in praise of Yazíd:

'You caused the Prophet's sword to recollect his way of acting and the bravery displayed by the first (Musulmán) who ever prayed and fasted.'

By these last words he meant Alí the son of Abú Talib for he was the person who dealt blows with it."

Lower down, quoting as his authority Hishám ibn al Kalbi, Ibn Khalliqán states that Zúl Fiqár belonged to Al-Aási son of Nabíh, both of whom were killed in the battle of Badr; Al-Aási being slain by 'Alí who took the famous sword from him—and he continues "Another author says that *Zúl Faqár* was given to 'Ali by the Prophet." I must observe that *faqár* with an *a* after the *f* is the plural of *Faqára* which means a vertebra of the back. The name of this sword is also pronounced *Zúl Fiqár* the word *fiqár* is the plural of *fiqra* (Vertebra).

At Tabarí states that *Zúl fiqár* came into the possession of Hárún ar Rashíd in the following manner:

"Zul fiqár was borne by Muḥammad Ibn Abd Allah ibn al Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn Alí ibn Abí Ṭálíb on the day in which battle was given to the army of Abú Ja'far al-Manşúr the Abbaside; when he felt death to be near he gave *Zúl fiqár* to a merchant who had followed him, and to whom he owed four hundred dínárs 'Take this sword,' said he, 'any member of the Abú Ṭálíb family whom you may meet with will buy it from you and give you the sum to which you are entitled. The sword remained with the merchant till the Abbaside prince Ja'far the son of Sulaimán ibn Alí ibn Abd Allah ibn al Abbás ibn Abd-al-Muṭṭalib obtained the governments of Yemen and

Another poet says —

The Emperor of the age, Khusrau Ghazi Muizzu d Din
From whom the glory of crown and diadem gains increase,
The origin of victory, Muhammad ibn Sam ibn Husain
His very presence has become the mark for princely glory ¹

And Nazukī Maraghāi too says in praise of him —

Shah Muizzu d Din before whose princely might
The heaven stands girt like a bunch of flowers
He came to the throne like a rose at the time when
The heaven brought the Sun into the Balance ²

Medina, and he purchased it from the merchant for four hundred dinars
From him it passed to al Mahdī the Son of Al Maṣṣur (Kī alifāh from 775
A H to 785 A H) from him to Musa al Hadī and from Musa to his brother
Harūn ar Rashīd

Al Asmaī relates that he saw Harūn ar Rashīd at Tus wearing a sword
and that he said Asmaī would you like to see Zulfīqar and on Asmaī
expressing a wish to see it Harūn ar Rashīd bade him draw the sword—on
doing so he found on it eighteen *faqaras*—The word *faqāra* is said in a note
to the above to designate a sort of waving ornament on the blade or else
a notch on its edge It is doubtful which is meant probably the latter

The word Zulfīqar meaning *vertebrated* I think it quite possible that the sword
in question was so called from its strength and pliability the vertebral column
being the type of the combination of these two somewhat incompatible
elements

¹ MS (A) has مرسله را MS (B) agrees with the text

² : ε In the time of year (autumn) when the Sun was in the sign of Libra
(مذراع)

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|----------|----------------------|----------------|
| The sun enters | Gemini | Taurus | Aries (Spring) | 21st March |
| | حور | ثور | حمل | |
| | Virgo | Leo | Cancer (Summer) | 21st June |
| | مذراع | اسد | سرطان | |
| | Sagittarius | Scorpio | Libra (Autumn) | 21st September |
| | قوس | عقرب | مذراع | |
| | Pisces | Aquarius | Capricornus (Winter) | 21st December |
| | حوت | دلو | حدي | |

The sign Libra was a later addition to the Zodiac It was known to the
earlier Greek astronomers as χηλαί of Virg Georg I 33

Hè in the fire of whose wrath evil doers
 Give up their sweet lives like sugarcane.
 The sugar of religion and the rose of sovereignty
 The revolving sphere has mixed together ;
 Oh Lord ! let this conserve of religion and sovereignty
 Be the cause of health to the whole world.

And Qāzi Hamíd¹ of Balkh says :

Ghāzī Muizzu-d-Dín wad-Dunyá with whom
 On the day of battle victory marches with his auspicious
 standard,

Qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentes Panditur.

Subsequently it was called *Zυγός* (the yoke) by the Latins *Jugum* and was first formally called *Libra* in the Calendar of Julius Cæsar. This name seems to have been derived from the East, and must be regarded as a symbol of equality introduced into the heavens at the period when the entrance of the sun into that constellation marked the Autumnal Equinox. "In the commentary of Theon on the *Almagest* *Libra* is frequently represented by *λίτρα* (a pound) or *λίτραι*, a word originally borrowed by the Romans from the Sicilians, transformed into *Libra* and then restored to the later Greeks in the new sense of a balance." See Smith's (D. G. R. A.) p. 151, also *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) III. p. 13 and notes. Also Albirúní (Sachau) p. 173, where a table is given of the signs in seven languages. Sir William Jones (Jones' Works Vol. I. p. 334) leans to the opinion that "both Greeks and Hindus received their divisions of the Zodiac from an older nation" and there can be little doubt that this was the case; the almost absolute identity of the nomenclature in Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit points to a pictorial rather than to a verbal original, the more so as in the case of a pictorial symbol of ambiguous shape it was possible for the name to differ in different languages. Thus we know that the sign *Libra* was first known as *χηλαί* to the Greeks from its resemblance to the claws of a scorpion, then this name was changed to *ζυγός* from the resemblance to a yoke, and finally called *Libra* a balance.

The same pictorial idea is applicable to all three words, and it is more than probable that we must look, for the origin of the Zodiac, to the same source whence we trace the origin of our Alphabet.

See also Albirúní [Sachau (Trübner)] Vol. I. p. 219.

1 Fakhr-u-l-Ulamá wa Zínu-l-Fuzalá Hamidu-d-Dín Umar ibn Maḥmúd Balkhí, a celebrated writer whose *Maqámát* called forth the praise of the poet Anwari. He was the author of several works written in a style of great and studied elegance. He was an accomplished poet. Several of his works are mentioned by name. See *Majma'ul Fusahá* I. 197.

Sultán from East to West, Monarch from West to East
Maḥmúd ibn Muḥammad ibn Sám ibn Ḥusain.

having sent to Malik Qutbu-d-Dín from Fíroza Koh the canopy and insignia of royalty, addressed him by the title of Sultán,¹ and in the year 602 H. (1295 A.D.) having come from Dehlí to Láhore on Tuesday, the sixteenth of the month of ZuQa'dah in the aforesaid year, ascended the throne of empire and became proverbial for his kindness and clemency. He used to bestow upon deserving recipients rewards far in excess of their anticipations, and inaugurated his custom of *lak bakhshi* (bestowing laks). One of the learned men of the time named Baháu-d-Dín Ushí² said in praise of him.

Quatrain.

Oh thou that hast brought into the world the bestowal of
laks ;

Thy hand has brought the mine into great straits ;

From envy of thy liberality the heart of the mine has
seized blood drops,

And placed them forward pretending that they are rubies.

56. And after some time enmity arose between him and Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who was one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Dín and had read the *Khutba* in his own name in *Ghaznín*, on account of Láhore, and the fire of war and conflict blazed forth on the confines of the Punjáb; Táju-d-Dín was defeated, and went to Kirmán which was his usual abode. Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín went and took possession of the fort of *Ghaznín* and staying there for a period of forty days, spent his time in rioting and wantonness and dissipation. Accordingly the people of *Ghaznín* were annoyed at his behaviour and secretly summoned Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who arrived without warning, and Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín not being able to oppose him came to Láhore by way of Sang Surákh³

¹ He appears to have already possessed the title of Sultán (see note 3 page 77).

² Baháu-d-Dín Muḥammad Ushí Farghání was a very famous preacher and learned divine, very famous according to Ufí as an extempore speaker, and an extremely able poetry and prose writer. (*Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá*, I. 172).

³ One of the routes between *Ghaznín* and the Punjab, for he did not dare to take that through Kirmán (Raverty, 527, note). The *Ṭabaqát-i-Násirí* omits all reference to this, and merely mentions Qutbu-d-Dín's death without saying where his fatal accident happened. As to the exact date of his death, see Raverty 528, note 2.

Verse

When the head of a Sultan becomes unsteady from wine
Without warning the crown of Empire falls from his head

And after wielding power for some time he fell from his horse when playing *chaugán* at Láhore in the year 607 H., and died¹ and was buried in that city and his tomb is at present the resort of pilgrims. The period of his reign after the conquest of Hindustán, was twenty years, out of which period he was for four years a Sultan.

This ancient revolving heaven has overthrown many heroes,
So far as you are able, place no reliance on the sun and moon and Jupiter.²

Seven other individuals of the generals and slaves of Sultan Muizzu-d-Din reached princely power in Hindustan and Ghaznin and Bengála and other places, whose affairs are written in their proper places, among others Taju d-Din Yalduz on the confines of Taráyan, otherwise known as Tarawari, having fought with Sultan Shamsu d-Din Ijaltamish was taken prisoner. Another is Saltán Nasiru d-Din Qabácha³ who is also one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Din, and had married one of the daughters of Taju-d-Din Yaldúz, the other daughter was married to Sultan Qutbu d-

1 قالب تهی ساخت Literally, emptied the mould (in which he was cast). The word قالب though Arabic in appearance is not really so. It is in reality the Persian word قالب (cf. قالب) in an Arab dress.

The game of *chaugan* is the origin of the modern game of "polo" the *chaugán* چوگان called in Arabic صولجان *Saulaydn* is a name applied to a stick with a curved extremity. Curling locks are called چوگل سنبل. A pony which is fit for the game of چوگان is called چوگانی (Burhan-i Qasí).

² In the 'Ajáibu l Makhhlqát of Qazwini we find that the astrologers considered the sun as holding the place of king, and the stars are his courtiers and troops. The moon is his Vazir and Jupiter the Qazí. The planet is considered to be a very fortunate one by astrologers who called it سعد اكبر. The moon is also lucky so much so that everything lucky was called by the Hindus Somagraha, Soma being the Sanskrit word for moon. The sun was called 'Aditya', i.e., the beginning as being the origin of all things. See Albiruni (Sachau) I 217 and seqq.

³ Who on the death of Qutbu d-Din proceeded to usurp Uchh and Multán according to Raverty (530 note 6). The *Tubaqát i Nasirí* states that Náşiru d-Din Qabácha married two of the daughters of Qutbu d-Din. (See note 4, p 529) (note 2 p 532)

Din and Sultán Muizzu-d-Din during his lifetime had bestowed upon him the governorship of Uchh and Multán. After the death of Sultán Qutbu-d-Din, he brought the whole country from Uchh¹ to Sarsuti and Kuhram under his own rule, and also took possession of Lahore, and having fought with the army of Malik Táju-d-Din who was on his way from Ghaznín, Khwája Mu'aiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí² being in command of that army, was defeated and went to Sindh in which country he obtained great ascendancy.

37. In the year 611 H. (1214 A. D.) a Moghul army arrived and laid siege to Multán for forty days and the Sultán Náşiru-d-Din, having opened the doors of the treasury, evinced great bravery and warded off their attacks, and at last after a reign of twenty-two years fell a prisoner into the hands of Sultán Shamsu-d-Din and trod the way to the next world.³ Another is Malik Baháu-d-Din Tughral, when Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sâm reduced the fortress of Bahankar⁴ he entrusted the command of it to Malik Baháu-d-Din Tughral, and he having built a fortress in the country of Bhasiyána⁵ elected to reside there⁶ and used continually to

¹ 70 miles south-west of Multán. For the situation of Uchh, see Cunn. A. G. I., p. 242.

Tieffenthaler says that under this name are comprised seven villages the chief of which contains the tomb of Syud Bukhári. Tieff. I. 118. In Rennell's map, Vol. III. Surusty is shewn as in Long. 74°5' Lat. 28°5', Koram Long. 75°4' Lat. 29°4'.

² See note 1 page 74.

³ In the year 612 H. according to the *Táju-l-Maásir*, but from the text it appears to have been in 610 H. or early in 611 H.

According to *Tabaqát-i-Náşirí* he was drowned while trying to escape. See Raverty 542-543, notes. cf. Elliott II. 304.

⁴ Both MSS., but according to *Tabaqát-i-Náşirí* and Alfí the name of the fort was Thankír or Thangir. (See however Raverty 544 note 1).

⁵ MS. (B) has Bhasiyána, MS. (A) has Bhayána. *Tabaqát-i-Náşirí* says "the fortress of Thankír which is in the territory of Bhiána." This fortress he built was called Sultán Kot (*Tabaqát-i-Náşirí*).

Tieffenthaler mentions a place which he calls Beána and says, concerning it, *Beána* était autrefois une ville bien peuplée, aujourd'hui le nombre de ses habitants est fort diminué, après que le Rajáh Indou en a chassé, il n'y a que peu d'années, les Mahometans, Afgans, et Saïdes, qui se vantent de descendre de la race d'Alí. Elle est au pied des montagnes, à 14 milles communs de *Fatepour* au Sud-Ouest.

He mentions no fortress named Thankír or Bahankar nor does he mention Sultán Kot.

⁶ Cf. *Tabaqát-i-Náşirí* where this fort is called Sultánkot.

harass the environs of Gwalior, and Sultán Muizzu d Din at the time of his return from Gwalior had promised to give that fortress to Malik Baháu d Din who accordingly strongly fortified a position at a distance of two *rohs* from Gwalior and harassed the garrison of the fort, so that after a year the garrison sending messengers and presents invited Sultán Qutbu d-Din and surrendered the fort to him. On this account enmity arose between Malik Qutbu-d-Din and Bahau d-Din. Malik Baháu d-Din died a short time afterwards ¹

Another is Malik Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Ghūrī ² He was one of the great men of Ghur and Garmsir, a man adorned with all good qualities who came to Ghaznin in the reign of Sultán Muizzu d Din and from thence went to Hindustan. He did not approve of having to live in Láhore with Sultan Qutbu d Din, and joined hands with Malik Husaynu d Din Ughal Beg ³ ruler of the country between the two rivers (The Doab) and the country beyond the river Ganges, and Kanpilah and Patiala ⁴ were allotted as his reward. He proceeded to Oudh and conquered that coun-

¹ No date is given of these events

² Called also Muḥammad Bakhtyar Khilji: the first to lead a Musalmán invasion of Bengal in 596 A H. He belonged to the Khilji tribe of Ghūr, a Turkish tribe. Regarding him the *Ain-i-Akbari* states that the astrologers had predicted the overthrow of the kingdom of Nadiya by Muḥammad Bakhtyar Khilji. He destroyed the city of Nadiya (in 1203 A D, 600 A H) and transferred the Capital to Lakhnauti. From that time Bengal has been subject to the kings of Delhi. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II 148

He was a nephew of Muḥammad son of Mahmud. (See *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* 549) Raverty denies his having ever been a slave but from the statement in the text there seems to be no doubt that the author so regarded him. (See Raverty, p 550 note 6)

Maliku l Muazzam Husaynu d Din Ughal Beg held in fief a considerable tract of country in the Doab independently of Qutbu d Din

³ See Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* 550 note 6

⁴ MSS (A.) and (B) کنپلہ Kanpila MS (A) پٹیالہ Patali MS (B) پٹیالہ Patali Raverty p 550 note 6, says Patali پٹیالہ (Lat 25° Long 82° 54') and Kuntilah کنڈلا [Lat 25° 7' Long 82° 35'] the Kuntil of the Indian Atlas

See the note above for a discussion of the question

In the text کنڈلا is evidently a copyist's error for کنپلہ

try, reduced Behár and Munér,¹ and having taking large booty Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín sent him royal honours and a banner of Sultánship. He then brought many presents to the court of the Sultán, and received great favours and distinctions; the grandees of the court seeing they were powerless against him, became envious of him, and instigated the Sultán to such an extent that one day he made him fight with a rogue elephant,² but he struck the elephant so hard upon the trunk with a heavy club that the elephant turned and fled. The Sultán was overwhelmed with astonishment to see this, and nominated and appointed him ruler of the whole country of Lakhnautí³ in Bengála and sent him away. In the second year after this arrangement Muḥammad Bakhtyár brought an army from Behár towards Lakhnautí and arrived at the town of Núdiyá⁴ with a small force, Núdiyá is now in ruins. Rái Lakḥmīa (Lakminía⁵) the governor of that

¹ *Manér* ville assez distinguée située sur la rive citérieure (du Gange) à 4 milles ouest de Scherpour—(qui est à 6 milles, de Patna) l'embouchure du Son (Soano) se trouve entre Manér à l'ouest et Scherpour à l'est. Le Son se jette dans le Gange $\frac{3}{4}$ de cosse avant Manér. Tieff. I. 423 note (a).

Behár the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadh is situated on the Pancháná river. Tieffenthaler describes it thus "Une grande ville moins peuplée aujourd'hui qu'elle ne l'a été, remarquable par des tombeaux magnifiques de Mahométans (Shaikh Sharafuddín Munírí is buried there).

Elle a été la capitale autrefois de la province. Sa distance de Patna en ligne droite est de 17 milles."

See *Hunter Gazetteer of India*.

² On the occasion of a public audience held by Qutbu-d-Dín in the Qasr-i-Safed.

³ The ancient capital city of Bengal called originally Lakshmanáwati, and possibly also Gaur. Called Jannatábad by the Emperor Humáyún. See *Ain-i-Akbarí* II. (Jarrett) 122, 131 also Imp. Gaz, art Gaur. See also Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* 559 note 2.

⁴ Both MSS. نودیآ Núdiyá. Also *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí*. See Imp. Gaz. Nadiya, Nadiya or Nabadwíp is on the west bank of the Bhágíráthí, it was founded by Lakshman Sen son of Ballál Sen King of Bengal who is said to have left Gaur for Nadiyá owing to the superior sanctity of the Bhágíráthí at Nadiyá. The name was called Núdiá until the time of Aurangzeb—

See Raverty *op cit* 559 note 2.

⁵ *Ain-i-Akbarí* II, (Jarrett) 148. *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, 555.

town who had heard from astrologers¹ the fame of Muhammad Bakhtyar and his great power, fled thence to Kamran, and property and booty beyond computation fell into the hands of the Muslims, and Muhammad Bakhtyar having destroyed the place of worship and idol temples of the infidels founded Mosques and Monasteries and schools and caused a metropolis to be built called by his own name, which now has the name of Gaur²

VERSE

There where was heard before the clamour and uproar of
heathen

Now there is heard resounding the shout of "Allaho akbar"

And after having the *Khutbah* read and the currency struck in his name,³ having collected a large body of men, under the command of Amir Ali Masij⁴ (Mich) he attempted to conquer the countries of Tibet and Turkestan and twelve thousand cavalry fully armed and equipped arrived at a city which they call Bardhan⁵ A river

¹ For an account of the birth of Lakhmaniya see *Tabaqat i Akbari* which relates that in order to delay the birth for two hours his mother caused her self to be suspended head downwards with her legs bound together till the auspicious moment predicted by the astrologers to ensure his reigning for eighty years arrived immediately after delivery of her child the mother died (see also Raverty *Tabaqat i Nasiri*, p. 555)

² There is no authority for the statement that Gaur was ever known by the name of Muhammad Bakhtyar Concerning the name Gaur see Hunter *Imp Gaz Gaur*

³ The recitation of the *Khutba* or public prayer in the name of the new Sovereign and the issue of coins bearing his name was regarded by Muhammadan nations as constituting actual accession to the throne and the statement is probably incorrect

As to this passage see Paverty 559 note 3 See Thomas Pathan Kings of Dehli p. 37 and p. 110 and notes It appears unlikely that Muhammad Bakhtyar issued coins in his own name as he was nothing more than Sipahsalar of the Sultan Muizzu d Din Muhammad Sam moreover no such coins are known

⁴ A chief of the tribes of Kunch and Miy called Ali Miy (*Tabaqat i Nasiri*) tribes between Tibet and Lakhnauti

⁵ Regarding this the *Tabaqat i Nasiri* says that a chief of one of the

here crossed their route called the Brahmaputr,¹ which they also call Brahmkadi. It is three or four times the size of the Ganges. Sháh Garshasp² when he came to Hindustán built a bridge over that river, and crossed it at Kámruđ and went on his way. Muḥammad Bakhtiyár crossed by that bridge, and leaving certain of his trusted generals to protect the bridge and command the road, entered the territory of Tibet, and spent ten days among the mountains and difficult roads, and at last arrived at a plain in

mountain tribes between Lakhnautí and Tibbat the Kúch-Mij-and Tiháru who are all of Turkish countenance (همه ترك چیره اند) and speak a language differing both from that of India and that of Tibbat, adopted the religion of Islám and agreed to act as guide to Muḥammad Bakhtiyár whom he conducted to a place where there is a city called Mardhan Koṭ (or Bardhan koṭ) ... in front of which flows a vast river called the Bang Matí and when it enters the country of Hindustán they style it Samundar in the Hindí dialect; in magnitude, width, and depth it is three times the size of the Ganges.

From this point the account differs, the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* says that they journeyed up the river for ten days among the mountains till they came to an old bridge built of hewn stone, &c.

Our text on the other hand states that they crossed the old bridge immediately on reaching the river after which they journeyed for ten days in the mountains, &c.

Badáoní's statement has more *prima facie* probability, the statements of the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* moreover are somewhat confused and contradictory. Neither author mentions how long the cavalry force took to reach Bardhan.

It seems fairly certain from Badáoní's account that the city of Bardhan was on the near side of the river and that the crossing of the river was impracticable at that point, how far it was from Kámruđ, where Badáoní says they crossed by the bridge; does not appear.

MS. (A) ابردين Abardín; MS. (B) ابردهن Abardhan.

Tabaqát-i-Násiri says Bardhan (Raverty 561 note 8). Calcutta text has مردھن کوٹ.

¹ *Tabaqát* calls this river the Beg-Matí (see Raverty 561 note 1.)

For a full discussion of the identity of the river crossed and the place of crossing see Raverty pp 561-565. The only additional information given by the text is that the bridge was at Kámruđ, and it seems not impossible that it may be the bridge of Sil Hako and the river the Brahmaputra though Raverty thinks it was the Teesta.

² See Raverty p. 561 note 9 and *Ain-i-Akbari* III. (Jarrett) 328 note 4.

which was a fort of great strength: the garrison of that fort who were descendants of Gushtasp (that fort too was one of the buildings erected by Gushtasp) came forth to fight, and fought so bravely till nightfall that many men were lost on the side of Muḥammad Bakhtyār. He pitched his camp on that very spot, and coming down received tidings that five farsangs beyond this city there was another city¹ from which 50,000 Turks all warlike and ready for battle would come to the relief of their city. The following day Muḥammad Bakhtyār not thinking it advisable to remain there, and not being able to oppose them, turned back and came to the head of the bridge. Before his arrival the Generals in charge of the road had fought among themselves, and the infidels had broken two arches of that bridge. The army of Muḥammad Bakhtyār had this bridge in front and the infidels kept coming up in their rear, and fought with determined bravery. In that neighbourhood there was an idol temple of great strength.² They passed the night there by some stratagem, and in the morning a ford was found, and a party of men who crossed by the ford found the sand of the river was a sort of quicksand, and the water of the river gradually growing deeper and deeper, the greater part of the soldiers of Muḥammad Bakhtyār were drowned in the ocean of destruction, and the remnant which remained became fuel for the fire of the infidel's sword and attained the exaltation of martyrdom. Muhammad Bakhtyār, out of many thousand men, arrived at Deo Kot with some three or four hundred only, and fell ill from vexation and was attacked by hectic fever³ and used to say "no doubt Sultan Muḥammad Muizz-ud-Din Sâm has met with an accident that fortune has gone so against me." And when weakness took possession of him 'Alī Mardān one of Muḥammad Bakhtyār's greatest generals arrived at Deo Kot from the district of Nárnálí⁴ and finding him

¹ Called Karpattān (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*) see Raverty p. 567 and notes for a full account of Bakhtyār's retreat and disasters.

² See Raverty 570 note 9. regarding the possible locality.

³ I take this to be the meaning of the text بزمیت دق منجر گشت.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) نارانولی See Raverty 572, note 7, where he calls this نارانکوی Nāran-koe.

bedridden, pulled down the sheet from his face and ruthlessly despatched him with one blow of a dagger. This event happened in the year 602 H. after the death of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín: and after the death of Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín this same Alí Mardán eventually seized the reins of power by great craft, and promulgating the *khutba* and *sikka* of Lakhnauti in his own name was styled Sultán Aláu-d-Dín, and from the excessive folly and pride and arrogance of his mind sat quietly in Lakhnauti and divided the country of Irán and Tūrán among his adherents, and no one dared to say "these dominions are outside the scope of the Sultán's power why do you divide them?" They say that some unfortunate merchant laid a complaint of poverty before Aláu-d-Dín, who asked "where does this fellow come from?" They answered "from Iṣfahán" then he ordered them to write a document to Iṣfahán which should have the force of an assignment of land to him. The merchant would not accept this document, but the Vazírs did not dare to represent this fact and reported "the ruler of Iṣfahán, by reason of his travelling expenses and assembling his retinue for the purpose of subjugating that country, is in difficulties." He thereupon ordered them to give a large sum of money far beyond his expectations; and when his tyranny and oppression exceeded all bounds the Amírs of *Khilj* consenting together put him to death and raised to the throne Malik Husámu-d-Dín *Khiljí* who was one of the nobles of *Khilj* and Garmsír and one of the servants of Muḥammad Bakhtyár. The reign of Alí Mardán lasted thirty-two years.²

Another was Malik Husainu-d-Dín³ abovementioned who became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengála and Jájnapur and Kámrúd and gained the title of Sultán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and

1 Cf. *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* 578. He would appear to have been the subject of expansive delusions very likely an early symptom of the general paralysis which would have declared itself later had he not been removed.

2 Both MSS. have سی و دو سال but as a matter of fact Alí Mardán reigned only two years and some months (see also Raverty 580 note 7.)

3 Malik Husánu-d-Dín 'Iwaz.

seventy thousand *tangahs*¹ in cash as a present and acknowledged the Sultan's authority, as will be mentioned, if God (*be He exalted*) so will it. And in the year 624 H. Malik Nasir u d Din Muhammad ibn² Sultan Shamsu d Din went from Oudh to Lakhnauti at the instigation of some of the Amirs,³ and Ghiyas u d Din⁴ who at that time had taken an army from Lakhnauti to Kamrud turned back, and fought a severe battle with Malik Nasir u d Din and was taken prisoner together with the majority of his generals and was put to death. The duration of his reign was twelve years.⁵ The mention of these few kings of the regions of Hindustan incidentally with the affairs of the Sultans of Delhi was both opportune and necessary, and the affairs of the remaining Muizziyah kings who attained to the Sultanat of Multan and other kingdoms are mentioned in other places.

SULTAN ARAM SHAH IBN QUTBU D DIN ALBARK⁶

After his father, succeeded to the throne

In the world no family remains without a master

If one departs, another takes his place

This too is the way with this deceitful world

The father departs, the son's foot is in the stirrup

By the consent of the Amirs he marched from Lahore to Delhi. In the meantime Malik Shamsu d Din Iyaltimish, who was a servant and adopted son, and son in law of Sultan Qutbu-d Din,

¹ *Tangah*. For the value of this see J. R. A. S. New Series Vol. 1, p. 313 also Raverty 584 note 2. Thomas Chr. Pathan Kings of Delhi pp. 161 and p. 49 note.

The silver *tangah* weighed 175 grains. There was a coin known as the *kani* which was $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *tangah* while another coin was introduced under Muhammad Tughlaq known as the *black tangah* which was $\frac{5}{8}$ of the silver *tangah*.

The value of the silver *tangah* was about the same as the rupee. See *Annals of Albari* III (Jarrett) 362 note 3.

² The text should read *بن سلطان شمس الدین* MSS. A and B.

³ Malik Izzu d Din Jani. See Raverty p. 594 note 1.

⁴ Ghiyas u d Din Iwaz. Husain Khilji.

⁵ He was the last of the Muizzi Sultans according to the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.

⁶ Succeeded his father in 607 H. Cf. Raverty, 529 note 4. Thomas pp. 40.

and had tributary relations with Malik Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabáchá, at the invitation of Sipah Sálár Alí Isma'íl, had come from Haridwár and Badáun to Dehli and had taken possession of the city and its country. When Arám Sháh arrived in the vicinity of Dehli Malik Shamsu-d-Dín came out against him in battle array, and Arám Sháh was defeated. The duration of his reign was just a year.¹

2All of us young and old are doomed to die
No one remains in this world lastingly
This is the way of the lofty sky. It holds
In one hand a crown in the other a noose.

62.

SULTÁN SHAMSU-D-DIN IYALTIMISH³

Called by the title of "Yamín-i-Amír-al-Múminín"
(Right hand of the Commander of the Faithful.)

In the year 607 H. ascended the imperial throne of Dehli; and the reason of the name Iyaltimish is that his birth occurred on the night of an eclipse of the moon, and the Turks call a child

¹ Minháj-us-Siráj mentions that at Arám's death Hindustán was divided into four principalities. Sind in the possession of Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabáchah: Dehli and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish: Lakhnautí was held by the Khilj chiefs 'Alí Mardán having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Qutbu-d-Dín, and Lahore remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehli and Ghaznín. See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p. 40.

² Not in either MS. These verses are from the Shahnámah of Firdausí. (*vide* Shahnámah, Calcutta Edition, by Turner Macan, 1829, Vol. I. p. 361, line 3, and Vol. I. p. 372, line 6. The editor of the text has apparently quoted these lines from memory or possibly they were in the MSS. from which he prepared the text.

³ In MSS. A and B this word is clearly written ايلتمش This text has التمش

Iyaltimish or Altamish as he is generally called was the first sovereign who reigned in Dehli with independent power. He received a diploma of investiture from the Khalíf of Baghdád [Al-Mustanṣir b-illáh, A. H. 626] a most important recognition to a Muhammedan sovereign and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant court of Baghdád of this new Indo-Muhammadan kingdom. (Thomas, p. 43).

born under these circumstances Iyaltimish.¹ His father was the chief of many of the tribes of Turkestan. His kinsmen under pretence of taking him for a walk took Iyaltimish into a garden and sold him like Joseph to a merchant, from there he happened to be taken to Bokhárá, and thence in the time of Sultán Muhammad Sám to Ghaznín; and in these days Sultán Qutb-d-Din after the conquest of Nahrwálah and the taking of Gujrat had gone to Ghaznín, and since without permission of Sultán Muhammad Sám no one could purchase Iyaltimish he asked permission from the Sultán to sell him. Sultán Muhammad Sám said that since he had given orders that no one there should buy that slave they were to take him to Dehli and sell him there. Sultán Qutb-d-Din after his return from Ghaznín bought a slave named Ibak, a namesake of his own, and Iyaltimish, at Dehli for 100,000 tangahs: at first he called him Amír Tamghách,² and appointed him to the Amírship of Tabarbindah,³ and at the time when Sultán Qutb-d-Din fought with Tája-d-Din Yaldúz, Ibak his slave tasted the cup of death. At that time he made Iyaltimish an especial favourite, and after the capture of Gwáliár he made him Governor of that place, and subsequently bestowed upon him the rule of Baran⁴ and its environs, and since he began to shew signs of extraordinary hardness he entrusted the country of Badáún to him, and in the war of Muizzu-d-Din with the Khúkhars (as has been already related), Iyaltimish having got together a huge army from Badáún and the foot of the hills, joined hands with Sultán Muizzu-d-Din in the service of Sultán Qutb-d-Din, and armed as he was having forced his horse into the river⁵ engaged the enemy bravely several

¹ Concerning the origin of the name see Thomas, p 44, note 1. The note is too long to transcribe here, but briefly it may be said that Mr. Redhouse to whom the above text was submitted by Mr. Thomas thinks it probable that owing to errors of transcribers of the Turkish compound word the *ل* has become 'displaced and that the word should really be written *اینتلمش* *ay-tutulmash* = eclipse of the moon.

This explanation seems most plausible. In Turkí the word *التمش* *altamsh* means the advanced guard of an army, or the number sixty.

² *طمغاج* MS. A. *طمغاج* MS. B.

³ Tabarhindah in MS. A is written *تبرهندة*.

⁴ Buland shahr, (Thomas). See Hunter Imp. Gaz. (p. 141).

⁵ See *Tabaqát-i-Nasrí*. It was the river Jhám.

Jalálu-d-Dín Mangburní¹ son of Khwárazm Sháh who having suffered defeat at the hands of Changíz Khán after Tájú-d-Dín, came to Ghaznín and thence from fear of the incursions of Changíz Khán had gone to Lahore with his family and relations; and Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín not being able to withstand him went towards Sindh and Siwistan and from there by way of Kuch and Makrán arrived at Kirmán and Iráq.²

And in the year 622 H.³ Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín, took an army towards Behár and Lakhnauti and brought Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín Khuljí, who has been before mentioned, into obedience, and having accepted the present above mentioned,⁴ established the *khutba* and *sikka* in his own name⁵ and having given his elder son the title of Sultán Násiru-d-Dín Mahmúd⁶ made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Násiru-d-Dín Mahmúd having fought with Ghiyásu-d-Dín on the confines of Lakhnauti got the upper hand, and having taken him prisoner put him to death, and great booty fell into his hands which he divided into portions and sent it as rewards⁷ to each of the nobles of Delhi. 65.

¹ So called because of a mole which he had on his nose (Raverty 235, note 3). He was the last of the Khwárazm Sháhí dynasty. He is said to have turned devotee and to have lived till 688 H. (Raverty 290, note 1) There is some question as to the orthography of this name. Thomas p. 90, note 1, judging from inscriptions on his coins calls him Mangburní, as he considers the final letter to be و not ی. The etymology given above is probably correct as the word *مینگ* (*ming*) in Turkí means *grain de beauté* while *بورون* means "nez" (*Diet Turk. Orientale* Favet de Courteille) the word originally being *مینگبورون* *mengbúrún* would in Persian have become altered in pronunciation to *مینگبورون* *mangburun* and with the addition of the *ya i nisbat* *مینگبورونی* Mangburní.

² For a full reference to the bibliography of this expedition, see Elliott II. 549. See also *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. Jarrett 343, and notes. D'Herbelot art. Gelaalddin, Vol. II. p. 87.

³ Mistake in text ۶۲۲ where 422 H. is in figures.

⁴ "Thirty elephants and eighty laks of treasure." (*Tabaqat-i Násiri*.)

⁵ See Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, p. 46. It is not said here what kind of coinage—Thomas puts the year 626 A. H. as the first of the silver coinage.

⁶ *محمود* MS. (A)

⁷ The word *اعلام* in MS. A is omitted in the text after the word *دهلی*. MS. A continues after the word *فرستاد* as follows —

و سلطان شمس الدین در سنه ثلث و عشرين و مستألفه سپاهی گران

¹ [It is well known that a poet named Nāziri arrived in that country from Dehli in the service of Hazrat Khwāja Qutbu-d-Dīn Ushī² may God sanctify him and said I have composed a Qaṣida in praise of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn. Read the Fātiha that I may get the accustomed reward.] They read the Fātiha and he having been admitted to the Sultān's presence read this *Maḡla'*.

Oh thou from dread of whom sedition has sought refuge,
Whose sword has sought from the infidels property and
elephants.

The Sultān by the mere reading of that *maḡla'* learnt it by heart and repeated it, and when the poem was finished he asked How many couplets does this Qaṣida contain? The answer was fifty and three. He thereupon ordered them to give him fifty-three thousand white tangahs.³] Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn in [the year] 623 H. made an attack upon Ranthambhūr⁴ and having brought an army thither reduced that fortress, and in the year 624 H. having

بعزیمت تسخیر قلعه سندور نامزد ساخته ان قلعه را با کوه سواک در حیر ضبط
اورد و بدیلي مراجعت فرمود و همدین سال امیر روحانی که از افاضل ان
روزگار بود و در حادثه چنگز خان از انجا بدیلي آمد و در تهذیب این فتوحات
قصائد غرا گفته از انجمله اینست قصیده

MS. (B) reads as follows: عزیمت و نیتور نمود ... سلطان شنس الدین
ر لشکر بان طرف برده انقلعه را مفتوح گردانید و در سنه اربع و عشرين
و ستمایه سپاهی گران بعزیمت تسخیر قلعه مندور نامزد ساخته...

I do not know what MS. the Maulavi Ahmad Ali used for his edition, but it cannot have been either of the MSS. to which I have access.

¹ The words in [] brackets are not found in either MS. I have consulted.

² A famous saint known as Kākī from the "Kāk" or Cakes which were supplied by the prophet Khizr for the sustenance of his family for whom his devotions left him no leisure to make provision. See *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 303, note 2. He died A.H. 634, and is buried in Dehli. See also Rayerty p. 621, note 6, third para. [*Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 279.]

³ The silver tangah piece of 175 grains.

⁴ A figure of this fortress, is given in Tieffenthaler Vol. I. facing p 320, plate xx. He describes it as a fortress so situated at the head of a narrow gorge that it can be held by "une poignée de soldats" having a spring of water arising from the rocks and forming a stream which runs down

detailed a large army to attack and capture the fort of Mandúr,¹ brought that fort together with the Siwálik hills into the circle of his conquest and returned to Delhi, and in this same year Amir Rúḥání² who was one of the most learned men of that time came to Delhi from Bukhárá in the affair of Changiz Khán, and wrote several brilliant odes of congratulation upon these victories, of which the following verses are an extract.

The faithful Gabriel carried the tidings to the dwellers in
heaven,
From the record of victories of the Sultán of the age
Shamsu-d-Din,
Saying—Oh ye holy angels raise upon the heavens,
Heating this good tidings, the ³ canopy of adorning.
That from the land of the heretics the Shahansháh of 66.
Islám
Has conquered a second time the fort resembling the sky ;
The Sháh, holy warrior and Gházi, whose hand and sword
The soul of the lion of repeated attacks ⁴ praises.

And there are also other many charming poems attributed to him, of which the following ode is one :—

From the tongue of the pen my own story I tell in the
words of the pen

to Scherpour two miles distant (This place is not marked on Rennell's map). Besides this there are cisterns hewn out of the rocks in the fort to collect the rain water. It is entered by four gates approached by steps cut in the rocks.

¹ Or Mandawar (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 611, note 3, Mandwar MS. (A))

See *Rennell's map*, Monorpur Long. 77 Lat. 27. This fortress answers apparently to the situation of Mandú or Mandawar. *Tieffenthaler I. 323*, mentions "Manorpur ville de marque avec une forteresse a 15 milles Nord de Djepour" This is probably the fort here called Mandú.

² Hakím Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad Ali Samarqandí.

³ MS. (A) we have instead of كَلْدُ آمِينَ as in the text, the words كَلْدُ تَزْنِين which appears a better reading, "the canopy of adornment,"

I have preferred it.

MS. (B) has كَلْدُ بَرْتِين which is evidently a copyist's error for كَلْدُ تَزْنِين

⁴ حیدر کرار is a name of علی 'Alí who is called Asad 'Ullah or by the Persians Shí'r-i-Khudá, The lion of God.

On the page of my life, though the writing of grief has
 been traced by the pen
 Since I lived in this world with the pen all my days have
 been black as the pen
 And swift as I write my account, so fierce is the point of
 the pen
 That like to my own gentle voice is the sharp loud lament
 of the pen.
 Although in the midst of my loss I reap always rewards
 from the pen,
 Still no one will mention my state to my Lord save the
 tongue of the pen.
 'Tis from Khawāja Maṣṣūr bin Sa'id thrives the market of
 test of the pen
 That great one whose words load the burden of truth on
 the van of the pen.
 He has mounted his beautiful thoughts on the steed of his
 swift running pen.¹
 In the road of just ruling he gallops, light holding the rein
 of the pen.
 His skill hand in hand with his wisdom reveals hidden
 arts of the pen.

67. And in the year 626 H. Arab Ambassadors came from Egypt²
 bringing for him a robe of honour and titles, and out of joy at this
 they built triumphal arches in the city and held banquets. And in
 this same year the tidings arrived of the death of his son Sultān
 Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, Governor of Lakhnauti, and the Sultān, after com-
 pleting the duties of mourning, gave his name (i.e., Nāṣiru-d-Dīn)
 to his younger son after whom the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* is named. In
 the year 627 H., he proceeded against Lakhnauti and quieted the
 disturbances of those regions, and after entrusting the govern-
 ment of that place to Izzu-l-Mulk Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khāfi³
 returned to the capital and in the year 629 H. reduced the fortress
 of Gwāliar. Mālik Tāju-d-Dīn the Secretary of State, wrote the

¹ MS. (A) خود بنان را سوار کرده بود.

² This must have been from Baghdād from the Khalifah Al Mustanṣir b-illah. See Raverty 616, note 2.

³ MS. (A) علاءالدین MS. (B) علاءالدین خافی as in the text. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* reads Alāu-d-Dīn Jāni. See p. 618, notes.

following quatrain upon the taking of that fort, and they engraved it upon stone —

Every fort which the king of kings conquered
He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith
That fortress of Kalewar and that strong castle
He took in the year six hundred and thirty ¹

It is apparently the date of the siege which accounts for the difference of one year. And in the year 631 H ² having made an incursion in the direction of the province of Malwah and taken Bhilsa ³ and also captured the city of Ujjain, ⁴ and having destroyed the idol temple of Ujjain which had been built six hundred years previously, and was called Mahakal, he levelled it to its foundations, and threw down the image of Rai Vikramajit from whom the Hindus reckon their era ⁵ (the author of this selection, by the order of the Khalifa of the time, the Emperor, the Shadow of the Deity, in the year 972 H and again anew in the year 1003 H ⁶ with the assistance of Hindu pundits translated 32 stories about him which are a wonder of relation and strange circumstance, from the Hindu into the Persian tongue and called it *Nama-i-Khurd Afza*—) and brought certain other images of cast molten brass placed them on the ground in front of the door of the mosque of old Delhi ⁷ and ordered the people to trample them underfoot and a second time he brought an army against Multan, ⁸ this expedition was in every way unfortunate

68.

¹ 26th of the month Safar 630, A H (*Tabaqat i Nafisi*), 1232, A D

² 632 H (*Tabaqat i Nafisi*) p 621, note 6

³ Bhilsa on the Betwa is a place of Hindu pilgrimage, in its neighbourhood are many interesting Buddhist topes

⁴ Ujjain on the Sipra, was in ancient times the capital of Malwa, and the spot which marked the 1st meridian of Hindu geographers. It was the city of Vikramaditya. See Hunter, *Imp Gaz*, and *lieff* Vol I p 346

⁵ *Am i Albani* (Jarrett) II 15, notes 2, 3 Alberuni, (*Sachau*) II 5, 6 The *Samvat* era commencing from 57 B C

⁶ 1564 A.D and 1594 A D Al Badaoni died according to the *Tabaqat i Shah Jahan* in the year 1024, A H (1615 A D) I can find no mention of the *Nama i Khurd Afza*, and can offer no suggestion as to what this work was a translation of, possibly it was of one of Kalidasa's poems *سي ودر*

ثالث و الف سي ودر (B) *ثالث و الف سي ودر* (A) The text (C) agrees with MS (B)

⁷ See *Imp Gaz* art Delhi

⁸ See Raverty 623, note 8, who holds that this should read *بيان* Banián. Both MSS (A and B) have *ملتان* as also has Firishta

for him, and a very severe bodily illness afflicted him, he so returned and came to Delhi, and in the year 633 H, (1235 A.D.) left this lodging house of the world for the eternal mansions of the next world. The duration of his sultanate was twenty-six years.

Verse.

For this reason this heart-enthraling palace became cold.
Because when you have warmed the place, they say to you
Rise ¹

And the prince of poets ² (*on him be mercy*) says:—

³ [In all Hindustán you saw the dust of the troops of Iyaltimish

Look now drink your wine, others walk in his plain]

It is the same Delhi one would say, yet where is his victorious canopy?

It is the same kingdom at all events, where has that royal dignity of his gone?

The earth is a house of mourning, and mourns too for its own sake

At the time of the birth of that child whom they see weeping.

It is a well known story that Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín was a man of a cold temperament, and once upon a time he desired to consort with a pretty and comely girl, but found that he had not the power. The same thing happened several times: one day the girl was pouring some oil on the head of the Sultán and shed some tears upon the Sultán's head. He raised his head and asked the cause of her weeping, after a great deal of hesitation she answered: I had once a brother who was bald like you and that reminded me of him, and I wept. When he had heard the story of his being imprisoned it became evident that she was the own sister of the

¹ Nizámí.

² Mír Khusrú Dehlaví. A few translated selections from the works of this poet will be found in Elliott, Vol. iii. p. 523, and a notice of the poet historian at p. 67 of the same volume. His full name was Yamínu-d-Dín Muḥammad Ḥasan, he is said to have left behind him some half million of verses. He was born in 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.) and died in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) but according to the *Atash Kadda* his death occurred A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351).

³ Not in MS. (A).

Sultān, and that God *be he glorified and exalted* had preserved him from this incestuous intercourse. The writer of these pages⁶⁹ heard this story from the lips of the Khalifah of the world, I mean Akbar Shah *may God make Paradise his kingdom* in Fathpur and also in Lahore, one evening when he had summoned him into the private apartments of the capital and had conversed with him on certain topics, he said, I heard this story from Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Din Balban and they said that when the Sultān wished to have connection with that girl her catamenia used to come on [and this occurrence was at the time of writing].¹

SULTAN RUKNU-D-DIN FEROZ SHAH IBN SHAHABU-D-DIN

Who in his father's time had several times been in charge of the districts of Badāon; and afterwards had received the canopy and staff of authority, and while holding the country of Lahore was his heir-apparent, succeeded to the throne by consent of the authorities in the aforesaid year,² and Malik Tāju-d-Din his secretary³ wrote this congratulatory ode in honour of his accession—

All hail to the everlasting kingdom,
Above all to the king, in his heyday of youth,
Yamīnu-d-Daulat Ruknu-d-Din
Whose door became like the Rukn-i-Yamān⁴ from its auspiciousness

When he ascended the throne, he opened the doors of the treasury, and gave full scope to his taste for rioting and wantonness and indolence and sloth, and used to spend his precious hours in the company of prostitutes and vagabonds.

When thy heart inclines towards the wine shop
Except the tavern keeper⁵ and the musician who will
praise thee.

* 1 The words in brackets are not found in either MS. (A) or (B).

² 633 A.H.

³ MS. (A) omits و before دبیر.

⁴ The south corner of the Ka'aba, a spot of special veneration to pilgrims. Barton's *pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca*, III, 162. Hughes *Dict. of Islām*, 548. See also Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, II, 36, note.

⁵ مغ text MS. (A) می

And his mother Turkūn Khātūn,¹ who was a Turkish slave girl, having gained absolute power, used to vex the other concubines of the Sultān against whom her envious heart burned, in various ways, and put to death Qutbu-d-Dīn the eldest son of the Sultān by another concubine. The treasury became empty, and

0. Malik Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh the younger brother of the Sultān, who was ruler of Oudh, refusing to acknowledge his authority revolted against him, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn² and Kabīr Khān Sultānī governor of Multān, and Malik Saifu-d-Dīn feudatory of Hānsī, entering into correspondence with one another raised the standard of opposition. Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh had arrived in the neighbourhood of Mauṣūrpūr and Tarāyan with the intention of quelling this disturbance, and before this occurrence Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Junaidī the Wazīr and Agent of the territory of Hindustān, fearing the Sultān had fled to Kilūgharī³ and had gone in the direction of Kol and joined hands with Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sālārī; and other trusty Amīrs who had remained in the army having fled from the vicinity of Mauṣūrpūr went to Dehlī and having sworn⁴ fealty to Razziyah Khātūn who was the eldest daughter of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, and his heir apparent according to her father's will, and a woman endowed with excellent qualities, brave, generous, and intelligent, raised her to the throne and imprisoned Turkūn Khātūn. When the Sultān having returned from the army, arrived at Kilūgharī, the troops of Sultān Razziyah went out to meet him, and having seized him without fighting imprisoned him, and he died in prison.⁵ The duration of his reign was six months and a fraction.

1 Shāh Turkūn, styled Khudāwanda-i-Jahān.

2 The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* says, "Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn, Muḥammad Sālārī who was the feudatory of Budāun broke out into rebellion: and in another direction Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayāz fiefholder of Multān, Malik Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī feudatory of Hānsī, and Malik Alāu-d-Dīn Jānī who held the fief of Lahor united together" and revolted. Raverty, pp. 633, 634.

3 Kilūgharī, a suburb of Dehlī.

4 MS. (A) برغية خاتون.

5 In the year 634 H., 18th of Rabi' u-l-Awwal.

His death was probably due to violence, occurring as it did according to Minhāju-s-Siraj on the day of his seizure and imprisonment. See Raverty, p. 636, note 4.

Do not set thy heart upon the world, for it is a stranger
Like the singer who is every day in a new house

Among the poets of that age [and the master of that time]¹
of Ruknu d Din was Shihab Muhammad Badaoni² as Mir Khusru³
on him be mercy says in one of his opening odes

In Budaon Muhammad rises intoxicated from sleep
If there comes forth from this melody the sound of the
birds of Dehli

And Mahku l Kalam Fakhr u l Mulk 'Amid Tulaki⁴ mentions
him as a master⁵ and since the speech of the modern (poets) after
the appearance of the cavalcade of the Prince of poets has be-
come like the stars at the time of the raising of the banner of 71
the glorious sun, and like the seven poems⁶ at the time of the
descent of the inspired revelation upon the best of men, and the

¹ [] not in MS (A)

² The name is wrongly given in MS (A) MS (B) and the text The real
name of this poet is Shihab u d Din ibn Jamalu d Din Mutmara (شمس)
He was known as Shihab i Mutmara The verse here quoted should be as
follows

در صفت فرحیزد شهاب شمره
بشنود گریخته مرغان دهلی رسوا

In Madaran Shihab i Mutn ara rises intoxicated

If he hear the sound of the singing of the birds of Dehli in this
melody

Vide *Mayma u l Fuṣṣḥa* Vol I page 304

³ Mir Khusru the celebrated poet born at Pat ala 651 A H Died 725 A H.
the author of 99 poetical works (Beale) (*Mayma u l Fuṣṣḥa*) see note 4 page 68

⁴ MS (A) لویکی Luyaki We should read *Amid Lumaki* Fakhr u l Mulk
Khawja 'Amidu d Din commonly known as *Amid Daulami* the panegyrist of
Sultan Muhammad Yamin said by some to have been a native of Gilan,
called also *Amid Lumaki* *Mayma u l Fuṣṣḥa* I 353

⁵ MS (A) وچوب

⁶ The سبع البعلات or seven poems The well known poems of the
Jahiliyat or pre Islamic age

See *Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry* by C J Lyall pp xxxi (Effect
of al Islam on the old Poetry) and xlii (The Mu allaqat)

See also Nöldeke (Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Arabe,
pp xvii and seq

See also *Arabian Poetry* (Clouston) pp xxxi and seq

Lord of the world *on him be peace*, remains concealed as by a curtain—men speak and write less concerning them, nay more they do not even possess them—accordingly in harmony with the saying, *The first comer has the best of it*, I have thought it incumbent upon me to include a few odes from that eminent author as a benediction and blessing, in this composition of mine, and to leave a memorial for his friends, and to establish my own connection with the master, and to display upon the dais of evidence the excellencies of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citizenship. The master poet Shihāb¹ Muḥamra [Badāonī] then says as follows :—

I am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign.²

My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of others, my own existence is transitory.

I stand at the end of the row³ in the hope of obtaining a better position, having rested from all movement with the attributes of insignificance.

I have not the attributes of Alif for Alif has no crookedness.⁴

All my writing has become crooked on the page of desire.

There is the song of the nightingale, the rose is happy; while

I am careless like the lily.⁵

¹ See note 5, page 70.

² Alif stands for 1, in the numerical value of letters, and is looked upon as having no intrinsic value, but merely serving as the starting place or origin for other numbers.

In its literal value also it is ساکن بالذات that is, it has no capability of being pronounced till it is compounded with some other sign such as ء *hamza*.

³ Alif must stand at the end either of a word as in بقا *baqā*, or a syllable as in قامت *qāmat*. The Alif at the commencement has a *hamza*.

⁴ MSS. (A), (B) کژی ندارد

⁵ The lily is said by the poets not to be affected by the song of the nightingale and to remain speechless, cf. Hāfiz.

حیفست بلبلِ چو من اندر چنین چمن

با این لسان غذب که خامش چو سوسنم

Pity it is that such a nightingale as I living in such a garden and having so sweet a tongue should be silent as the lily.

Like Ahf I have no tongue, what have I to do with ten tongues¹ ?

Since I can seize it² while thus at rest, Why should I pursue?

Since I cannot see openly how can I follow a hidden path ?

By stratagem, I can recognize no distinction between earth and heaven, although I am like the heaven in my whirling, and like the earth stationary

I am not like water in freshness, nor like fire in sublimity, nor like the wind in sweetness, nor like the earth in heaviness

¹ The ten tongues of the lily are of frequent mention in Persian poetry, cf. Hafiz

سسان موس اگر ده زبان شود حافظ
چو علیچه بیش نوازش مهر بردش باشد

Were Hafiz like the lily endowed with ten tongues
His lips in thy presence would remain sealed like the lips of the rosebud.
also

ز سر و قاعه — ت بشید — م آزاد
همه تن گر زبان باشم چو موس

I sit alone utterly heedless of thy cypress like form
Even though like the lily my body were cleft into tongues

The lily *سوس* Susan is of four varieties. The white variety is called Susan i azad, see Burhan i qat i s و *سوس*, according to the *Bahru l jawahir* its properties are those of heat and dryness and it is useful in the headaches of fever

The *Makhzanu l adwiyā* states that the word Susan is an Arabicised form of the Syrian *Susani*. The article may be consulted for farther information regarding the varieties and properties of these lilies. The linear leaves of the lily are compared to tongues

² MS (B) چو نگیرم MS (A) چون گیرم

The text should read —

چو نگیرم آرمیده چه روم پس دورده
چو نه نسیم اشکارا چه دوم ره نهانی
ملک از زمین بکلت شناسم آنچه مستم
چو ملک بحیره گردی چو زمین بنا روانی

[2.

I am not made out of these four elements.¹ I am composed of the effluvia of the kennel. The refuse of the sewer water has boasted of piety.²

My wisdom, as though incarnate, seems to have taken to praise my faults; my avarice,³ huge as a mountain, has girded its loins for taking presents.

I am become fixed in the way of avarice, not a sign of truth remains in me. The oppression of my vices has overwhelmed the mercies of the Sacred Book.

My greediness has so deceived me that the five sensual appetites have taken away from my heart with disgrace the blessings of the readings⁴ of the *'ashars*.

My inner nature as well as my body is devoid of meditation and recollection. My eye like my ear is inclined to the singing women and their songs.

I desire brilliant speeches to fall from my tongue which is like a well-tempered sword. My pen has made me bent like a sickle⁵ in the pursuit of my daily bread.

My speech has failed me because its glory was in the relation of this story. Yes! all this loss of honour was owing to inordinate desire for bread.

I am that mean one, less than the least, who am not worth a groat,⁶ if you think me worth a barleycorn, you will not buy me for nothing.

¹ For the constitution and properties of the four elements, see *Sadīdī*, (Asiatic Lithographic Press, Edition 1244 A. H., page 7.) **بجست الاركان** *Bahṣu-l-arkān*, two of the four are light and two of them are heavy. Fire is absolutely light, air is relatively light. Earth is absolutely heavy while water is relatively heavy..... The three kingdoms (animal, vegetable and mineral) are composed of an admixture of these four elements.

² MSS. (A) (B) نه ازبن چهار طبعم ز بخار پارگیزم
فضلات پارگیني زده لاف پارگاني

³ MS. (A) طمع

⁴ The reading of the Qur'ān, which is divided into portions called *'ashars* consisting of ten Āyats.

⁵ The **دھرے** a bill-hook or reaping hook, is curved like a sickle and very sharp. It is also called **داس** *dās*, (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi*.)

⁶ MS. (A) **بحبۀ نیرزم**

Oh Shihab it is strange that you in this road of kingly affairs
are neither the Amir of the Eight Squares ¹ nor the Knight
of the Seven Places ²

You are not an angel, nor are you a devil, from what workshop
are you? You are not a sojourner nor yet a traveller,
from what court are you?

Your heart and intellect are careless of the tortures of the
grave, you have dressed yourself in Gurkhan silk ³

You have become utterly regardless from lust owing to desire 73
for license, from urgent desire, by means of false accusation
you have planted the foot of success

Sorrow for the tulip cheeked beloved has shut fast the door of
your wisdom The vein of your eye has shed blood from
desire for the cup of red wine

You are corrupt like the wind, you stand paralysed like the earth
You are a pearl of transitory existence a shell empty mouthed
With breath like the burning lightning you are the enchanter
of bad and good with heart like a flint, you are the
whetstone of dry and moist

Naturally with desire you revolve like the sky in its figure-
designing, from your youth hasting with greed, you are
like a child in weakness

You carry the sorrow of the seven (heavens) and the four
(elements) in your heart, and every moment from pride you
are put to a hundred thousand devices in the performance
of one genuflection

You are as coarse as the earth, and yet your speech is always
of the moon in the heavens, you will not reach ⁴ the dignity
of a king from the station of a doorkeeper

¹ The Wazir at chess

The Wazir having a straight move can be placed on all the squares which
shows the great honour and advantage attached to rectitude of conduct '
Bland On the Persian game of chess *J R A S* XIII p 11

² The seven labours of Isfandiyar, see the *Shah Nama* (Turner Macan)
Vol II pp 1126 and seqq

³ Gurkhan, the hereditary title of the kings of the Kara Khitai, the mean-
ing of the title being universal king It must not be confounded with the
title of Gurkan which was a Mongol title bestowed upon all who were allied
by marriage with the house of Chingiz Khan

See *Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi* Elfas and Ross p 278 note

⁴ MS. A نرسی I prefer نرسی as in the text

You yourself owing to frivolity have not attained even for a moment, freeing yourself from the imperfections of the world, to the religious duties at stated times.

From the advice of the holy men may you be informed at least once, that in these two worlds at any rate ¹ you are famous for creating dissensions.

Perversity springs from your heart as pride springs from foolishness. Evil arises from your body as rashness does from youth.

You are the moisture of the gullet of hypocrisy, the blast of the forge of tyranny, you are the flower of the garden of inordinate desire, and the mud which befouls the reservoir of the soul.

When present you melt the soul, perchance you spring from the heat of Tamūz²; in your ode you scatter snow³ perchance you are of the breath of autumn.

You like a child seek throughout your life after vain images; from your fancifulness the sorrows of time have made you old in your youth.

Poetry is but a desire, and its metre is like the mirage which is void of water. This breath of life is grief to me, but its savour is better than the water of life.

When your desire becomes collected that fancy becomes enjoyment, when your breathing is harmonious, it becomes a scatterer of pearls.

How long this desire of the imagination? make one breath pearl-scattering in praise of that man whose equal wisdom has not seen even from the beginning.

¹ MS. (A) باری.

² Tamūz. The fourth month of the Jewish year originally sacred to the god Tammūz; see Ezekiel viii. 14 "and behold there sat women weeping for Tammūz," Tammūz was a deity of the Phœnicians called by the Greeks and Romans Adonis. The word signifies "dissolution" or "diffluence" see Gesenius s. v. תַּמְזָר. See also Albirunī's Chronology, (Sachan) pp. 68-82. Tammūz was coincident with the sun's position in Cancer which is called the horoscope of the world because by its creation the creation of the four elements became complete, and by their becoming complete all growth became complete (Albirunī) Corresponds to our July, the hottest month of the Persian summer.

³ When any one's speech is not considered pleasing the Persians say of him کلامش یخ است. *Kalāmash yakḥ ast.* His speech is ice.

The King of the throne of "Kun"¹ is Muḥammad who pitched the tent of dignity by the side of the door of the Protector (God) from the house of Ummahānī.²

He was a mortal of angelic beauty, a sky with the lowliness of earth. Like the sky he was pure in body, like the Angels he was pure in soul.

He was a pearl whose place was in the treasury of God, and he was a moon whose brightness shone forth from the sky of eternity.

He was such a pearl that nothing of more value than his nature was ever produced by the medium of the elements from the sea of heaven.

He was such a moon that in every early morning the face of the star of Yaman became black as coal³ from shame at his cornelian-like lips.

So sweet tongued a prophet that the salvation of his disciples comes by faith in his words,⁴ from the eloquence of his utterances.

So eloquent in pearl-like speech that the beauty of his utterance makes the heart's blood like the hidden wealth of the mine, a royal treasure. 75.

The brightness of the eastern sun is shamed by the beauty of his face, and the stature of the cypress of the garden is bowed before the perfect uprightness of his form.

¹ In the technical language of Sūfī philosophy *کن* *kun* is called *عالم* 'ālam-i-amr the world of the order, or potentiality. *فكان* *fakāna* called *عالم خلق* 'ālam-i-khalq the world of creation, or the material world.

² Ummahānī, daughter of Abu Tālib, the uncle of Muḥammad, and sister of 'Alī. The reference is to the nocturnal journey of Muḥammad called *معراج* *mi'rāj* (the ascent) which took place from the house of Ummahānī.

³ When Muḥammad awoke from his Vision in which he seemed to have prayed in the temple of Jerusalem, Ummahānī attempted to prevent him from going out of the house and telling the Vision to others, thus exposing himself to mockery from unbelievers. See Muir *Life of Muhammad* II 220.

⁴ MS. (A) (B) *چو شبه میا گشتی*. The text as it stands is meaningless.

⁵ MS. (A) *بعقید زبانش*. The text and MS. (B) have *زبانش* *zabānsh* which is evidently wrong for two reasons. Firstly, because of the sense of the passage, and secondly, the *تجنیس* between *عقیده* and *عقیده*.

By his accountantship he has adopted the way of absolute monarchy; and by his eloquence he has opened the door of auspicious government.

The attraction of secret desire, by revelation has drawn him from the expanse of the natural world to the ocean of spiritual existence.

By the good tidings of his friend, his heart became intoxicated with the hope of a meeting. The son of Abū Qahāfah ¹ has drunk from the cup of his friendship.

His speeches have founded a fortress ² for the decrees of God.³ 'Umar by his justice became the builder of it, by right government.

One, third in order, ⁴ has placed the footstep in this way, whose path to the enjoyment of this world was not obstructed by pride.

His fourth pillar was 'Alī ⁵ who at the time of battle made the face of the sun pale from the glitter of his sword.

Oh, King! I entreat you by your friends deliver me during the whole of my life ⁶ by your aid from the calamity of foolish friends.

He who demanded from me ⁷ this Qaṣīda, may his life like my Qaṣīda be ornamented with the jewels of meaning —.

¹ Abū Bakr, whose original name was Abdul Ka'bah Ibn Abī Qahāfah. He was the companion of Muḥammad in his flight to Medīna.

² رباط. A frontier fortress. The same word is used in more recent times to signify a traveller's rest house or caravansarāi.

³ قضای حق را MS. (B). If we read قضای حق را we must translate "for the expanse of the truth he has founded a rampart."

⁴ عثمان, 'Uṣmān the third Khalīfa, who was rich and thus able to enjoy متاع این جهانی the good things of this life.

⁵ علی انکه شد کین MS. (A). 'Alī the fourth Khalīf whose sword ذولفقار Zūl-fiqār. (See note 2 page 74), was brought by Gabriel to Muḥammad from heaven, and by him given to 'Alī.

⁶ Text همه عمروارهایی MS. (A) reads همه همروارهایی and MS. (B) همه نمروارهایی both of which are wrong. Only the first half of the Qaṣīda is given in the *Majma'ul Fuṣṣḥā*.

⁷ Text همه از من MSS. (A) (B) have نه من.

The following Qasida also he wrote, imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing the words "hair" and "ant," in a declaration of the unity of God and in praise of the Prophet, may the peace of God be upon him

76

Although with my tongue, I split hairs at the time of discourse, still in the praise of God, by reason of amazement, I am dumb as the ant

¹ And in the pursuit of the fairy-faced ones with chainlike locks, through desire often have I bound fast, like the ant, my life to my waist with my heart.

And for the sake of the ant-eyed and sugar lipped ones, in my fancy I have bored the hair of speech a hundred ways by way of trial

That I might have a store like the ant,² in his praise I have cleft the hair into halves, and have not received one jot from any one in recognition

Henceforth, like the ant, I will gird my loins at the door of the Incomparable one, and from the root of each hair,³ with a hundred tongues will I proclaim his gracious aid

How can I open my lips, I that am voiceless as an ant and a fish Nay rather will I make each hair a tongue to scatter pearls.

With this ant like writing and these sugar like words,⁴ by means of poetical arrangement I will split the hair in the declaration of the unity of God the discerner of secrets

That God to whose workmanship each several hair bears witness, and all that exists, ant and fish and snake, wild beasts and birds, men and genn⁵

He who alone is self existent, and is not within the bounds of computation, from whose wisdom⁶ in both worlds nothing is hidden, neither the track of the ant nor the point of the hair

¹ MS (A) ورپی

² MS (A) چوموری

³ MS (A) ورس هر مو بقومش

⁴ MS (A) لفظی چون شکرار

⁵ Insert وحش in text after MSS (A) (B)

⁶ MS (A) بیس از علمش

If, though as a single hair, His favour is shed upon the egg of an ant, from it there will issue in a single moment a hundred Jamshīds, each one like a hundred Jamshīds.

If, though as a single hair, he lets fall his wrath upon an elephant, the elephant will experience that which the cub of the raging lion suffers from the ant.¹

The intellect herein cannot understand, even by a hair's breadth, the reason why the offspring of the powerful lion should become the prey of the powerless ant.

In his decree there is not the space of a hair's point open to criticism, even though he should give the kingdom of a Solomon to an ant without recompense.²

By his decree, the shape of the ant and the lion are similar, and by his art the colour of hair and bone are opposites.

By his grace it is that every hair has knowledge of him, and from his equity it comes to pass that there is a ³ guardian over every ant, that ³dust in the palm is endowed with chemical properties, and water in the sea becomes converted into pearl; ⁴ that the ant appears to the eye as a dragon, and a hair of the limbs as a spear.⁵

¹ It is said that the ants attack the newly born lion cub as yet unprotected by hair and kill it. The Arabs call the ant **ابو مشغول** *Father Busy* and **أم نبوة** *Mother Turnabout*, and have some curious legends about them and regard them with somewhat of superstitious awe. They say that to see in a dream ants entering a house betokens prosperity to its owner, while to see ants crawling on the carpet betokens prolific offspring. The appearance of flying ants in a house where there is a sick person betokens his death, and on no account, they say, should ants be permitted to crawl over any one lying sick (*Ḥaiṭu-l-Ḥaiwā*). They say also that the ant has no stomach, and that it lives upon the air it breathes, and that it never sleeps.

² See Qur'ān, xxvii. 15-20.

³ MS. (A) **آمد**

⁴ **قطرات نيسان** *Qaṭrāt-i-Naisān*. The drops of rain falling in the month of Naisān are said when received into the shell of the oyster to become converted into pearls (*Ghāyūṣu-l-luḡḡāt*). Naisān (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi*) or Nisān was the first month of the Jewish year corresponding to the month of April, see Exodus xii. 2, xiii. 4; Albirūnī, Chronology (Sāchāu) 62, and *seqq.*

⁵ MS. (A) **مورد در چشم ازدها و موی بر اعضا سنان**

Oh Thou by whose power hair and blood and bone take shape,
Oh Thou¹ who art surety for the daily supply of food to
bird and ant and snake and fish.

In the body of every ant there is an exact account of thy
equity, on the point of each hair there is a boundless praise
of thy bounty

The eye of thy mercy provides² sustenance for every ant and
locust. The hand of thy favour tints the hair of all both
old and young

The pen of thy skill shows³ that of which a manifest sign
is shewn on the body of every ant, and appears on the end
of every hair.

The mole on the cheek of the brides appear like spots on a
mirror

The hair on the face of kings appears like ants upon the
Arghawān⁴

By thy order it is that the stomachless ant is hungry in
the way.

By this bounty it is that the motionless hair upon the body
is satisfied.

¹ MS (A) وی

² MS (A) عین فصلت پای مُرد The reading in the text پای مُرد
is preferable

³ MSS (A) (B) خامه صنعت نماید

⁴ The Arghawān, or (Arabic) Arjuwan is according to the *Maḥṣan al-Adwiya*, a tree which grows in Persia, bearing a brilliantly red flower of beautiful hue but slight odour, having a sweetish taste. It is used as a dessert by the Persians by whom it is regarded as an exhilarant, and as clearing the voice. Its wood is soft and light [The article from which the above is extracted may be consulted for an account of its properties].

The *Burhan i Quṭb* states that a drink is made from the flowers which relieves the after effects of drinking, and the ashes of the burnt wood are used as a hair dye and hair restorer

Vullers *Lexicon Pers Lat* states p 81 *Hae arbore designari videtur arbor Judae, i.e. Cercis siliquastrum* (Linn), cf J A S 1845, Dec p 457

That the dye obtained from it is of blood colour appears from the lines in the poem (*Mu'allaqah*) by Ibn Kul'um, where he writes

كأن ثيابنا منا ومنهم حصين نار حوايا أرضنا

As though both our garments and theirs had been dyed or besmeared with
Arjuwan

¹ He who did not turn away ² his head from your door even by a hairs' breadth, the ant, although tongueless, began to praise him like the lizard.³

When he like the ant became sleepless and fasting in devotion to you then without doubt with the sword of the finger he split the moon into two parts like a hair.⁴

He was a sign like the true dawn, hair-splitting in his speech. His followers were as successful as ants in opposing the scorpions of religion.

The silvery body of the seven heavens, would become (black) like ants, when he cast aside the covering from his dark locks.

¹ The poet passes on from the praise of the Almighty to praise Muḥammad.

² MS. (A) سرنبیچید The metre shows this reading to be right.

³ This story is related as follows in the *Ḥaiātu-l-Qulūb*;—

One day the Prophet was sitting alone when an Arab came who had caught a lizard and had it in his sleeve. He asked the people who that was sitting there, they answered God's prophet; he replied, addressing Muḥammad, "I swear by Lāt and 'Uzzā that I consider you my greatest enemy and were I not under an oath to my tribe, I would certainly kill you." The prophet said "Accept the true faith." The Arab cast the lizard from his sleeve and said "I will never accept the faith till this lizard does." Then the prophet spoke to the lizard saying, "Oh thou lizard." The lizard answered him in choice Arabic saying "I am thy servant, Oh thou ornament of the Muslims." The prophet asked "Whom dost thou worship?" He replied "That God who is in Heaven and Earth, whose kingdom is in the earth and his wonders in the sea, and his marvels in the deserts. Him I worship who knows what is in the womb, and has established his punishment in the fire." The prophet asked "Who am I?" the lizard replied, "Thou art the prophet of the upholder of the world, and the seal of prophecy. He is rightly guided who believes in thee, and he is lost who denies thee." The Arab said—"I require no more cogent proof than this; when I approached thee, I had no greater enmity to any one than to thyself, but now I hold thee dearer than my life, my father and my mother." (*Ḥaiātu-l-Qulūb* by Āghā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī.)

⁴ شق القمر See Qur'ān, Sūrah 54. "The hour draws nigh, and the moon is split asunder" (Sacred Books of the East Vol. IX). In the *Ḥaiātu-l-qulūb* a MS. copy of which dated 25th Zūl Hijjah 1087 A. H. (1676 A. D.) is before me. I find the following account of the miracle performed by the prophet Muḥammad at Mekka. "The tribe of Qorēish sought as a sign from Muḥammad the performance of some miracle; the prophet pointed to the moon and by the power of God Most High it split into two halves. A trustworthy Ḥadīṣ by Ḥazrat Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq has come down to us, relating that fourteen infidels who were desirous of working

For the ants of religion he carried away so much provision that there remained on the point of each hair an evidence of that bounty¹ for ever and ever.

Oh thou Creator, I have made every hair a tongue, but yet like an ant I complain in my heart of my voicelessness to sing thy praise.

If thou hadst illumined the eye of the ant like the thread of hair, without the permission² of thy mercy this caravan would not have passed.

I am like an ant in water; or like a hair in the fire, because this sugar-scattering mind of mine is not fit for this relation.³

I have the foot of effort in the stirrup of devotion to you like the ant; as long as one single hair remains of me⁴ I will not desist from this endeavour.

How can my burden be in the least degree lightened apart from thy consent? How can I gird my loins like the ant through avarice,⁵ in the service of this one or that?

Although like the ant I have been crushed by the (iron) hand of desire

Yet I never contemplated the slightest idea of profit or loss apart from thee.

Since this is from thee I am happy, although my heart is distraught and pained; my heart is like the eye of the ant and my⁶ condition is like the hair of the heart-ravishing one.

If the ant brought the foot of a locust into the presence of Solomon, Shihāb would have come headlong to thy door with the feet of his soul about his head as hair.

The ant of thy generous table O Sāliḥ showed him (Shihāb) that path of rectitude.

1 MS. (A) نعمت.

2 MSS. (A) (B) بی جواز.

3 MSS. (A) (B) داستان.

4 MSS. (A) (B) چون مور دارم یک موی من ماند.

5 MSS. (A) (B) از حرص پیش این و آن.

6 MS. (A) وحالم.

O Lord! grant him protection in crossing that hair like
 bridge¹ over the fire
 On the point of each hair of his you have a hundred favours,
 for this reason that the heart of an ant is not vexed by
 him by so much as a hair's breadth in the world
 Oh Lord!² keep a watch upon the enemy of the king's domi-
 nions, for this is best, that he should be as a hair in the fire
 and as an ant in the running water

And he also wrote in praise of Salṭān Ruknu d Din Firoz 80
 imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing four things³
 as follows —

Every moment this old wolf lion-hearted infant-eating⁴
 Does with me that which the elephant and rhinoceros do at
 the time of contest
 The elephant like sky wears away my body as does the
 rhinoceros
 The time like a lion takes away my patience like a wolf
 I have not the strength of the rhinoceros, and the sky is like
 a fierce elephant towards me.
 It displays the boldness of a lion like the old wolf of the time.
 The elephant did not so treat the rhinoceros, nor did the wolf
 so treat the sheep
 As the lion-like heaven treated this being who is thin as
 hair from oppression
 The Lion of the sky has the craft of the wolf and the strength
 of the rhinoceros
 For this cause he heaps pain continually on my heart like the
 load of an elephant

¹ The *Ṣiraṭ* or bridge across the fire of Hell. The *Ṣiraṭ* or bridge crossing the infernal fire is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword and is beset with briars and sharp thorns. The righteous will pass over it with the swiftness of the lightning but the wicked will soon miss their footing and will fall into hell fire

See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, art *Ṣiraṭ*. See also Qur'an I, 5

² MS (A) حصم ملک شاه را یارب بگاش دارد

³ The words کَرگ *karg* rhinoceros, گرگ *gurg* wolf, شیر *shir* lion, فیل *fil* elephant

⁴ MS (A) دردمان اس پیرگرگ شیر حوی طعل حوار

A maddened elephant¹ is this wolf-haired rhinoceros.

Even if mankind are like male lions still sooner or later he effects their ruin.

The sky, the overthrower of the rhinoceros, the conqueror of the lion, if, in play, like the wolf it brings against the life of Rustum a strong move like "pīlband."²

¹ MS. (A) پیل مستمت

² پیل‌بند A stratagem in the game of chess. See Albirūnī (India) I. 183-184. The *فیل* or elephant it appears had the same mobility as the queen does in our modern game, that is it commanded both rank and diagonal.

There was one pawn known as the *Piyāda-i-Aṣlī* or original pawn, which had certain privileges attached to it. It was permitted once in the course of the game to remove to any square on the board where it might inflict the greatest injury on the adversary, as by attacking two pieces at once—"forking" them as chess players call it: under certain combinations this pawn was utilised to give mate. Thus in Auhādī's *Life of Kḥwāja 'Alī Shatranjī* we find

خواجہ دشمنان علی شطرنجی کہ چون رخ بعروصہ و کورت نهادی شاهان
سخن را دو اسپ و فیل طرح دادی منصوبہ باز خیال در فیل‌بند حیوت پیادہ مات
افتادی

"When he moved his *Rukh* in the Board of imagination he gave the odds of two Knights and the Bishop to the kings of rhetoric: the strategist of imagination fell into the pawn's mate from the "*Fīlband*" of confusion."

This (فیل‌بند) was explained to me by a Muhammadan friend, a chess player, thus: suppose the white king at his own square, and a hostile pawn on his second square guarded by Black Bishop at Q. Kt. 4, the adversary brings his other Bishop to Q. R. 4 (ch) *mate*, white having other moves, but none which can prevent this final move of the Black Bishop.

The *Bahr-i 'Ajam* gives the following definition of پیل‌بند.

پیل‌بند نام یکی از منصوبہای شطرنج - و پیل‌بند دادن عبارت از مات کردن
بکشت پیل *

Pīlband is the name of a manœuvre in chess. "To give *pīlband*" means to mate by giving check with the Bishop (*Pīl*):

چو در جنگ پیلان کشائی کند
دشمنی شاه قنوج را پیل‌بند

When in contest with elephants thou disengagest thy noose. Thou defeat-
est the king of Qanauj with the "*pīlband*" (*Nizāmī*).

The wolf of my patience casts off from him the waterproof like a lion, if the elephant of this coerulean castle has made me over to his charge like a rhinoceros.

The lion of the sky, like the elephant in colour, a wolf by a nature, takes and tears to pieces the armour of my patience like the hide of the rhinoceros.¹

Last night when the lion of the sky became elephant coloured in the hide of the rhinoceros, countless Josephs² appeared from the wolves of the heaven.

My life is in the hands of the lion, and under the foot of the rhinoceros of pain, until from the elephant bodied sky the tail of the wolf³ became evident. 81.

The claw of the lion and the horn of the rhinoceros, the tears of the elephant and the hair of the wolf.

Although these four are of use in making the amulet⁴ of heart's attachment.

Of what use are the special properties of the lion and rhinoceros and the wolf and the elephant, when that silvery cheeked one demands from me gold more than the weight of an elephant.

Since I do not possess the ferocity of the rhinoceros, the heart of the lion, and the breath of the wolf, I will go to meet my beloved with an elephant load of sorrow.

Hasan Dehlavi also says.

هیبت که پیلند عشقت
اسان اسان کشاد نتران

Alas! that the "pīlband" of thy love cannot essily be overcome.

For an excellent paper on the Persian Game of Chess by Bland, from which some of the above information is extracted, see *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1-70.

¹ This reading is in the text. MSS. (A) (B) have a different reading

جوشن صبرم ز چرم گرگ مارم تارقلو.

² i.e., when it became dark countless stars appeared. See *Qur'ān* XII. 1-15.

³ The morning Zodiacal light. A light which appears in the east before the true dawn. It is called also صبح گاذب. *Subh-i-Kāzib* the false dawn; see *J. R. A. S.*, July, 1878; also a name of one of the mansions of the moon called also شوله *Shaula*. *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*.

⁴ تعویذ *ta'wīz* MS. (A). An amulet made of these four things is said to be efficacious in securing affection. We are reminded of the witches in *Macbeth*, "Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf," &c.

The reflection of thy elephant coloured ¹ sword if it falls upon lion and wolf makes their eyes which are like the jujubes ² of Gurgān to become like the pomegranate.

If the breeze of your lion-standard blow³ upon the dust of the world the maddened rhinoceros will seek shelter from the elephant, and the wolf from the sheep

When thou brandishest ³ thy elephantine mace, the lion casts away its teeth, the wolf its claws, the rhinoceros its gall bladder, and the snake its head-stone.⁴

Rhinoceros-like in attack, wolf-like in gait, lion-like in bravery, elephant-like in body is thy steed, Oh hero! hundreds of thousands like Rustam are thy slaves

Oh King! in thy praise I have become more powerful than wolf and rhinoceros, lion and elephant, by the order of the Lord who rules the sky.

¹ MSS (A) (B) پیلگون.

² ھلب 'Unnab, Zizyphus jujuba (N O Rhamnaceae), a tree bearing an oval baccate fruit of a reddish colour called in Hindustani لبر *ler*, nearly allied to the Lotus of the Lotophagi, both leaves and fruit were used by the Arabian physicians According to the *Bahru l Jawaahir* the fruit is useful to purify the blood from evil humours, and is of service in dry coughs and roughness of the chest and lungs, also in pain in the kidneys and bladder The lips of a mistress are compared to this fruit (*Burhan i Qaf*)

³ MS (A) درگوانی

⁴ مهر مار The serpent is popularly supposed to carry a stone in its head The *Makhzanu l-Adwiya* says — *Hajaru l Hayyah* (حجر الحية) called in Persian مهر مار *Muhra* : *Mar* is of two kinds one a mineral which is known as مهر مار *Mar Muhra*, some say that it is found in emerald mines. It has an emerald colour, inclined to black or ashy, shaped like a square signet stone, weight from one to two *mizqals*

The other is an animal product which is found in the hinder part of the head of certain vipers It is not found in all vipers, in fact it is only rarely found in any of them, when it is taken from the muscles it is soft, but in contact with the air becomes stony hard In size it is about the size of half a shell, (cowrie) oblong in shape ashy coloured Certain stones are black and hard, striped with three white stripes, others are white and soft Some are artificial In order to distinguish the good and true from the false, place it upon the bite of a snake, it will stick to it if genuine If milk is poured on it, the milk becomes clotted and changed in appearance, and it is said that when some of them are placed in milk the milk does not become coagulated and when all the poison has been extracted by the stone it falls off, refusing

Thou art elephant-bodied, lion-conquering, thy mace if it so wishes, can place the rhinoceros firmly on the head of the sky like the tail of the wolf.¹

That Wazir wro to the punishment of the wolf of the sky has given his heart, like the rhinoceros and the elephant and the lion, instead of being confused.

Without the craft of the wolf, and the power of the rhinoceros, his determination strikes the head of the elephants with the driving hook² and brings sparks to the eyes of the lions.

In thy kingdom, Oh King ! from the strategy of thy caution the lion has laid aside its oppression, the wolf its deceit, and the rhinoceros its disorder through fear of thee.

Oh thou, whose order is like the decree of fate, thou from whose dignity the Emperor like Fate overcomes the rhinoceros, the wolf, the lion and the elephant.

3. Skin, and horn, and hair, and tear, of wolf, rhinoceros, lion and elephant will be of use in the way of life, and heart, and nature, and speech.

to adhere any longer, and does not coagulate milk. Whilst it is extracting the poison its colour changes, and when it is thrown into milk it returns to its original condition.

Another test is, when you rub it upon black or blue woollen cloth the cloth becomes white, if rubbed very hard for a long time the cloth becomes black and all whiteness disappears.

Another test : When it is placed in a porcelain vessel in lemon juice, it begins to move in a circular fashion. This test is not peculiar to this stone, but most shells and snails too, shew the same phenomenon. (*Makhzanu-l-Adwiyā*).

The *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* says only

حجر الحية حجر الفاذهر منه ما هو ثقیل اسود و منه ما هو رمادي
و منه ما فيه ثلثة خطوط

Hajaru-l-Haiyyah. The stone Pādzahr (Bezoar stone,) some kinds are heavy and black, some are ashen-grey, and some have three stripes.

¹ See note 3, page 115.

² کڑی MS. (A). The hook or goad with which elephants are driven called in Hindī अंकुश *Āṅkuṣ*.

For your armour and shoes, when did the wolf natured sky
select tears and skin from the elephant and lion and
rhinoceros ?

For that purpose again and again,¹ this old wolf from the
elephant and lion and the rhinoceros, brings as an offering
its hide and skin and teeth as a present of rare value.

The she-wolf drives away the lion² as a good omen,
If in hunting it comes in sight of your rhinoceros conquering
elephant

Elephant-bestower, I desire a desert place in Badaon,
Even though these regions are the abodes of the wolf and
rhinoceros and the lion

As long as the lion and the elephant are co partners in awe,
and the wolf and the rhinoceros are alike in writing³ so
long may your wolf crafty enemy, Oh rhinoceros destroyer
and elephant-like in strength,⁴ be humbled in the dust
• before the lion of your portico

May your enemies bereft of life become like the lions and
elephants and wolves and rhinoceros at the end of the
stony line in the public baths⁵

SULTAN RAZZIYAH BINT SULTAN SHAMSU D DIN

Came to the throne in the year 634 H (1236 A D), and followed
the path of equity and the principles of justice, set in order the
affairs which had remained in confusion, and set before her the pur 84
suit of beneficence, (which is as great a fault in women as stinginess
is in men) as the object of her ambition, and made Nizāmu-l-Mulk

¹ MS (A) تو تو MS (B) has تو تو

² Text and MS (B) MS (A) has در سكون To sight a jackal when going
to the chase is considered a good omen, a snake or a sheep is considered a
bad omen The she wolf is held to represent craft and cunning while the
lion represents strength The meaning seems to be the triumph of stratagem
over force

³ گوی and گری These words are exactly alike in writing

⁴ MSS (A) and (B) پیل استاد

⁵ The custom of ornamenting the walls of the public baths with frescoes
of animals and other subjects obtains at the present time in Persia, as it did
in ancient in the public baths of Greece and Rome The walls and ceilings
of the baths at Pompeii are an example of this

Tabarhindah, and on the way the Turki Amirs witnessing her immodest behaviour, rebelled, and seized both Sultan Razziyah and Jamal al Din Yaqut the Abyssinian, who had risen to be the Chief Amīr,¹ and confined them in the fortress of Tabarhindah.²

Seek not fidelity to its promise from the indolent world
For this old woman is the bride of a thousand lovers

³ There is no sign of faithfulness to promise in the smile of
the rose

Lament, Oh heart-reft nightingale, for here is cause for com-
plaint.

SULTAN MU'IZZU D DIN BAHRAM SHAH⁴ IBN SHAMSU D DIN

Next succeeded to the throne and came to Delhi. At this time Malik Ikhṭiyār al Din Altuniyah⁵ the ruler of Tabarhindah having espoused the Sultan Razziyah, and having gained over certain of the Amirs and a body of the Jats⁶ and Khukhars and all the land holders brought an army towards Delhi. Sultan Mu'izzu d Din Bahram Shah, sent the Malik⁷ Balban the younger (who eventually became Sultan Ghuyas al Din) with a vast army to oppose Razziyah, and a battle ensued in which the forces of Razziyah were defeated. She then went to Tabarhindah, and a second time collected her forces and rallied her scattered troops and arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of Katihāl⁸ with the intention of conquering Delhi, and again being defeated at the hands of the

¹ Rauḡat u Ṣafa calls him Chief Commander of troops. For subsequent events up to death of Razziyah see *Ṭabaqāt u Naṣir*.

² *Ṭabaqāt u Naṣir* states that they put Jamal al Din to death.

³ *Hafiz*. Ode beginning *بنا که قصر اهل سبب مست ندادست*.
See *Diwan Hafis Rosenweg Schvannau* I p. 30.

⁴ Son of Iyaltimis.

⁵ Altuniyah was appointed by Razziyah as feudatory of Baran (Bulandshahr) immediately upon her access on he was afterwards made feudatory of Tabarhindah. The account in the text differs slightly from that of the *Ṭabaqāt u Naṣir* see Raverty 647 note 9.

⁶ Elliott I 507. Treffenthaler II 206.

⁷ Malik Badru d Din Sankar Rumi had become Amīr, Ḥajib on the death of Ikhṭiyār al Din. He was the patron of Ghuyas al Din Balban for whom he obtained promotion to the dignity of Amīr Akhṭar. The account in the text tallies with that given in the *Ṭabaqāt u Akhṭar* but see Raverty 648 n. 2.

⁸ Katihāl Skr. Kaṣṭilāla. Lat 29° 48' 7" N Long 76° 26' 26" E 38 m less distant from Karnal and about 100 miles N W of Dehl. See Hunter, *Gaz.* vi 309.

Malik Balban the younger, took to flight and both she and Altūniyah fell into the hands of the Kawārs¹ and were put to death by order of Sultān Bahrām Shāh.

This event took place in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.),² and the duration of the reign of Razziyah was three years six months and six days.

A head which the neck carries loftily

That same head later finds a rope round its neck.

When the sovereign power was firmly established in the hands of Sultān Bahrām Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Ītkīn who was formerly Hājib and was married to a sister of the Sultān, and had got all the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands by the assistance of Nizāmu-l-Mulk Muhazzabu-d-Dīn, being accustomed always to keep a large elephant tied up at his door, like a king, was murdered in the year 638 H. together with Muhazzabu-d-Dīn Wazīr, by certain Fidāis,³ by the orders of the Sultān, and in this year the Sultān dealt with a party composed of Amīrs and chief men, and leading nobles, and grandees, and judges who used to hold secret meetings to discuss a change of monarchy and the appointment of a new king. Some of them he put to death, and

¹ The printed text and MS. (A) and MS. (B) all have كواران Kawārān. There is some little uncertainty as to the identity of this tribe. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says "Sultān Razziyah with Malik Altūniyah fell captive into the hands of Hindūs" (See Raverty's translation page 648 and note 3.)

It seems probable that the Kawārān here spoken of were a tribe of Jāts otherwise known by the name of Gaṭwārās. They are mentioned by Elliott, as holding villages in Gohana, in Sonipat Bangar and in the Doāb on the opposite side of the Jumna (see Elliott, *Races of the N. W. Provinces of India*, Vol. I. page 126).

² 638 A.H. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. There is a confusion here in the dates.

Firishta says that the armies met on the 4th Rabi'ul Awwal 637 A.H., and that Razziyah and Altūniyah were put to death on the 25th of the same month. As Razziyah came to the throne in 634, 637 would seem to be the correct date but see Raverty, p. 648, note 2.

³ فدائی چند is the reading of MS. (A). Firishta says "two Turks in a state of (feigned) intoxication." دو ترک بصورت مستان Minhāju-s-Sirāj writes, p. 192, Cal. Text دو نفر ترک مست را برسم فدائی از بالای قصر فرو فرستاد. He sent two intoxicated 'Turks, after the manner of Fidāis, down from the roof of the palace. A Fidāi is one who voluntarily and cheerfully undertakes any enterprise which he knows will cost him his life. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*) see Raverty *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* p. 651 n. 7.

some, as for example Badru d-Din Sangu Amīr Hajib¹ he sent to Badaon where they died in prison. Among them was Qazī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kashanī, whom they removed from his military command and appointed Qazī of Badaon, and Qazī Shamsu d-Dīn the Qazī of Marhīra² they threw under the feet of an elephant in the same way.

And in the year 639 H the troops of the Mughul Changiz Khan came and invested the city of Lahore, and Malik Qaraqash the Governor of Lahore fled one day at midnight and came to Delhi, where the Sultān pledged the Amīrs anew to fealty, and having summoned a conference sent Nizamu l Mulk³ Wazīr, who at heart was not friendly to the Sultān, to oppose the Mughul force in the Panjab. He, with craft and hypocrisy wrote a letter to the Sultān and made many complaints of the Amīrs who were with him, and begged the Sultān to come. The Sultān, however, not thinking it advisable to go in person, wrote a despatch to him in apparent sincerity, saying, "those recalcitrant Amīrs shall meet their punishment in due time, you should treat them with civility⁴ till then." He showed that despatch in original to the Amīrs and brought them over to his side, and the Sultān Mu'izzu d-Dīn Bahram Shah sent Hazrat Shaikh⁵ l Islam Khwaja i Khwajagān Qutbu d-Dīn Bahltiyār Ūshī,⁶ may God sanctify him, to the Amīrs to put

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¹ Who had been appointed Amīr Hajib when Ikhtiyāru d-Dīn was murdered. I

² The MS (A) reads قاصي شمس الدین قاصي مرهڑہ را تہ پای قیل. which reading I follow. Ferishta writes

قاصي شمس الدین وقاصي قصدهٔ مارهڑہ را در پای قیل اداحت

Tabaqat i Nafīs gives the details of this circumstance and states that it was brought about by the machinations of a Darwesh who was jealous of Qazī Shamsu d-Dīn and had sufficient influence over Bahram Shah to compass his enemy's death.

He calls the town *Mīhr* (Raverty 657 and note 4), MS (A) has مرهڑہ Marhīra.

³ *Tabaqat i Nafīs* states that the Sultān nominated Malik Qutbu d-Dīn Husain ibn Alī Ghūrī together with the Wazīr the Khwajah Muharrabu d-Dīn for this purpose and that the letter referred to in the text was written by him. (See Raverty 657, 658)

⁴ MS (A) تواند کہ تا ابرمان با ایشان مدارائی نکنی. Carrying into effect the maxim نادرستان تلطف با دشمنان مدارا.

⁵ See Raverty p 658 note 2. Qutbu d-Dīn Ūshī after whom the Qutb minar of Delhi is called died in 633 H. See Raverty 622 note 6.

See also page 92, note 2. This was another man Sayyid Qutbu d-Dīn.

matters straight and to quell the disturbance, but without success; the Shaikhū-l-Islām returned and came to Dehlī, and just at this juncture Nizāmu-l-Mulk and the Amīrs also arrived and besieged the Sultān in Dehlī,¹ and taking him captive imprisoned him, and after a few days despatched him to the next world² and set up another king in his place.

The times of old have had this habit

To take from this man and give to that.

The duration of his reign was two years and one month and fifteen days.

SULTĀN ALĀU-D-DĪN MAS'ŪD SHĀH IBN RUKNU-D-DĪN FĪROZSHĀH

Having been released from prison by the consent of his uncles Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd and Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, the sons of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, became king at the end of the year already mentioned (639 H.), after that 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban³ (the elder) had occupied the throne for one day and had issued a proclamation. None of the Maliks or Amīrs had been satisfied with this arrangement and reverted to Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and appointed Malik Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ḥasan as Deputy, and Malik Muhazzabu-d-Dīn Nizāmu-l-Mulk Wazīr of the kingdom, and in the year 640 H. the Amīrs of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd put to death Nizāmu-l-Mulk the Wazīr.

One should not desire brief kingship like that of the rose
For a torrent speedily breaks down a bridge.

The Wazīrship was conferred upon Ṣadru-l-Mulk Najmu-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, and Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger who had at first been called Ulugh Khān and afterwards attained the dignity of Sultān,⁴ became Amīr Ḥājib and in succession to him the governorship of Nāgor and Sind and Ājmir was conferred

¹ On Saturday the 19th of Sha'bān 639 H. The siege lasted till the month of Zī Qa'dah (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 659).

² On the 13th of Zī Qa'dah 639 H.

³ Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, see Raverty p. 775 and 660, note 1.

⁴ Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban was dignified with the title of Ulugh Khān and made Deputy of the kingdom and leader of the troops in the year 647 H., but was deprived of his office in 650-51 H. He was Amīr Akhūr till 642 H. when he became Amīr Ḥājib.

See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 298.

permanently upon Malik 'Izzu d Din Balban, the elder, Budaon was conferred upon Malik Taju d-Din, and in this year 'Izzu d Din Tughla Khan who had advanced from Karrah¹ to the neighbourhood of Lakhnauti sent Sharfu l Malik Ash'ari to the Sultan 'Alau d-Din with a written despatch, the Sultan then sent a red canopy and a special robe of honour in charge of the Governor of Oudh² for 'Izzu d Din Tughla Khan who was in Lakhnauti and having brought both his uncles aforementioned out of confinement, assigned the district of Qanauj to Malik Jalalu d Din, and Bahraj to Malik Nasiru d-Din Mahmud, who acquitted themselves in those districts to his satisfaction. And in the year 1211, the Mughul forces³ arrived in the district of Lakhnauti, the assumption is that the Mughuls must have come by way of Tibet and Khotā, and Sultan 'Alau d Din sent Timur Khan Qara Beg⁴ to the assistance of Tughla Khan and the Mughuls were defeated. Hostility arose between Tughla Khan and Malik Qiran,⁴ Tughla Khan came to Delhi, and Lakhnauti remained in the hands of Timur Khan⁴

¹ The printed text has **کراہ** but MS (A) has **کرہ** which is correct. Karrah is on the right bank of the Ganges Lat 25° 11' N Long. 81° 21' E (see Hunter, *Imp Gaz*) Vol VIII. Before Akbar's time Karrah was the seat of government

² Qazi Jalalu d Din Kasani (*Tabaqat i Nasiri*)

³ This is an error which has according to Raverty been handed on from author to author. The way the mistake originated is pointed out by him in his note 8 on p 665

The original reading was **کفار حاکم** *Kuj r i Jajnagar* which by some strange perversion became **کفار حاکم** thence to **کفار چنگر حاکم** and so to our author's statement

Jajnagar or Jajpur on the Baitarani river in Orissa capital of the province under the Lina Dynasty the Gajapati or Lords of Elephants (*Annals of Bengal* II 219 n 1) (see *Imp Gaz* Vol VII and *Stat Acc of Bengal* XVIII 80-81)

The **کفار حاکم** infidel hordes of Jajnagar were of course Hindus and not Mughuls hence the assumption in the text to account for their presence before Lakhnauti is as unnecessary as it is absurd

⁴ The real name of Timur Khan Qara Beg as he is called in the text, is Malik Qamaru l Din Qiran i Timur Khan and he is the Malik Qiran referred to a line or two later. In other words Malik Qiran and Timur Khan are one and the same person. In the text **قیران** is a misprint for **قیران** MS (1) See also Raverty 66 n 9

In this year the Mughūl army¹ arrived in the vicinity of Uchl and assaulted it, and the Sultān proceeding by forced marches with all possible speed, reached the banks of the river Biāh, and the Mughūls raising the siege of Uchl took to flight; the Sultān on reaching Delhī took to arresting and putting to death to such an extent that the Amīrs and nobles turned against him, and agreed to summon Malik Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn from Bahraīj, and upon his arrival at Delhī in the year 644 H, they threw Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd into prison and he speedily² exchanged that confinement for the prison house of eternity.

This is the way of the changeable world.

In kindness it gives and it robs you in wrath.

9. The duration of his reign was four years and one month.

SULTĀN NĀSIRU-D-DĪN MAḤMŪD IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN IYALTIMISH

Succeeded to the sovereignty in the year 644 H, (1246 A.D.) and the Wazīrship was conferred upon Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger, who was in reality great, and was the slave and son-in-law of the father of Nāṣiru-d-dīn.³

At the time of his accession great largesse was given, and the poets recited many congratulatory odes from some of which the following verses are taken—

¹ 1244 A.D. This was really a Mughūl force, under the command of "the accursed Mangūtah" (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

² On the 23rd of Muharram 644 H. (1246 A.D.).

His reign extended to a period of four years, one month and one day (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

³ Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish was born at the Qaṣr Bāgh in Delhi in the year 626 H. (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

It will be remembered that he was the second son of Iyaltimish to bear the name of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, which was given him upon the death of his elder brother (see p. 94) in 626 A. H. (see *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Cal. Text p. 201, l. 18)

He was a man of quiet and retiring disposition and spent most of his leisure in making manuscript copies of the Qur'ān. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*) thinks that this faculty "possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance on the earlier mintages in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters" (p. 125).

That great Lord who is a Hatim in generosity and a Rustum in energy.

Nasir i Dunya wa Din Mahmud ibn Iyaltimish

That great world conqueror, the roof of whose palace is the heaven

In the height of his dignity this lower sphere is his vesture

How can we measure the glory the *Sikka* acquires from his auspicious titles ¹

Or how compute the exultation of the *Khutbah* at the mention of his happy name

The records of his equity and his laudable qualities are evident from the book called *Tabaqat i-Nasiri* ² which was composed in his honour

The Sultan entrusted all the affairs of the kingdom to Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban and in giving him the title of Ulugh Khan said, "I deliver into thy hands the reins of absolute authority, beware lest thou commit thyself to any evil action,³ for tomorrow thou wilt be at a loss in the presence of Almighty God and thou wilt bring shame upon me and upon thyself" The Sultan himself would generally retire into his chamber and occupy himself in devotion, and reading the Qur'an and in repeating the sacred names of God may *He be glorified and exalted*, and it is currently reported that on the occasion of a public audience he used to clothe himself from head to foot in regal apparel, while in private he used to wear an old ragged garment, and they also say that he used to devote his time to the copy of the Qur'an which he was writing,⁴

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¹ His titles as given in the *Tabaqat i-Nasiri* were

As Sulṭānu l-'Alāma l-Muẓẓam Nasir u d-Dunya wa u d-Din, Abu l-Mu-zaffar i-Mahmūd Shah ibn i-Sulṭān Iyaltimish Yamīn i-Khalīfatū llah Naṣir i-Amīr i-Muminīn

The *Tabaqat i-Nasiri* of Minhaj u Siraj was written in his court and dedicated to him hence its name

² *Tabaqat i-Nasiri* of Minhaj u Siraj is a general history up to 658 H composed by Abu Umar Minhaj u d-Din Usman ibn Siraj u d-Din al-Juzjani See Elliott II 259 An English translation by Major Raverty has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica by the Asiatic Society of Bengal

³ زہار کاری و د بکری

⁴ Ibn i-Batuta states in his history (French edition, Vol III, p 169).

و کاں ملکا صالحا یسبح لہا من الکتاب العزیز و بیعہا فیقتات ثمنہا
و قد وقعنی القامی کمال الدس علی مصحف لخطہ منقح محکم الکتابۃ

the Khukhars¹ and other contumacious tribes, joined the Sultān and returned to Dehli, and in the year 645 H, having taken Miwat² turned his attention to the country of the Doab, and the same year having sent Ulugh Khān from the confines of Karrah to oppose and overthrow the rebels of that district, arrived at Dehli with great spoil

And in the year 646 A H, he proceeded against Rantanbhur, and having punished the seditious tribes of those districts he returned, and in the year 647 H, he married the daughter of Ulugh Khān

Then in the year 648 H, he took an army towards Multan, and after some days Malik 'Izzu d Din Balban-i Buzurg, the Governor of Nagor, withdrew his foot from the circle of allegiance and rebelled,³ but when the Sultān proceeded thither, he begged for pardon and joined the Court.

! And in the year 649 H he marched in the direction of Gwalior and Chandēri and Malwa, and Jahir Dev⁴ the Rai of that

¹ Khukhars, see Tieff I 104 and 105, Le district des salines est habite par les *Khocares* ce sont ceux qui tirent le sel des mines c'est un nation qui a quitte l'idolatrie pour embrasser le mahometisme See also this volume, p 67, n 3

² Text and MS (A) *میوات* Miwat This place is not mentioned in the *Tabaqat-i Naşiri*, it is mentioned in the *Ain-i Akbari* (I (Jarrett 307) as the place to which Naşrat Khān fled from Dehli when it was seized by Iqbal Khān, some 150 years later than the events recorded in the text

Tieffenthaler, Vol I, p 211, Mevat est un canton assez etendu borne par les provinces de Dehli et d'Adjmere et par les Districts de Djepour et de Dik It extends north and south from Badshapur to Harsana 47 miles and east and west from Dik to Narnol 57 miles' Alwar is about the centre of it now

Tieffenthaler goes on to say 'Cette contrée est habitee par beaucoup de Mahometans qui etaient ci devant gentils Elle appartenait auparavant aux Afghans dans le tems qu'ils regnoient a Dehli Le Gouvernement passa ensuite aux Mogols Maintenant le Djat (Jats) s'en est approprie la plus grande partie et une partie est tombée au pouvoir du Rajah de Djepour (Jaipur) qui en a expulse beaucoup d'habitans mahometans

He speaks of the abundance of Nim (*Melia azadirachta*) and Sissoo (*Dalbergia sissoo*) trees, and praises the cattle and horses of the country

He speaks of Narnol the capital city of the district, as having formerly been populous and flourishing See also Rennell's Memoir (1788) p 75

³ *Tabaqat-i Naşiri* says this occurred in 649 H, which is more probably correct, as it is the account of a cotemporary historian

⁴ This Raja is called in the *Tabaqat-i Naşiri*, Chahar Ajari, he was independent sovereign of Narwar in A D 1246 (644 A H) under the name of Chahar Deva, his coins bearing the inscription *यौ चारु देव*. He was a very powerful Raja (see Thomas 67 et seqq and Raverty 690 note 1)

country with five thousand cavalry and 200,000 infantry came out to meet him and gave battle to the Sultān in great force, but was defeated and the fort of Narwar¹ was taken. And in this year Sher Khān Governor of Multān, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Balban who had left Nāgōr with reinforcements for him reduced the fortress of Uchh, and Sher Khān remained in the fortress, while Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Balban came to pay his respects to the king, and received from him as a *jāegīr* the districts of Budāon and was given the title of Kashlū Khān.

And in the year 650 H. (1252 A.D.) he left Dehlī intending to proceed to Lahore, and from there he went to Multān and Uchh, and in this expedition Kashlū Khān accompanied the Sultān as far as the river Biāh.

And in the year 651 H. marching from Dehlī, he detailed forces to act against Tabarhindah and Uchh and Multān of which Sher Khān had lost control, and of which the Sindhīs held possession; and having regained possession of them, handed them over to the charge of Aرسالān Khān and returned. And in the year 652 H. having assembled an army on the confines of the country at the foot of the hills² of Bijnor, and having crossed the Ganges by

¹ Narwar.—In the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, we find the Sarkar of Narwar as having 500 Cavalry, 20,000 Infantry. Narwar itself had a stone fort (see also Raverty 690, note 1).

In the text **نور** is a misprint for **نور** MS. (A).

Narwar. Tieff. I. 175 gives a sketch plan of the fortress of Narwar and a long description from which the following note is abridged.

A town of moderate size about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile long and ten in breadth, protected in his time (about 1780 A.D.) with stone walls, but formerly unprotected. Latitude 25° 30' N. Longitude taken from the Islands of the Blest 93° 24'. (Cf. *Āin-i-Akbarī* [Jarrett] III. 60.) Houses well and substantially built with flat roofs.

It has four gates, and there was a Christian family of Armenian stock who had built a palace, and a chapel where a Jesuit father said mass. The fortress was built upon a mountain having two peaks or spurs running parallel North and South.

He considers it must have been impregnable in old times before the invention of gunpowder "pour le malheur du genre humain et la ruine des villes."

A good supply of water is furnished by a large tank paved and flanked with stone. He also speaks of a magnetic iron ore from which they procure iron by smelting for export in various forms, and a flint of a whitish colour and marvellous hardness used for flint locks.

² Of Bardār and Bijnor (*Tubaqūt-i-Nāṣirī*). In the text instead of

the "ford of Miāpur¹ and hugging the skirt of the mountain, reached the banks of the river Rahab,² and having taken much booty and made many prisoners, giving themselves up to rapine and making prisoners,³ invaded the country of Kaṭihar⁴ going to Bidaon and from thence to Oudh, and hastened to the capital. And after some time news arrived that certain of the Amirs, namely Ulugh Khān i A'zam, and Arsalan Khān and others, in concert with Malik Jalalu d-Din, the brother of the Sultān, had commenced hostilities in the vicinity of Tabarhindah. The Sultān thereupon marched from Dehli, and in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah and Kuhrīm and Kaithal,⁵ by the intervention of a party of Amirs, the Amirs agreed to peace, and with many protestations and oaths suing for pardon came into submission to the Sultān, and the Sultān conferred upon Malik Jalalu d-Din the Governorship of Lahore, and proceeded to the capital. And in the year 653 H the feelings of the Sultān underwent a change with respect to his mother Malika-i Jahan. He gave Qutlugh Khān, to whom Malika-i Jahan was married, a *jūgar* in Oudh,⁶ and a short time after turning against him also⁷ sent him to Bahriy. He took fright at this and came to the hill country of Sir Mur, and Malik 'Izzu d-Din Kashlu Khān and certain other Amirs made common cause with him and laid the foundation of revolt, the Sultān

* کوہ پادے لشکر which is manifestly wrong I read کوہ پادے لشکر as in MS (A)

¹ Here again the printed text is hopelessly wrong MS (A) reads as follows —

واراک گنگ بگرمیا پورگذشتہ which is intelligible and tallies with *Ṭabaqat-i Nāṣiri*. Where the reading حوالا پور in the text comes from, it is hard to say

² MS (A). The text reads قالب آب راست رسید see Albiruni (India) (Sachau) II 261 also Elliott, I 49 as regards the Rahab

³ وبتاراج واسر داده MS (A)

⁴ The Calcutta text of the *Ṭabaqat-i Nāṣiri* calls this کاتھر Kaethar. Our text has کٹیہر *Kaṭihar*, MS (A) has کٹیہر (?) MS (B) کشمیر (1) see Raverty 696 note 4

⁵ See Elliott II p 354

⁶ The printed text gives در اورده It should be در اورده MS (A)

⁷ This should read در اندک مدت نوا بیر تعیر نموده not as in the printed text

accordingly detailed Ulugh Khān Balban with a large army¹ to oppose them, and when the two forces had arrived within a short distance of each other the Shaikhū-l-Islām Saiyyid Qutbu-d-Dīn and Qāzī Shamsu-d-Dīn of Bharāij and another party of men incited Qutlugh Khān to come into Dehli, and inspired him with a desire to possess that country;² the inhabitants of Dehli joined in this instigation. Ulugh Khān represented this at the Sultān's court, and the Sultān issued an order for every individual of that party to go separately to his own place, and Qutlugh Khān and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān after this defeat, traversed the distance of a hundred *krohs*³ in two days and came from Sāmāna to Dehli, but did not find the party

33. which had been the cause of their being summoned. Qutlugh Khān and Kashlū Khān also were separated, and Ulugh Khān following them arrived in the Sultān's presence.⁴ And in the year 655 H. the Sultān issued an order for the expulsion of certain nobles and grandees from the city of Dehli, and at the end of this year the Mughūls arrived on the boundaries of Uchh and Multān; Kashlū Khān Balban made common cause with them and the Sultān came up in hot haste against them. The Mughūls were not able to stand against him and turned back towards Khurāsān. The Sultān also raised the banner of return towards the capital and having bestowed a robe of honour upon Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn Jānī marched towards Lakhnauti.⁵ And in the year 656 H. (1258 A.D.) ambassadors came to the Sultān from Turkistān, and he sent them back loaded with presents, and in this year Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Ganjshakar,⁶ *may God magnify his power and exalt his*

¹ This account differs from that given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. (See Raverty p. 703 and *seqq.*)

² و تطمع دران ملک کردند MS. (A). The word تطمع is omitted in Calcutta text.

³ About 180 miles, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* II, p. 414, also Cunn. A. G. I., p. 571.

The ancient *Krosa* of Magadh was about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, the *kos* of the Gangetic provinces was rather more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The *Akbarī kos* was rather less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles and this is the standard referred to above.

⁴ These Maliks (Qutlugh Khān and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān) retired towards the Siwālik territory foiled in their object (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

⁵ Compare the account in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* according to which these events took place in the year 656 H. not in 655 H.

⁶ Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-shakar was the grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul, and son of Kamālu-d-Dīn Suleimān who came from Kābul to

memory,¹ left the lodging house of separation and disappointment for the home of nearness and fulfilment

And in the year 657 H. elephants and great treasure and jewels and cloths without number, arrived from Lakhnauti as presents, and in Rajab of this year Malik 'Izzu d-Din Kashlu Khān Balban earning relief from the turmoil of this transitory world, hastened to the next world, and in this year Ghānu l-'Ālam Hazrat Shāikh Bahāu d-Din Zakariya² the Multani, may God sanctify him, raised the tent of³ close union with God Almighty, and a celebrated poet wrote this couplet to record the date

By the arrow of the love of God one was wounded (*zakhami*)
the other perished (*kham*)⁴

Multan in the reign of Shihābu d-Din Churī. He was one of the numerous disciples of Bahāu d-Din Zakariya, and died two years later than his master, according to Firishta (see also *Īn : Akbari* [Jarrett] III p 363)

His tomb is mentioned in the *Īn : Akbari* (I 323) as being at Ajudhan (Pak Patan or Patan i Panjab)

There is, as will be seen, considerable discrepancy in the dates Badaoni gives 666 H as the date of Faridu d-Din Ganjī shakar's death and 657 H as that of the death of Bahāu d-Din Zakariya, while according to Firishta the latter should be 666 H and the former 668 H. The *Īn : Akbari* gives 668 H as the date of the death of Faridu d-Din Ganjī shakar and 665 H as the date of the death of Bahāu d-Din Zakariya

¹ MS (A) *احل الله قدره واعلى ذكره* The printed text is wrong here

² Shāikh Bahāu d-Din Zakariya was a famous Muḥammadan saint of Multan. He was the grandson of Kamalu d-Din 'Alī Shah Qureishī who left Mecca for Khwarazm and thence came to Multan the Qubbatu l-Islam, and resided there, and became acknowledged by the people as their teacher and guide. Shāikh Bahāu d-Din was the son of Shāikh Wajihu d-Din by the daughter of Husam d-Din Tarmadī and was born in the fort of Kot Karor in 587 H. He died at Delhi about the year 666 H; while engaged in devotion in his chamber an angel bearing a sealed missive having appeared to his son Sadru d-Din Arif with a command to give the missive to Bahāu d-Din. He did so and retired but returned on hearing voices in the room saying دوست دوست رسید. The friend has joined the friend" when he found his father lying dead

This account is abridged from Firishta. The account of the saint given by Beale differs from this but the source of the information given there is not stated. See also *Īn : Akbari* (Jarrett) III 362 and note

The tomb of Bahāu d-Din Zakariya is in Multan.

³ MS (A) *در حوال قدس دو الحلال*

⁴ The word *رحمی* gives the date 657 H. the word *حون* gives the date 56 H. See page 133 note 1

And in the year 658 H. Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd, chastised the country of Mīwāt¹ and the rest of that district, and when he was fully established as Malik in the year 664 H. he fell sick and closed his eyes on the world of dreams and fancies, and went to the eternal kingdom.² He left no heir; the duration of his reign was nineteen years, three months and a few days. His tomb is well known in Dehli, and every year crowds flock to visit it.

Verse.

Come and cast one thoughtful look upon this dust.
For it is the dust of the resting-place of trusted kings.

And of the number of those who sounded the drum of poetry and attained the rank of Maliku-l-Kalām (Lord of Eloquence) during Nāṣiru-d-Dīn's reign, one was Shamsu-d-Dīn Dabīr³ whose manifest excellencies and perfection are beyond description and need no narration and praise, and Mir Khusrū,⁴ *may God sanctify him*, who tested the genuineness of his own poems by the touchstone of their acceptability to that other (Shamsu-d-Dīn) used to boast of them, and in the preface to the *Ghurraṭu-l-Kamāl* and at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* greatly embellished his words in the mention of the praiseworthy qualities and in spreading

¹ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* Cal. Text, p. 227 reads :

خان معظم الخ خان اعظم بر طرف جبال دهلي براي دفع فساد متمردان

میوات که دیو از ایشان در هراس باشد نهضت فرمود

Khān-i-Mu'azzam Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam marched towards the hills of Dehli to quell the insurrection of the robbers of Mīwāt who would be a terror to devils.

For a full account of the province of Mīwāt see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX. It includes the British districts of Muttra and Gurgāon, part of Ulwar and Bhartpur. See also page 129, note 2, of this Volume.

² On the 11th Jamādīu-l-Awwal; as he came to the throne on the 23rd Muharram 644 H. his reign was *twenty* years three months and some days, not as stated in the text. He left no issue, his only son by the daughter of Ulugh Khān having died in infancy.

³ There is no mention of this poet in either the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣṣah* or the *Ātashkada*. There are some highly laudatory verses at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* in praise of one Abū Hanīfah, possibly referring to Shamsu-d-dīn.

⁴ Amīr Khusrū (who has already been mentioned at page 96, note 2), son of Amīr Mahmūd Saifu-d-Dīn was born at Patīālā 651 A.H. and died at Dehli in 725 A.H. (Beale p. 151).

abroad the excellencies of (that friend of his) And Sultān Ghīyasu d Dīn Balbān having at the end of his reign appointed him Secretary for the countries of Bangala and Kamūd had left him in the service of his elder son Naṣīru d Dīn¹ Bughlā Khan, and these few couplets are from an ode of his

Oh thou² of whom this work of my heart is unworthy
though my ignorance, thou gavest me last night a false
promise of entertainment

All night I kept my eyes awake and³ I did not know that
that was longing of that kind which you know to be vain

I keep my heart⁴ exercised thinking of thy face, and wonder-
ing why thy colour is so ripe and thy forehead like virgin
silver

The date assigned for his birth seems unlikely as he would only have been thirteen when Naṣīru d Dīn died. The *Mayma ul Fuṣah* gives no date for his birth but says his father came to Dehli from Turkistan in the time of Changīz Khan's invasion and obtained great distinction in the court of Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Tuglīaq Shah and was killed in a rebellion of the infidels when his son Amir Khusrū was appointed as his successor in his Amirship which he eventually gave up and acquired great skill and distinction as a poet. He died in 720 H and was buried in the tomb of Shaikh Shāharganj (Farīdu d Dīn Ganjshakar see note 1, page 133)

He was the author the celebrated *Qirānu s Sa dān* the poem which was written to commemorate the meeting of Sulṭān Naṣīru d Dīn with his son Sulṭān Kai Qubād on the banks of the Ghagra, and of several other works (see Elliott, III pp 523 and seqq)

¹ MS (A) reads correctly سلطان ناصر الدین Sultan Naṣīru d Dīn Bughlā Khan second son of Ghīyasu d Dīn Balbān. He was placed in charge of Bengal after the revolt and defeat of its governor Tuglral

He married a daughter of Sulṭān Naṣīru d Dīn Maḥmūd Shah by whom he had a son and successor Kai Qubād (See Raverty *Tabaqat i Naṣīr* 716 n)

In Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Dehli* there is given a copy of an inscription of Naṣīru d Dīn Maḥmūd which was engraved over the doorway of the minaret at Aligarh bearing the date 10th Rajab A H 602 and the author mentions, in rather too mild terms the wanton Vandalism which allowed a record of this kind to be destroyed in 1861

Thomas advances the opinion that the original design for this inscription both in matter and form was the work of Naṣīru d Dīn himself, (cf Thomas op cit 129-130)

² MS (A) ای

³ MS (A) و

⁴ MS (A) بچہ دارم دل

95.

I am overcome with idleness though it urges me on to strenuous endeavour—but there is a loose bond between me and distraction.

Do not make me prepared with (the fire of) thy love¹ since I am thy guest, because it is a great virtue to offer sacrifice of unprepared flesh.

We said “no Muslim will eat raw flesh,” but look! thy grief has devoured me raw. Is this your religious devotion.

² You call me “raw,” if I cut open my own breast, I will shew you that the heart which thou considerest raw, is ready. So amazed am I at thy beauty and the glory of the king that my imperfect work remains raw from my amazement.

Since the king is a second *Khusrū*, my work will never remain unfinished, by reason of the kingdom of the second *Khusrū*—

Conqueror of the world³ and of religion, he in view of whose sovereignty the desire of Emperors for the Kingdom of Suleimān was vain.

The king Maḥmūd Shāh, that Sultān from whose father's glory the cauldron of one single⁴ desire, by reason of his empire, is not left unfilled.

If the Sun of his benevolence shines in the direction of the garden no fruit issues from the branches of the garden unripe.⁵

What resource has the Sky if it does not support the burden of thy dignity—how can you expect a raw baggage animal to bear a heavy load!

Thy enemy deserves this that you should sew him in a raw hide⁶

¹ MS. (A) عشق

² MS. (A) خام میخوانیم ارسینه خود بشگافم
پخته بنمایم آن دل که تو میخوانی خام

³ MS. (A) ناصر دنیا. The text has ناخبر which is meaningless and spoils the scansion.

⁴ دیگ یک ارزویش MS. (A).

⁵ MS. (A) ناید از شاخ.

⁶ This was a favourite mode of punishment in olden times: the unfortunate victim was sewn up in a raw hide which as it dried, shrunk and inflicted terrible tortures.

Vide page 12, note 2. Muḥammad Qāsim, (Elliott and Dowson I. 209.)

for on the body of an inexperienced man of what use is
it for you to fit a raw hide¹

Thy enemy bathes in blood,² instead of the collar of his 96
garment the prisoner places on his neck every moment a
raw hide

Every deed of thine is like³ perfected gold, and those who
wish thee evil are imperfect in their work from envy
and the assurance of shame

Thy enemy is that naked demon⁴ who has a skin made of
the whole of the Earth, and that too, if you take it off him
is a raw hide

If thou dost not spread thy table every day twice before the
people, they will perforce eat raw grain, since the hand of
despair from lack of bread has no other resource.

If thy enemy becomes ruined⁵ what fear is there? although
he advances in a futile attack, like the lion of the flag he
is helpless though impotence⁶

Of what avail⁷ is the sorcery of Fara'un since the dragon
of your standard will swallow the fictitious serpent

Oh Khusru¹ Shamsu d din² is thy secretary, strong and
well proved in speech—he is not like the worthless Scribes
an inexperienced scribbler

He himself is experienced⁹ and his verse is like purified
gold—his words are not like the best sayings of Kharqani
still in the rough

The sky has prepared a perfect kingdom¹⁰ for thee—Oh Lord

¹ MS (A) چہ دشاہی حام

² MS (B) agrees with the text MS (A) reads

مل حصم است لکون حای رہ پدراش

The textual reading is adopted with رہ in place of رہ

³ MS (A) چہ

⁴ MS (A) ان قول کہ ار کل دہان

⁵ MS (A) بر باد

⁶ کشکان (Burhan : Qit) بمعنی دیوت - کشکان

⁷ MS (1) چہ بارد چو

⁸ شمس الدین دینر See page 134 n 3

⁹ MS (A) حسب اورا پختہ و

¹⁰ MS (A) بہر تو ملک ناز The line as it stands in the text will :

in thy favour grant that his perfect work may never revert to imperfection.

And the King of Kings and of Speech Amīr Fakhru-d-Dīn 'Amīd Lūmakī¹ writes in a Qaṣīda of which this is the opening couplet.

When my loved one takes² the lute, and binds the plectrum on her fingernail

Her nail strikes Nāhīd³ with a hundred wounds in the heart through envy.

7. Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nāhīd at that instant.

Her nail becomes altogether blue from the effect of that fever.⁴

Consider the henna on her nails to be like blood, which at the time of the springing of the strings from the harp dry as a reed, has spurted forth and made the nail moist.

If in play my nail has scratched your lip, do not be vexed⁵ at that,

Because now and then they dip the nail into sugar by way of tasting it.

Keep the point of your nail as sharp as a glance my love, for the harp has no confidence in the fingers save for the sharpness of their nails.

Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness,⁶ because compared with thy face, the bride of the moon has brought blood to its nails through envy.

Give me wine red as the blood of a hare at the remembrance

¹ Fakhru-d-Mulk Khwāja 'Amīdu-d-Dīn, commonly known as 'Amīd Dailamī or 'Amīd Lūmakī said to be a native of Sannām and eulogist of Sulṭān Muḥammad Yamīn.

² MS. (A) reads چو بردارد نگارم. زخمه بر ناخن MS. (B) reads پردازد i.e. plays the lute.

³ Nāhīd. The planet Venus زهرة, *zuhra* whose seat is in the third heaven (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*) called also راقی فلک. *raqqāṣ-i-falak*. (the dancer of the sky). Astrologers say that this planet is of a pearly hue, of beneficent aspect, and with the quality of excessive moistness.

⁴ از تاثیران تپ MS. (A). This reading is preferable to that of the text.

⁵ ازین مشکن MS. (A).

⁶ بیاورده باطف مهر دلداري MS. (A). MS. (B) is like the text.

of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the paws of the male lions.

Shāhanshah Nāṣir-i-Dunyā wa-Dīn Maḥmūd, by whose equity the partridge with its beak has torn off the claws of the swift-flying¹ hawk

By the fate-like oppression of his enemy he has fallen in danger of ruin,² just as one's nail is in danger in the hands of an unskilled burler³

His head is in danger of severance⁴ by the sword of the daring, like the nail at the time of paring, in accordance with the Ḥadīṣ⁵

¹ MSS (A) (B) ز باز نیز تر

² MS. (A) آمد آید is the better reading as in the text

³ Compare the Arabic proverb. *في رأس اليتيم يتعلم السجام* *In capite orphani discit tonsor.*

There is also a Hindi proverb to the same effect, which runs —

سیکھیکا بار کا کٹیکا بگوار کا

The barber's son will learn and the traveller's head will be cut.

⁴ MSS (A) (B) مرش بر درو قتلست The reading in the text is a copyist's error

⁵ MSS (A) (B) تقليم الاطفار تقليم In the اخبار Jam: u l akḥbar of شيخ صدوق we find ويزيد في الرزق

"Paring the nails prevents the worst of all diseases (i. e., poverty) and increases the means of subsistence" Also,

من قلم اطفارة وقص شاربه في كل جمعة ثم قال بسم الله وعلى سنة رسول الله اعطى بكل قلامة مئة رقنة من ولد اسمعيل -

'He who pares his nails and trims his beard every Friday saying "In the name of God and in accordance with the ordinance of the prophet of God," every paring shall be counted to him as the manumission of a slave of the sons of Isma'il'

Special rules are laid down for cutting the nails. They must be cut on Friday, and Muḥammad said, He who cuts his nails in alternate order will never be afflicted with blear eyes. It is also said in a Ḥadīṣ by Ḥamid ibn 'Abdu r-Rahman

من قص اطفارة يوم الجمعة دخل فيه شفاء وخرج منه داء

"He who pares his nails on Friday is filled with health and sickness leaves him" The preferable time for paring the nails is Thursday after the evening prayer. In the case of the right hand one should commence from the little finger, proceeding to the middle finger and thence to the thumb thence to the ring finger and lastly to the forefinger. The order in the left hand is (1) Thumb (2) middle finger (3) little finger (4) forefinger (5) ring finger

From the dread of the falcon of his equity it behoves that they should take to flight ¹ when the eagle with lancet-like talons casts his feathers and talons (through fear).

Such a quarry do they see, ² that from their absence of claws and their distress, their claw demands as a loan from the small-clawed partridge its claws.

3. For this reason that in the presence of his power, the sky scratches his head for envy, and each month, because of that power, displays the body of the ³ moon in the shape of a nail paring (crescent).

Compared with the perfumed dust raised by his charger the dust-like grains of the musk-bag have become valueless as the dust which is found under every nail.

You would say his arrow is a finger from the hand of victory because it appears as though his nail were like a willow-leaf-bladed soul-destroying spear.

A finger which if he so wills it, like an Indian spear embeds its nail in the mind of iron and the heart of separation. ⁴

The sword of his wrath has imprinted such a scar on the cheek of his enemy as remains on the cheek of the mother from the anger ⁵ of the infant.

Grudging the life of his evil-disposed enemies, lo! the boars of Fate have sharpened their tusks, and the lions of Destiny their claws.

Power of the world! when the point of thy sword scratches the hearts, it has carried away from the paws of the oppression of the dog-natured sky its claws. ⁶

How can thy enemy be at all like thee, how can he approach thy dagger, whereas when he brandishes his dagger it becomes at that moment ⁷ like a finger nail.

¹ چوپر ناخن. The text should read thus.

² چنان بینند MSS. (A) (B).

³ MS. (B) writes چرم قمر.

⁴ This line should read. نشانند در ضمیر آهن و قلب حجر ناخن. MSS. (A) and (B).

⁵ Text از سوز سپر MSS. (A) and (B) have از سوز سپر which must be wrong

⁶ The text is wrong, we should read سیر ناخن. بر د از پنجه جور سپهر سنگ. MSS (A) and (B).

⁷ The text it appears should read انگاهی MS. (A).

If his pride so misleads him that he finds fault with you, the
tip of his finger becomes as dust in his hand and his nail
as nothing¹

The edge of thy sword protects the face of the world,² if
there had not been the nail as a shield behind the back of
the finger tip it had not been well

If the envious of the nail of thy bravery bears a grudge
against thee, perchance poor fellow it is because he does
not know that the nail is poisonous

I have brought in the word nail (*nāḥḥan*) as *radif*³ in this 99.
poem which is like a charm. Truly it is as useful in
magic, as the horn of the herd or the tip of the nail⁴

Oh king, do not desert me, so long as the spiteful heaven
strikes every moment one nail upon another by way of
producing the notes of my fate

Inasmuch as the mention arose of 'Amid, who was controller
of all the states of Hindustan, it is essential to reproduce some
thing from poems of his which are rarely met with

Arise 'Amid if thy heart is not cold and dead

Leave thy love poems, and speak the praise of the Lord of
the world

Praise the Court of Heaven, for he has raised on high many
an azure dome without the useless aid of tools,

¹ MS (۱) وهدرناحس

² MS (A) پناه روی عالم

³ رديف *Radif* The name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme but
in no way essential to it. Thus in this poem the word نَاحِ nāḥḥan is the
radif the rhyming letter or قَوَیْه qayyah being ر (r). In MS (۱) these
verses are in the order given here

⁴ In Persia it is the custom to bury the parings of the nails, and the cut
tings of the hair lest some harm should happen to the owner should they
fall into the possession of a malicious person with magical power. The
butchers also make a hole or a cut in the hlaḥ bones of sheep for the same
reason as they are considered a powerful instrument of magic. In the list of
charms given in Gaster's translation of the *Sword of Moses* we find 69,
to send plagues take (puruḡa?) from seven men and put them into a new
potsherd and go out to the cemetery and there say No 69 and bury it in a
place that is not trodden by horses and after wards take the dust from this
potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house. J R A S,
Jan 1896 p 185

He has appointed two kings (the Sun and Moon) to travel over this blue dome, and has allotted to them the planets as attendant cavaliers on all sides.

The tiring woman of his skill has displayed a hundred beauteous stars at nightfall from behind the curtain of nine folds.¹

He has ordained for the lady of the world, in Night and Day two able handmaids with the titles of Rūmī and Hindū (i.e., fair and dark).

Without any shop-keeper in the small shop of the sky, he has suspended in one corner a pair of scales with two pans.²

His skill has caused the crimson anemone³ to grow upon the summit of the mountains, his bounty has caused the Sūrī⁷ and Rāhū⁷ to blossom in the garden.

¹ The nine heavens, beginning from the lowest are:—

1 فلک القمر Falaku-l-qamar (Moon).

2 فلک العطارد Falaku-l-uṭārād (Mercury).

3 فلک الزهرة Falaku-z-Zuhra (Venus).

4 فلک الشمس Falaku-sh-Shams (Sun).

5 فلک المريخ Falakū-l-Mirrīkh (Mars).

6 فلک المشتري Falaku-l-Mushtarī (Jupiter).

7 فلک الزحل Falaku-z-Zuḥal (Saturn).

8 فلک الثوابت Falaku-s-sawābit (Fixed stars).

9 فلک الاطلس Falaku-l-Aṭlas (The plain sky).

N.B.— اطلس Means an unstamped coin)

See the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*.

See also *Āin-i-Akbarī* III. (Jarrett) 37, note 1.

See also *Kashshāf* Bib: Ind. Vol. II., p. 1134 and seqq.

² The constellation Libra, called ترازوی چرخ (*tarāzū-i-charkh*) or فلک ترازوی (*tarāzū-i-falak*) or میزان (*mīzān*).

³ سوري "A beautiful red rose of an odoriferous and exhilarating flavour" (sic.) Steingass. In the *Hasht Bihisht* of Amīr Khusrū, we find لب پر راهو . از خنده چون گل سوري . A full smiling lip like the flower of the Sūrī. None of the dictionaries give this word nor can I ascertain what the flower is.

شقائق النعمان *Shaqā'iqu-n Nu'mān* so called because of its redness as being likened to the flashing شقیقة of lightning or from النعمان in the sense of "blood" as resembling blood in colour so that it signifies "pieces of blood," (Lane) s. v. شقیقة

At one time with the point of the compasses of his bounty
he has limned the form of the mouth at another with the
pen of his favour he has delineated the two eyebrows

The face of day by his bounty has become a blaze of whiteness .10
The locks of the night by his skill have become a marvel of
blackness

The kings of the earth¹ with submission and humility, in
search of honour have rubbed their faces in the dust of
his threshold

Every month has its moon upon the plain of the sky, at one
time curved like the *chaujan*,² at another round like the ball

So just is he, that at the time of dispensing justice he has
never injured any one even an hair's breadth by oppression
That one who sought his food in the heart's blood of grapes
he made on the morrow black with disgrace like the cheek
of the plum³

The partridge with its (weak) claws could attack a hundred
hawks if so many heads of ants give such power to the
partridge

The morning breeze bestowed out of his all encompassing
bounty upon Chín and *Khatā*⁴ the perfume of the bag of
the musk deer

Hear from me oh friend, since you have heard the declaration
of unity, a piece of advice to he using which both your ear
and mine are attentive.

Beware of giving an ear to the sound of the strings of the harp
Beware of turning your attention to the flagon fashioned of
earth (wine flask)

Those who in this way live on good terms with their lovers,
such as you, do not say, Where is one of that company?

¹ سلاطین مکاری (*Salāṭin : majarī*) So called kings, as opposed to
سلاطین حقیقی (*Salāṭin : haqqī*) true kings, i.e., the prophets

² چوگان According to the *Burhan : Qaṭī* this name is given to any stick
with a bent end, especially to the bent stick with which they play the
"dhal" and "naqqara" (kinds of drums) Also applied to a long pole
with a curved end from which is suspended a steel ball as one of the insignia
of royalty Here it is a "pole stick"

³ Wine is forbidden to Muslims by their religion, Cf. Qur'an, II 216 and
V 92

⁴ خطا *Khatā* Cathay vid D Herbelot, II, 431 *Kl* athai.

Do you yourself behold every morning, for the dove on the garden bough by its song of Kū Kū¹ bears witness to this beneficent one.

Cast thine eye upon the ground that thou mayest see poured out there many a friend of kind aspect, and many a sweet-natured loved one

Do thou 'Amīd again lay hold of the thread of confession of unity

And hang it upon the rosary of thy prayers as it were pearls. Oh Sovereign Lord! world-possessing Deity who art ever-living

Yet without (the intervention of the vivifying) spirit,² and eloquent without a (material) tongue.

5. The song of the dove, Where? Where?

رداعي

آن قصر که بر چرخ همی زد پهلوی
بر درگاه او شاهان نه-آدندي رو
دیدیم که بر کنگره اش فاخته

آواز همی داد که کو کو کو کو (Omār Khayyām).

You palace towering to the welkin blue

Where kings did bow them down and homage do

I saw a ring dove on its arches perched

And thus she made complaint Coo. Coo; Coo Coo (Whinsfield).

The pious Muḥammadans in India say that the ringdove's note is

سبحان تیري قدرت سبحان تیري قدرت. *Subḥān terī qudrat, Subḥān terī qudrat.* Praise be to Thee for thy power.

² روح *Rūḥ* is the vital principle the "breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7) as distinguished from the نفس *nafs* or conscious manifestation of life, or the consciousness itself. Thus we find in the Qur'ān XV. 29.

وَنَفَخْتُ فِيْهِ مِنْ رُّوْحِيْ *wa nafaḥtu fīhi min rūḥī*, "and breathed into it of my spirit;" and again in Qur'ān V. 116.

إِنْ كُنْتَ قُلْتَ فَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ مَا فِيْ نَفْسِيْ

In kunto qultuhu faqad 'alimtu mā fī nafsī.

"Had I said so verily thou wouldst have known it, thou knowest what is in my soul"

It is said in a tradition that God created Adam and put into him a نفس *nafs* and a روح *rūḥ*.

It would seem as though the word نفس *nafs* connotes the same idea as the word *mind*, using this word in the sense of the phenomena produced by

By thy order three daughters have come forth from the soul ¹
Without the pangs of childbirth, and without the intermediary
influence of a husband

Compared with thy ancient order what is Kısırā ² and what
is Qaisar

In face of thy decree what is the Khaqan and what is Halaku ?
Without thy command no ant can draw a single breath
of its own will,

Without thy knowledge no sleeper turns from one side to the
other

the action of the روح *ruh* or vital principle upon matter the highest form
of matter, with which we are familiar, namely, the nerve structures of the
human brain, admits of certain phenomena which in their totality we call
mind the existence of a higher form of matter capable of higher manifesta-
tion than those which come within our present experience is obviously pos-
sible A force apart from matter may, for anything we know, exist in a way
that we cannot figure to ourselves for want of some example. Such a force
self-existent would be روح *Ruh*

¹ These three daughters here referred to are the three divisions of نفس
nafs نفس *nafs*, is by Arabian metaphysicians divided primarily into two
divisions (a) نفس لعقل *nafsu l 'aql* which is also called النفس الناطقة
annafsu n nafiqah the reason, mind, or discriminating faculty and (b)
نفس الحياة *nafsu l hāyat* the breath of life

The first of these is again sub divided into two, that which commands and
that which forbids thus they say فإل يواصر نفسيه *fulanun yu'awiru*
nafsaish Such an one consults his two minds, i. e., weighs the pros and cons

See Lane article نفس and روح, also Ghayasu l lughat, and Kashshaf art
نفس

² كسرى The Chosroes Qaisar قيسر Caisar, an Emperor

حاقان A Turkish word meaning Emperor The name given to the
Emperor of China and potentates of Chinese Tartary (See de Coartelle
Turk Orient Dict حاقان) Khaqan Originally the title Qaan was given
to the supreme sovereign of the Mo'uls, while the subordinate princes
of the Chingizai and other Chingizi lines were styled only Khan

After a time the higher Qaa lost its peculiar distinctive dignity and was
used by many besides the sovereign (see *Tarikh i Rashidi* (Elias and Ross),
p 30 n 1)

هالكو Halaku descendant of Changiz Khan

Although I like a harp am hump backed and head downwards,¹
 Yet in the assembly of thy hope I play the air of Yā Huwa.²
 On that day when out of awe of thee all the assembly of the
 prophets own their allegiance on bended knee,
 Oh Lord do thou of thy clemency bestow upon me, wretched
 man that I am, forgiveness, for I am defiled with disobedience
 and engulfed in it on all sides.

His also is the following in praise of the prophet *may the peace
 and blessing of God be upon him* ³

102. I fashion now a garment of song the embroidery of whose
 sleeve, flows gracefully from the⁴ adornment of the soul
 as the ornament of its divine Creator
 I choose the path of thy forming by the ornament of straight-
 forward praise,
 Because the two worlds are an indication⁵ of the embroidery
 of its sleeve;
 Rose of the garden of the prophetic office, than whose spikenard⁶

¹ The word چنگ *chang* in its original sense means *bent* or *curved*, hence it means a hook, and especially the hook called also “gajak كجك” with which elephants are driven. Another secondary meaning is the bent hand and fingers of man, or the claws of animals and talons of birds. Also the name of a musical instrument (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi*). The چنگ was played with a plectrum called زخمه *Zakhma*, and from its description as كوز *Kūz* and سرنگون *sarnigūn* was like the عود *ūd* of the Arabs, and very similar to the mandolin of our times.

² یا هو *Yā huwa*. An invocation to the most High—equivalent to “*My God and my Lord.*”

³ These words are not in MS. (A) which has no introduction to the poem. MS. (B) has وله قصيدة فی الذمت.

⁴ MS. (A) بچريد. MS. (A) بچريد. ⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) كنایه.

⁶ سنبل *Sumbul* (*Nardostachys jatamansi* N. O. Valerianaceæ) *vāp̄dos*, or spikenard of the ancients, a perfume held in high esteem. (S. John xii. 2).

In the *Baḥrū-l-Jawāḥir* it is stated that there are two kinds of Sumbul—Sumbul-i-Hindī, and Sumbul-i-Rūmī.

It is laxative and a tonic to the brain.....useful in dropsy, in flatulence and as a hæmostatic in metrorrhagia.

The perfumed sumbul is the variety called Sumbul-i-Hindī while the Sumbul-i-Rūmī is also called Nardīn.

See also Ibnu-l-Baitār (Sonthoimer), Vol. II., pp. 58 *et seqq.*

the morning breeze has never borne from Chin to Māchin¹
a rare odour from the fragrant musk. •

Head of the created beings of the world, by whose glorious
advent, the heaven has brought forth a pearl of great
price from the shell as an offering.

The heaven has placed its two standards firmly planted in the
seventh of its citadels, throughout the length and breadth
of the world in the five stated times of prayer²

His onyx-like³ eye has not cast one glance upon the signet of

¹ Cf. Tieffenthaler III 107 Abul Feda (Reinaud) II II, 122 D'Herbelot
Vol II Art Khatai Machin or Maha Chin see in : Akbari, II 118 and note 2

"Japhet is credited by Orientals with the paternity of Chin who received
the Celestial empire as his inheritance and begot Machin his first born"

² The phrase **تُروى منس** means literally the six sided oven-shaped (world)
The six sides or divisions of the world are—

عالم الانس 'alamu l-ins, the world of mankind

عالم الجن 'alamu l-jinn, the world of the jinn or ghouls.

عالم الملائكة 'alamu l-malā'ikah, the world of angels.

عالم الحيوان 'alamu l-haywan, the animal world

عالم النبات 'alamu-n-nabat, the vegetable world

عالم المعدن 'alamu l-ma'adin, the mineral world

The five stated times of prayer are known as—

فجر fajr **عشاء 'asha** and **مغرب maghrīb** **عصر 'asr** **ظهر zuhr**

The two standards **علم 'alam** are the sun and moon, cf. Qur'an, XXXVI,
38, 39.

³ M S (A) reads **جزعش** His onyx like eye, &c

This must be taken to refer to a saying of the prophet Muhammad "The
cornelian for me and the onyx for my enemies" According to the *Nuḥbatu-
d-dahr* (p 69), he said this "because the onyx causes its wearer to become
ill tempered, rash, precipitate, and litigious. There are several varieties
of onyx the best is that in which the markings are of equal breadth ...

The whiteness of the onyx increases as the moon waxes, and diminishes as it
wanes The onyx softens when boiled in oil sparkling and emitting light .

The people of China (میں) where the onyx is found, will not approach
the mines on account of the unluckiness of the stone, so that only the
poorest class will work there

One property possessed by the onyx is that of curing scald head in children -
it also acts as a sialagogue causing them to dribble when it is hung round
their necks"

See also Lane Art **حزع** where it is stated that the wearing of an onyx
in a signet induces anxiety, disquietude of mind, grief and terrifying dreams

Solomon¹ because there is the stamp of his seal upon everything from the moon above to the fish below.²

Fate and Destiny are his guardians, Eternity and Hope his helpers,

Earth³ and the time are his advocates, angels and heaven pledged to him.

His lip is honey and his cheek a rose, what an advantage to both worlds,

His gulangabīn⁴ (confection of rose and honey) relieves the tremor of disobedience,

The month of the shell is full of the pearls of his pearl-like words,

The belt of the horizon is bejewelled with his widespread faith,

The prosperity of the body of the faithful is in his left hand, and the good fortune of the face of those who follow the path of his religion is in his right hand.

The pages of the seven heavens are but an atom of his being,

The two worlds, compared with the stream of his might, are but a sweat drop from his forehead,

The tongue of a green lizard⁵ is one of the marks of his seal,

The web of the spider was a curtain which concealed his relation,⁵

¹ Solomon's power lay according to tradition in the signet of his ring, on which was engraved the "most mighty name."

See Lane *Arabian Nights* introduction n. 21 and Chap. i. n. 15. This stone was supposed to shew Solomon every thing he wished to know.

See D'Herbelot art. Solimān.

² Called *Yahmūt* *يهوت* upon which the world is said to rest. See page 152, n. 2.

³ MS. (A) *زمي وزمان*.

⁴ *گلنگبین* The properties of the rose are said in the *Baḥru-l-Jawāḥir* to be laxative, expectorant, and anaphrodisiac: while honey is said to be a light dew which falls upon flowers and is collected by bees, it is hot and dry in the second degree. It relieves dimness of vision and is a stomachic tonic, is a laxative and expectorant. *Saḍīdī* further says that honey is beneficial to old men, but injurious to youths and people of hot temperament, is aphrodisiac when heated with pulp of roses, and cures the bites of snakes and of dogs. Neither book mentions its use in the treatment of tremors specifically, but *Saḍīdī's* statement that it is good for old men may refer to senile tremors.

⁵ This line should read. *بزبان سوسماري رقمي بد سچلش* See page 110,

In the moon-bedecked heaven, one glance of his cleft the
heart of the moon the beloved of the sky into two halves as
though it were a piece of cloth¹

Both beasts of prey and birds have girded the loins of faith-
fulness to him.

Both young babes and old men have opened their lips in his
praise.

The rose and the thorn of fragrant flowers are the fruits of
his love and kindness.

The (sweet) sugar and the (bitter) colocynth are both re-
minders of his love and wrath

The garden, in submission² to his creative power, like the
violet has scratched its cheek (with vexation), Look!
there is a blue mark upon its jasmine cheek.

His body is composed of spirit of divine sanctity, which is the
purification of³ the spirit of the human. One cannot reach
to his essential constitution, for his composition is of light.

note 3, for the story of the lizard. When Muḥammad was fleeing from
Mekka to Medina in company with Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, his father-in-
law, they came to a cave in the Jabal Šaur and took refuge in it from their
enemies. In order to conceal their whereabouts a spider was directed to
spin its web over the entrance, which led the pursuers, who had followed them
thus far, to conclude they had not entered the cave

Ḥasatu-l Qulub. See also Muir's Life of Mah. II 257 note

Compare the following lines by Ya'qubu-l-Manjauqi, quoted by Ibn
Khalīqān.

إيها المدعى المتاردم العكر لذى الكبرياء والجبروت
سج داود لم يقد ليلة العار وكان العتار العنكبوت

Oh thou who art so vain glorious! leave glory to him who is the lord of
might and of power

David's weaving would have been of no service on the night of the cave
The honour was all given to the spider

See Ibn Khalīqān (de Slane), Vol IV, p 375.

According to another account immediately after Muḥammad and Abu Bakr
had entered the cave, an Ācacia tree grew up at the entrance and a pair of
pigeons had already nested in it, while a spider's web closed what remained
of the entrance. D. Herbelot II 231 art. (Hegrah)

¹ MS (A) چوقراره

² MSS (A) and (B) چمن از بيار خلقش

³ MSS. (A) and (B) كه صفه روح اسى

When Barāq the lightning-fleet came under his stirrup he leapt towards the highest heavens so that the curved crescent moon was like the hinder part of his saddle.

When his courser trod the face of the plain of the earth he placed his foot in such a way that the heaven became like the earth to him.

One step of his reached to the extremity of the earth from the house of Ummahānī,¹ the second step reached to the Sidra² from the earth like the angels.

The orb of the sun, the untamed steed, was led along in his cavalcade.

The moon having stamped a brand upon its quarter with its horseshoe shaped crescent.

Consider the goodness of his nature in that for our sakes in the next world, he has long pleaded the cause of his followers with a heart full of pity.

Wisdom, by his favour, is drawn out from the well of superstition by the rope of the cord of Chastity³ which was his mighty title

Asad Ullah leaving his lair, with his polished spear has torn out the heart of the envious cur-hearted ones like the tongue of a dog.

A band⁴ like the ants of the ground travelling fast⁵ along a path slender as a hair.

Shining like the lightning from the brilliancy of the torch of his religion.⁶

A band (of men lost) like a hair which has fallen into heaven⁷ by reason of his wrath fell into the fire from the bridge, with their waists bound like the ant in their hostility.

¹ See note 2, page 105. See Qur'ān Sur. XVII.

² A tree in the seventh heaven having its roots in the sixth: "After that I was taken up to Sidratu-l-Muntahā and behold its fruits were like water pots and its leaves like elephants ears" (Mathew) Mishkātu-l-Maṣābiḥ, Vol. II. p. 694.

See also Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*. (Sidratu-l-Muntahā).

³ جبل عصمت MS. (A) (B) Qur'ān Sur. III. 98.

⁴ MS. (A) گرهی. This alludes to the Muslims.

⁵ MS. (A) پرویان.

⁶ MS. (A) شمع دینش.

⁷ MS. (A) and Text بخیر MS. (B) تخیر. These are Kāfirs, infidels.

On the surface of the board of his sincerity who can raise his head in deceit¹ since not even the heaven survives the throw of his two dice²

Seven pillars are established by his four friends, for the seven heavens which are firmly fastened to the pole.

Of these four stars³ there are two conjunctions both of which are fortunate The Moon and Jupiter⁴ are in conjunction, each one with its own partner

In the two ears of the four elements how happy is my earring From the two earrings⁵ sprang eight Paradises with the two lights which give sight to the eyes

'Amid has devoted his powers in all directions to sing his prunes, if perchance the good and bad of his words may gain some currency

How can I boast of my descent, here, when I from my heart supplicate the intercessor of the day of judgment whose religion God approves

From the embroidery of my eulogy, what legality⁶ is evident, in my magic? It is like wine whose pure brilliancy is enhanced by the crystal cup⁷

From the sugarcandy of his sayings the lips of the parrots

1 دعا MS (A) (B)

2 MS (A) (B) کعبه چرخ Ka bataan The temples of Mekka and Jerusalem

3 The first four Khalifs the "rightly directed" MS (A) reads دو قرآن

4 Both the Moon and Jupiter are fortunate See Ibn Khaldun Proleg (De Slane) II 217 and seqq

5 دو قرطه, Hassan and Husain هشت حبت Their eight children در نور 'Ali and Fatima

6 See Ibn Khalhqn (Slane) III 344 n (8) Magic was held to be unlawful except the magical effect of eloquence such as in poetry which is called السحر الحلال As *sahru l halal* Hafiz says

معجزت این شعر یا سحر حلال

هاتف آورد این سخن یا حنریل

Is this poem a miracle or is it lawful magic?

Has a heavenly messenger brought this message or was it Gabriel himself?

See Hughes *Dict of Islā* n article Magic, also Lamb *sub voce* سحر

7 This couplet is omitted in MS (B)

MS (A) reads چو می که صوفی صوفی چو پیاله شد معیش

5. are imbued with sugar as though from the tray of eloquence they have eaten the crumbs of his wisdom.

What person am I, what parrot am I, I that sing these verses ? When I sing his praise it is like the buzzing of a fly. May the breath of the parrots of my soul not fail for a single moment from the singing his praise and proclaiming his triumph.

ANOTHER QAṢĪDA.¹

Oh thou from awe of whose order the heaven is bowed in submission, the proclamation of thy might is this, Thou standest alone thou hast no companion.

Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, thy dominion is the dominion of uprightness.

Thy empire is no changeable empire. Thy rule is not a divided rule.

The rays of the brightness of thy holiness are the portrayers of the sun and moon. The recluse of thy kingdom is in the highest altitude of Simāk reaching even to Samak.²

At one time thou givest to the partridge of the day wings and feathers of fiery hue, at another in the liquid cage of the heavens thou makest the moon-tailed pigeon of the night³ as an angel.⁴

Thou hast broken the cup of the moon at the head and foot of each month.⁵ Thou hast bound thine all-encompassing contemplation around the star Parak.⁶

1 MS. (A) has the words *ايضا له*. *Aiṣan lahu* Also by him.

2 The fourteenth house of the houses of the Moon. There are two Simāks one As-Simāku-r-Rāmiḥ, the lance-bearing Simāk (Arcturus) ; and the other As-Simāku-l-A'zal, the unarmed Simāk (Spica Virginis.) Both of these are in the feet of the constellation Leo. The word Simāk is said by the Arab commentator on Ulug Beg to denote great altitude, in derivation from the root Samaka to rise, to be exalted. See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane) Vol. I. note 11.

Samak, the fish, which is below the Earth bearing on its back a cow which bears the earth on its horn. (*Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*).

3 *مع دم* *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*. A bird having claws, with a black and white tail from which they make feathers for arrows : Also a pigeon all black with a white tail.

4 MS. (A) reads *غلك* which seems to have no meaning. The text reads *غلك* with a variant *ملك* which we find in MS. (B).

5 Both in the new moon, and in the last quarter, the moon has a defective form ; crescent or decrescant.

6 *پرك* Parak. The star Canopus. *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*.

thy power is the guderer, the four quarters of the earth
are his tilth Thou hast cast around that as the shelter of
an eyelid, the bounty of the seven oceans ¹

From the midst of the oven of the east, thy order bringeth
forth the loaf of gold of the west after the silvery loaf ²

In the garden full of thy skilled works, the hand of the tiring
woman of the morning breeze rubs on the rouge of adorn-
ment like the beauties ³ do over the patches ⁴

The rose with the mark of the mole on its cheek displayed
its buds Like the cheek of the beauty the moon displays
its face from the heavens ⁵

On the extremity of the plain of spring issuing from the door
of thy creation, the tulip sits with a shield the willow
stands with its arrow

The jasmine and the rose proclaim thy skill with lip and
cheek

Thy care preserves the sugar of the confection with salt ⁶

Except thy eternal existence how can any creature arrive at
secondary existence ⁷

In the eye of truth there is *luhl* ⁸ (of ornament) in the eye

¹ These are according to the *Bahr in : Qaf*

بحر حران *Bahr : Jurjān* بحر طبره *Bahr : Tibriz*

بحر بیطس *Bahr : Vīṣas* دریای روم *Darya : Ru :*

دریای مغرب *Darya : Magh̄ib*, دریای چین *Darya : Chin*

بحر حواریم *Bahr : Kh̄ caraz n*

² MSS (A) and (B) read حنک

³ ترک مثال MSS (A) and (B)

⁴ حال حیک *A patch for the face (Du Jā : Qaf)*

⁵ I read here چون روح ترک مع که آوری نماید ارفک This seems the
best reading Both MSS (A) and (B) lend countenance to it The reading
in the text is impossible

⁶ That is to say the sweet lips of his beloved are so piquant that it seems
as though they were tinged with salt Conserve of roses is called پرورش
parvarish

⁷ قدیم (*qidam*) Existence from all eternity For حدوث (*hud̄ ḡ*) see note

⁴ page 1

⁸ The کحل *kuhl* was used as a collyrium مدل کشدن (*Mil Kashidan*)
is to put out the eyes مدل *mil* called also ملل *mulmul* is the bodkin
or style used for applying the *kuhl*

of infidelity and doubt there is the probe (of destruction). Whoever has the inscription on his ring in accordance with thy way ¹ verily is saved, but whoever has on his forehead the brand of opposition to thee verily he is lost.

In the glory of thy approbation why should any one take to craft? Why should the saw of Nūh ibn Lamak ² cut down every tree?

The parrot of my life at the remembrance of thee has remained safe from the snare of grief,³ just as in the ocean of Jupiter the Fish is safe from the net.⁴

Like an Ethiopian and a Greek, the day has taken away from thy threshold a gold embroidered mantle, the night has despoiled thee of a dress distinguished by a plumed⁵ cap.

One draught of thy kindness is equal to the display of several rows (of cups).

A morsel of thy favour is for the accountants ⁶ several laks.

7.

As long as thou drawest him as by the end of the cord, no one turns away his face from the door. It were better that the neck of the heaven should be in the noose of the Milky-way.

Thy wrath drives out the pride of tyrants ⁷ from their heads, by means of the point of the sting of a mosquito ⁸ not by the advanced guard of an army.

¹ MS. (A) reads دهش but this is an error.

² نوح بن لَمَك. The text and both MSS read نوح بن ملك. See Genosis v. 28-30. Noah the son of Lamēch; also Gen. vi. 14.

³ زدام غم MSS. (A) and (B). The text reads wrongly زدغ غم

⁴ When Jupiter enters the constellation of Pisces he is in the ascendant.

⁵ MS. (A) كلل كلاك [MS. (B) كل كلک Text کلک کلک]

كلل كلك = کلاه پردار *kulah-i-pardār*. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*).

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) اهل چربده.

⁷ MS. (A) چاباره [MS. (B) حبابوا Text حباب را.]

⁸ پشه MS (A)

In the *Nāsikh-u-t-tawārīkh* of Lisānu-l-Mulk we find the following account of this incident:—

“The cause of the death of Nimrod was this, that after despairing of his ability to burn Abraham, in consequence of his protection by the Almighty, the idea of entering into conflict with the Most High entered his head, and

If the drops of the bounty of thy nearness distil upon the palate of my heart say to the clouds of supplication "Do not rain" and say to the tear of hope "Do not fall"

I am fulfilled with thy bounty like a pearl in the cloudy weather ¹

Not like the wine flask which comes forth from the assembly after yielding the benefit of its fulness ²

I have attained the dignity of eloquence from thy consent
By thy help it is that this joyful sound ³ has been placed in my hand by destiny

How long shall I utter cries of grief round the carpets of Emperors, because at thy door there is a sustenance-gaining world free from vexation ⁴

Wine which gives you a headache is better cast on the ground
A carpet if it be of silk ⁵ is more fit to be burnt than thorns

he ordered Abraham to be brought before him, then turning towards him he said, Oh Abraham, bid your God to come with his army, and array himself against me in battle so that the one who conquers may have the upper hand Tomorrow, that is Wednesday, we will arrange the battle field before this city, and test man with man

Then having reviewed his army he came out from the city with a countless array, and drew up in line on the battle field

The prophet Abraham came out alone and unaccompanied, in face of that vast host, and stood there Suddenly, by the command of the Almighty the face of heaven became darkened by a cloud of mosquitos which are the most contemptible of all creatures and they at once began to sting the army of Nimrud, and put them to flight, and most of those worthless ones died Nimrud, on seeing this, in fear and shame turned his back upon the whirlpool of death, and fled into his fort Suddenly a single mosquito entering after him stung his hip, and reached his brain For forty years the mosquito fed upon his brain, after which Nimrud died in abject misery

As the mosquito is known to be the intermediary host of certain parasites and may be the means of conveying infective disease, there may be a substratum of truth in this fable

¹ در عشیان MS (A) The text reads wrongly در عشیان

² That is to say my fulness is one which is permanent like that of the pearl which remains hidden in the shell not transitory like that of the wine flask which leads to emptiness

³ حیک *hikumak* literally means the sound of clapping the hands from joy

⁴ MS (A) بی ملک

⁵ By the laws of Islam cloth made entirely of silk is not permissible for use either as clothing at times of prayer or as a prayer carpet Cloth woven of silk and cotton mixed is permissible and is called *مشروع* *murshu'ah*.

Oh Lord, with that rose of benevolence from the exhalations of whose excellence the olfactory sense of the angels is refreshed while the musk of Chīn remains dry as a husk,

Let me refresh the olfactories of my soul every moment, until I am on the brink of the grave; that my dust may be like a rose garden far removed from the pricking of thistles.

The possession of sincerity, and true equity, the root of modesty, and the secret¹ of truth, the house of religion is founded on all of these both by bond and deed.

On the heaven of his prophecy, for the travellers along the high road of the sacred law, each of these four pillars² is a sign of the injunction Go on thy way and be pure.³

May every breath of my life be praise and glory, until the breath of the morning, that each breath may then be a worthy present for the soul.

Think that the pupils of my two eyes are four in affection, (*i.e.*, four Khalifs).

Otherwise thou wilt fail to gain Paradise, and art ready for the door of hell.

What good will apostasy do you when 'Alī is independent of you? How can gold shew its perfect purity if the touchstone does not shew the shine of it?

What blame is it to the body of the lute if during the tune⁴ either its silken string breaks, or its bridge slips down.

Go, and open the letter of the Prophet in all sincerity, that it may efface from your mind the suspicion as regards "Faddak."⁵

¹ MSS. (A) (B) شیرحقی.

The term رافضی *rāfiṣī* is applied by Sunnī Muslims to any of the Shī'ah sects. See Hughes. *Dict. of Islām*. Art. Rāfiṣī.

² The four khalifs.

³ *Hadīṣ*. مثل اصحابي كالنجوم بايهم اهدديتم اهتديتم. My companions are like the stars, whichever of them you follow you will be led by it.

⁴ بنعمة در MS. (A).

⁵ *Faddak* was an estate near Medina which Muḥammad left to his daughter Fāṭima.

After the prophet's death Abū Bakr took it and Fāṭima demanded it of

And he who like the ill-omened owl ¹ boasts of being a Khārījī ²

him, he replied "Thy father said that we who are prophets do not leave hereditary legacies, all that I leave is for Moslems.

سنى معاشر الابيا لا يورث ما تركنا ما صدقة

The Shī'ahs say that Abu Bakr seized Faddak by force. The poet denies this assertion in the above verse

¹ يوم شوم The ill omen attending the owl is common to all countries, probably from the habit it has of frequenting ruined buildings. The Arabic proverb indicates the estimation in which the owl was held.

لو كان في البومة حير ما تركها الصياد

Si in ulula bonum fuisset, iam venator non reliquisset Freytag Meid. Prov II p 572

The story told by Mas'ūdī about Bahram points in the same direction. See Ibn Khaldūn (*de Slane*) *Prolegomenes*, I 107

In the *Hayatu l Hawan* there is a story told of Al Ma'mūn who in the course of his peregrinations one day saw a young man writing something on the wall with a piece of charcoal. He ordered his servants to see what the man was writing and it was as follows

يا قصر قد جمع فيك الشوم واليوم متى يعيش في اركانك اليوم
يوم يعيش فيك اليوم من فرحي اكون اول من نعيك مرغوم

Oh palace ill luck and curse are assembled in thee,

When will the owl make her nest in thy pillars?

Happy the day when the owl builds her nest in thee!

I shall be the first to announce thy downfall

He explained this before Al Ma'mūn by saying that he was in great distress and hoped to benefit by the ruin of the palace

² The name Khārījī was given to any one who denied any one of the true Imams (see Cureton's *Shahrastānī Mīlāl wa Aḥāl*, page 85)

See the article Khawarij in Hughes, *Dict of Islam*.

The Khārījī heresy was that any man of no matter what nation or tribe may be appointed Khalīfah provided that he was a good man and was elected by the whole body of Moslems

See for a fuller account of this sect Sale's *Qur'an Preliminary Discourse*, p 123 (Ed of 1857) (*Badger Imams and Sevyids of Oman*, Appendix, pp 374, and seq) (Osborn, *Islam under the Arabs*, p 116). The last mentioned gives a full account of the origin of this heretical sect when 'Alī and Mu'awia met at Siffin from which the following is an extract "The valour of 'Alī was brilliantly seconded by that of his favourite lieutenant Malika l-Ashtar, the Marshal Ney of the Arabian Army. A tremendous charge by Malik at last forced a wing of the Syrian troops to give ground. Gradually the whole line was forced back, the retreat became a rout."

However at this critical moment Amīn ibn al 'Ās knowing the fanatical character of 'Alī's troops, ordered a number of Syrian soldiers to advance

compared to the confidant of the cave¹ is like the night-flying bat² in comparison with the standard of the day (the Sun). Put aside your desire of rebellion, say not a word save in respect, how can a dog contend with a tawny lion.³

What power have you to decide between the companions of the Prophet, you who from foolishness like a blind man, seek the softness of ermine from the stoat.⁴

It were better that the skirt of the time was freed by skilful management, from the impurity of those abomination-working sects before that this sound reaches their ears
*What brought you into hell?*⁵

Oh Lord! although for a long time my heart has been afflicted by the darlings of Chigil, and held fast by the rosy-cheeks of Yamak⁶

towards their line bearing copies of the Qur'ān fixed to the heads of their lances. "Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow" they cried "let the Book of God decide between us."

Alī's soldiers thereupon turned upon him headed by certain men whom Ash-Shahrastānī names, and insisted upon 'Alī recalling Malik Al-Ashtar from fighting against the Moslems "or" said they "we will assuredly deal with you as we dealt with 'Uṣmān" and insisted upon the matter in dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwīa being settled by arbitration.

¹ *Abū Bakr*.—The sole companion of Muḥammad when he fled from Mecca to Medīnah, cf. Qur'ān ix. 40.

إِلَّا تَنْصُرُوهُ فَقَدْ نَصَرَهُ اللَّهُ إِذْ أَخْرَجَهُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا ذُلًّا مُتَرَاكِبًا إِذْ هَمَّ فِي الْغَارِ

Unless ye help him, and God did help him when these who disbelieved drove him forth the second of two, when they twain were in the cave (of Jabal Ṣaur).

² شب پرک. MSS. (A) and (B) have شب ترک which seems to have no meaning.

³ Kizil Arslān is the Turkish for "red lion." He was son of Ildighiz the first of the Atābaks of Āzar baijān whose dynasty commenced in 555. H. and ended in 622. H. Muḥammad the elder son of Ildighiz succeeded his father and was in turn succeeded by Kizil Arslān who was assassinated in 587. H. (D'Herbelot) (Beale).

⁴ فنک. *fanak*. The animal commonly known by the name دلہ *dalla*, weasel or stoat.

⁵ Qur'ān lxxiv. 43, فِي جَنَّاتٍ يَتَسَاءَلُونَ عَنِ الْمُجْرِمِينَ مَا سَلَكَكُمْ فِي سَقَرٍ

In gardens shall they ask each other about the sinners—what drove you into hell-fire?

⁶ *Chigil*. The *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* says: A city in Turkeṣtān where inhabitants are exceedingly beautiful and are unequalled in archery.

Yet in the beginning of the *nun* and *dul* of my age (51)
after the year *ġhā* and *nun* and *hā* (655 H),¹ thanks
be to God that the bird of my ambition has burst the
bonds of this net and gone free

I have washed my hands of the one, and have freed my foot
from the other, springing out of both snares like the clay
pellets from a pea shooter²

At thy footstool henceforth my constant cry is "I repent,"
my supplication is to thee, my secret thoughts and open
dealings are with thee

Thou shewest me mercy at that time when by the intoxica-
tion of the wineskin of death both my chin and jaws are
cold and shrunken³

When my breath is bound upon the balista of my body like

Yaqut says A city lying beyond the river Sihun in Turkestan near
Turrar Thence sprang Abu Muḥammad Abīlrahman ibn Yahīn ibn
Yunus Aljūshī the Khāṣīb of Samarqand in the days of Qadar *Khān* he died
in Shaḥbān 516 H

Yamak Name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its
people *Burhān : Qat'*

Yaqut does not mention this

¹ The above shews that Amid Lumakī was born in the year 601 H The
mode of reckoning is that always adopted There does not appear to be any
intended *double entendre* here, though the word *د* which stands for 51
means good guidance, no meaning can be attached to the *ح* which stands
for 655 See page 99 note 4

² *تفک* *tufak* is a long tube for throwing clay balls through by the force
of the breath cf *تفنگ* Steingass Dict

It is also called *پفک* *Pufak*

cf English pop gun traced by Skert (*Etym Dict*) to the base *P* expres-
sive of the act of blowing *Skt* *bukk*

پف کردن *pf kardan* to blow out—to puff

چراغی را که از د برافروزد

هر آنکس پف کند روشش بسوزد

A lamp which God has lighted

He who attempts to blow it out burns his beard

³ *و* must be added in the text after the word *سکرات* MS (A) This
appears to mean that when he is at the point of death he finds mercy The
intoxication is the unconsciousness resulting from approaching death and
the retraction of the chin and lower jaw in the death struggle is believed to
be the effects of the wineskin

a missile, then the stone of the balista ¹ of death strikes my body breaking it as though it were an earthen jar.²
 Grant me a place at the banquet of thy pardoning mercy,
 At that time when the Angel of Death says to me "Take and eat,"³
 Shewing his helplessness Amid thy slave offers these verses in praise of thy excellence to the best of his power.
 Accept these few brief words from this vile ear,⁴
 For this mangy ear is a partner of your journey.
 Thy praise is written on my heart, afterwards comes the praise of the Prophet. May every word besides these be erased from my heart.

AN EULOGISTIC QAṢĪDA.

Oh thou upon whose jasmine-like face are the countless toils of the violet-hued locks.
 By whose ruby lips the brilliant pearls are imprisoned,
 Thy locks are an armourer who every moment brings forth Fragrant chains to fetter thy lily-like face.
 Thy lily face is better confined by the links of thy spikenard-hued locks.
 Bid the morning breeze as it breathes not to remove the chains (of thy hair) from thy rosy (cheeks).
 Thy mouth is like a delicate bud which bursts into smiles;
 Loosen the folds of that bud even if with the point of a thorn.
 Thy rose-petalled cheeks are adorned by the bonds of thy dark and fragrant locks.

¹ This appears to be the author's meaning. The convulsive breathing is compared to the jerking action of the balista.

² If we read كرك for كرك the meaning will be "strikes it with the elephant goad." There is some uncertainty about the meaning of the word كرك. One meaning is according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* "an earthenware vessel which is used for holding dates."

³ قُتُقْ كَرْك should be the reading. MS. (A) MS. (B) read فَتْك كَرْك.

قُتُقْ (*qutuq*) is a Turkish word signifying any thing eaten as a relish.

كَرْك (*gazak*) is the Persian equivalent of قُتُقْ. (*qutuq*).

⁴ This translation is admittedly inelegant, but it is inevitable.

Save on thy rose who has ever seen so becoming a
lond?

Perchance thou didst say, thy face is like the rose and tulip
to look upon, the fragrant down on thy cheek is like the
edging of a bed of tulips.

Thy cheek was not fit for this, why does it bear its chain,
like me who bear my chain in the time of the reign of this
monarch.

The world conquering king Naṣīru-l-Haqq (ally of the truth),
he who places upon the hands and feet of meanness a
thousand fetters by his generosity.

Wālā Muḥammad Balban, who entangles rebels in the time
of war, in the noose of his wrath.¹

Oh king of the age, by whose auspicious fortune the treasurer
of Fate has undone the fastenings of the shell of the mine
of prosperity.

Beneath the saddle of the confusion of thy enemy on the day
of fighting, each girth of thy saddle becomes sixty-four²
thongs to bind him.

He is like the opium, provoking quarrels and suspi-
cion,

If his opium remains enclosed within the poppy
head.³

When the aromatic odour of thy good qualities removed the
bond from the wrinkled mouth of the musk bag of Tātār,
ambergris gained a fresh odour⁴ from its fragrant breeze,
and the rose bud too was loosed from its prison by the
newly arrived spring.

¹ These couplets are transposed in MS. (A) as given above.

² شصت و چار بند I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate
explanation of it.

³ MS. (A) فیدوش گرباد. The *Bahru-l-Jauḥir* sums up the properties
of opium thus قلیله ینفع ویدوم و کثیره یقتل *qaliluhu yunfa'u wa gan'im u'a
kanruhu yaqtulu*.

In small doses it is beneficial acting as a soporific, in large doses it kills.

No mention is made of its quarrel-provoking properties, and from the
second-half of the couplet it would seem as though the quarrels are provoked
by its cultivation rather than by the drug.

⁴ نسیم سرشی MS. (A). The text reads نسیم سرشی.

The heaven every moment casts the fetter of intoxication on those who are drunk with the cup of thy favour, by the obstruction of their brain.¹

Thy kingdom is a rivulet flowing from the spring of satisfied desire; safety, enjoyment and pleasure are the banks of this stream.

In such a way open the road of equity for the ends of victory, That by thy justice no fetters may exist in the world save the locks of lovers' hair.

* You see one who has assisted injustice in his soul in whose path

Destiny places countless² obstacles.

Like Naushirwān when thou knockest at the door of justice, Thou keepest not the chains firmly fastened on bad and good.

In thy reign, it behoves that no one in his lifetime should see any fetter, save on the foot of the cypress and the finger-bearing leaf of the Chinār.³

The knot of the dragon's tail and the dragon's head⁴ is a fetter on the sky, come and relieve the distressed heaven from its bondage.

That the sun and moon may become relieved of the affliction

¹ Both MSS. (A and B) have هرکه افکند. I am not satisfied with this rendering but can suggest no better.

² بیشمار بند. MS. (A) reads صد هزار بند.

³ *Platanus orientalis*. The oriental plane has a broad palmate leaf. It is the Sycamore of the ancients according to Balfour.

⁴ عقد و گردن (رأس و ذنب) *met caput et canda* pro quo etiam dicitur عقد تین (dual), qui est term, techn: astron: Bh. "Caput et cauda draconis, i. e., nodus ascendens et descendens." Vüller *sub voce* عقد. The *Istilāḥātu-l-Funūn*, says that the 'Uqdatu-r-Rā's is also called 'Uqdatu-*sh-shimālīya* and the 'Uqdatu-z-Zanab is called 'Uqdatu-l-Junūbīya, and the two together are called Jawazahr جوزهر. These terms are fully explained in the Article العقدین p. 510, Vol. I. See also Lane s. v. العقدین where the terms are explained as being the ascending and descending nodes of the planet.

of eclipse¹ in the knot of the dragon's tail,² like me who
am in the bond of distress

Thou hast ordered that the learned should be imprisoned,

Beware that thou layest no bond upon the learned

Woe is me¹ Honour them rather out of policy, and on the 112.

newly wedded bride of eulogy bind the princely pearl
taken from the casket of my heart.

Has ever any monarch placed a bond on literary men out of
love of empire and usurpation?

I, at all events, am a talking parrot, not a hunting falcon,
the hawk's jesses are not rightly placed on the legs of
parrots

Why do you imprison me, as from my secret heart there is
an evident fastening (of grief) fixed upon the door of my
heart's fortress

Loose my bonds, and by way of conquering the fortress, fix

¹ As regards the word كسوف *kusuf* it is generally held that this word is more especially applicable to an eclipse of the sun while خسوف *khusuuf* is applied to denote an eclipse of the moon. The *Qhayaṣu l Lughah* applies it to either while the *Kashshaf Iṣṭilah* : Funnun lays down that كسوف should be used to denote a total eclipse, and خسوف a partial eclipse; كسوف moreover indicating only a change of colour, while خسوف denotes a total loss of colour. Lane however says they both mean the same, or that "in the common conventional language الكسوف is the partial loss of the light of the sun and الخسوف is the total loss of the light thereof," and it is said in a tradition

ان الشمس والقمر لا تسفان لموت احد او لحياته

As كه is a much earlier letter than ح it is probable that originally at all events كسوف stood for an eclipse either of the sun or moon, the meaning being subsequently modified for convenience

² Compare the Hindu mythological monster Rahu

The name Rahu by which the ascending node is designated is properly mythological and belongs to the monster in the heavens which, by the ancient Hindus, as by more than one other people, was believed to occasion the eclipses of the sun and moon by attempting to devour them. Burgess *Surya Siddhanta*, p. 50

Mythologically Rahu is a Daitya who is supposed to seize the sun and moon and swallow them thus obscuring their rays and causing eclipses. Rahu and Ketu are in astronomy the ascending and descending nodes. Rahu is the cause of eclipses and is used to designate the eclipse itself. (Dowson *Dict of Hindu Mythology* p. 252)

the bond of thy heart upon the mercy of the threshold of the Creator.

My heart was wounded by the tyranny and oppression of the heaven, now the chain wounds my leg as well as my heart. No one has seen half a dāng weight of gold in my possession, And, even if he has, I would not willingly undergo imprisonment for the sake of it.¹

Gold has no value in my sight, how can I pledge it like a usurer so as to get twelve for every ten.

I have eloquence like pure gold, another man has gold itself, Open your hand in bounty to me, and keep him imprisoned. Do not keep me so long in suspense waiting for my release. My imprisonment has turned my blood to water in this weary waiting.

At least kill this hapless innocent with the sword of thy wrath,

But do not imprison me, for imprisonment kills me² with its perpetual agony.

My name has become famous for eloquence from east to west, Is it fitting to put fetters on the feet of such a famous poet? Wisdom said to me long ago by way of advice, Chain thyself at the threshold of the victorious king.

I was indulging in these hopes, when the king himself shewed kindness and imprisoned this miserable one as though he were a murderer.

You may be quite sure that imprisonment is not required in that place in which the seal of the treasury was opened by his generosity.

First thou didst fasten, then thou didst loosen,³ Oh! noble bounty! I carry the fetters from thy door into the presence of the Almighty as a memorial.

It was the sword of royalty [which loosened them] by the

¹ MS. (A)

در بند من نه دیده کسی نیم دایگ زر
ور دید بهران تکلم اختیار بند

In MS. (B), the first line is like the text, the second like MS. (A).

² MS. (A) می کشیدم

³ MS. (A) باز کشاده

mercy of the Most Bountiful; had that not been so the imprisonment would have utterly ruined me.

Since¹ you 'Amīd girt the loins of loyalty in the service of the throne, therefore by his care the days of your imprisonment were brought to a happy termination.

As long as the young and sprightly maidens to the distraction of their lovers, have purposely bound their cheeks with the chain of youthful bloom.

So long may the door of good fortune be closed in every direction to your enemies,

And by the sword may the bars of both fortresses be opened.

QASIDA.

My eye is the boundless ocean, the thought of my heart is a bark,

In sorrow my bark sets forth on the floods as they flow from my eyes.

Night and day I float in the flood of tears, how can my bark live in the midst of the raging billows of blood? 114

How can I expect to win my desire from the vile world?

How can I launch my bark on the surface of a gutter?

Although my bark in this ocean, now sails on and now lies at rest, sailing with the seven sails,² and resting on the four anchors.³

¹ MS. (A) چون

The text as it stands must be translated, If thou hadst girt would have been brought &c

It is evident from this Qasida that 'Amīd Lomakī was imprisoned, but I can find no reference to it in the account of him given in the *Majma'u l-Fuḡahā*.

² The seven sails here appear to mean the seven members of the body, known as the *ḥaḍ'at* *ḥaḍ'at* (1) the head, (2) the chest, (3) the back, (5) and (6) the two hands, (7) the feet or (1) the brain, (2) the heart, (3) the liver, (4) the spleen, (5) lungs, (6) gall bladder, (7) stomach.

This name was also given to a vein by section of which it was supposed that blood was withdrawn from the seven members first mentioned.

³ The four anchors are the four "humours," according to the old humoral pathology. *ad dam*. The blood. *al balgham*. The phlegm. *as safra'*. The bile. *as sauda*. The black bile.

The four anchors may however be taken to be the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water.

Of what use to me are those sails and those anchors,
If my bark is suddenly overwhelmed by the billows of
death?

In this age I sought fidelity from the tyrannical,
Who has ever seen a boat on the Jihūn in the mouth of
Mehrgān¹

In front of the claws of this crab² and the revolution of the
nine heavens, loosen³ thy four anchors and then launch
thy bark.

The sea-monster of avarice of my soul turns back, otherwise⁴
one might drag the boat to the shore by some contrivance.
With the exception of the philosophers how can anyone

1. "In former times (says Albirūnī) this day (Mihrajān) used to coincide with the beginning of winter" at which time the Jihūn would be frozen and unfit for navigation owing to the intense cold. Yāqūt states that in the winter the Jihūn freezes so hard that the ice is five spans (about 40 inches) thick, that the people dig wells through the ice with pick-axes to get water, and that caravans and carts cross the ice, which become like a high road covered with dust. This continues two months. Concerning the word Mihrgān, the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* says, "Mihrgān is the seventh month of the Shamsī year, which corresponds with the position of the sun in Libra, which is the beginning of autumn. The feast of Mihrgān is the next greatest feast among the Persians to that of Nauroz, and, like this latter feast, is divided into two, *Mihrgān-i-Khaṣṣa* and *Mihrgān-i-Āmma*; the feast of Mihrgān lasts for six days beginning from the sixteenth of the month. It is said that God Almighty laid out the world on the 21st and endowed bodies with souls on that day. They say also that Farīdūn ascended the throne on that day. The meaning of Mihrgān is the *binding of affection* (محبت پیوستن) and it was so called because for the above reasons the people were treated kindly by their rulers on that day.

Others again say that there was a king of the Persians named Mihr who was a great tyrant and was consigned to hell in the middle of this month, so that they called it Mihrgān in the meaning of *death of a tyrannical king*. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi*).

According to others Mihr is the name of the sun, who is said to have for the first time appeared to the world on this day. This is indicated by the custom of the Kistrās of crowning themselves on this day with a crown on which was worked an image of the sun and of the wheel on which he rotates.—(Albirūnī).

See also Albirūnī (*Chron. of Ancient Nations*), p. 208 and seqq.

² At the commencement of spring when the Sun enters Cancer; i.e., March 21st.

³ بكشاور.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) have وبنه.

guide the ship out of the whirlpool of this world to its final haven of refuge¹

Do not set thy heart upon the ebony² like world, because a ship built of ebony is overwhelmed in the sea of this worthless world

Do not seek for safety when loaded with boastfulness

For an overloaded ship is speedily wrecked.

Seek security from sorrow at that time when you have been wise enough to make, as I have, a ship from the planks of the praise of thy lord

The centre of kingship of laud and sea Tajū l-Haqq, who 115
made a ship of safety for traversing the ocean (Qulzum) of sorrow.

Sinjar³ who is like the sky in dignity, in fear of whom sedition navigated its ship in the direction of the crossing of the ocean of Qairawan⁴

سوی حامل عقبنی ۱

² He compares the world to ebony because of its blackness indicating misfortune. Ebony [انوس] is said in the *Burhan i Qaf* to be a black wood which when placed upon the fire emits a pleasant smell like the *عود* (ud) or aloes, when rubbed down with water and used as a collyrium it relieves night blindness, given internally it dispels calculus of the bladder.

The *Bahru l-Jawahir* says that ebony 'is a black wood which sinks when thrown into water' hence the poet assumes a ship built of ebony would sink.

³ Abul Haris Sinjar Ibn Malikshah ibn Alp Arslan was Sultan of Khurasan, Ghazna and Mawarannahr. He was the sixth of the Seljuq Sultans.

He was excessively liberal, and was supposed to be wealthier than any of the Persian kings. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Ghuzz tribe in 548 A. H. (1153 A. D.) but eventually escaped and was at the time of his death in 555 A. H. on the point of recovering his throne. He was born according to Ibn Khalliqan in A. H. 479, in the environs of Sinjar whence he received his name. One authority places his death in the year 552. He died at Merv. See Ibn Khalliqan (de Slane) I 600.

See also D. Herbelot art *Sangiar* Vol. III, p. 202 et seqq.

⁴ Qairawan Long 10° E Lat 36° N is situated in the North of Africa in the province of Tunisia. It is the ancient Cyrene, the modern Kairwan. At the commencement of the Musulman occupation it was the capital of Africa. See Abul Feda (Rondaud) II 1 198. The ocean of Qairawan is the Mediterranean.

In Abul Feda (Annales) we find that Qairawan was founded in the year 50 H. (665-666 A. D.) and was completed five years later.

Needs must that with those two love fascinated eyes,
The stag should endeavour to protect himself from the snares
of thy locks.

When the story of thy fragrant tresses reached him,
The stag curtailed his narration of the bag of musk.

The stag suffered from the effects of the intoxication of thine
eyes,

And he got rid of his headache by drinking of the cup of the
assembly of the world-subduer.

The auspicious lion, protector of the crown of true religion,
Sinjar,

In whose estimation the fierce lion of the sky is but a stag.

The stag thought right to carry a fragrant ball of camphor¹
taken from the dust of his threshold, to *Khitā* as a memorial.

Perhaps it was from the dust of his dignity which became² the
ornament of the sun, that the stag obtained superiority
over the wild beasts by reason of his musk-bag.

Happy art thou star-arrowed one, whom the demon-hearted
fear and shun as³ the stag avoids the lion.

An enemy who falls into thy clutches does not escape ;

Who has ever known the stag to escape from the claws of the
lion ?

At that time the stag prided himself upon being fleet⁴er than
thy charger, now in sooth the stag is ashamed of his slow-
footedness.

At the time of attack, how can the stag in spite of all his
efforts, reach the dust which is thrown up by thy charger's
hoofs ?

Think it not strange if from the abundance of his bounty, the
lynx goes slowly on foot, and the stag swiftly like a horse-
man.

'Twixt thine eyelids reigns a Sultān,

Helpless, lo ! I bow before him.

This comparison of the mole on a cheek to grains of musk is one of the
commonest similes among Persian poets.

¹ The sun is called *شامانه کافور* *shamāna-i-kāfūr*.

² *بود* MS. (A).

³ MS. A. *چو*.

Compared with the fragrance of thy goodness how can the stag boast¹ of the dried blood of his navel in Tātār.

By the aid of thy words which are like an antidote, I have no fear, even though the stag shall become like to one that feeds on snakes²

His food is the snake, but afterwards like the elk, besides the antidote, the stag offers in every direction the bag of musk. In the land in which thou art, by reason of thy great justice the lynx sits sorrowful, and the stag stands to comfort him. The day that thou pursuest him he shows only his right shoulder when the stag rushes from the right to the left of thy army.

In reliance upon thee if a stag were to cherish a young lion in its bosom it would be no wonder

What power have two hundred enemies against thy prowess? What does the hunting leopard think of a head of a thousand stags?

Thy enemy will be able to engage in conflict with thee
At that time when the stag's horns are capable of fighting the lion.

1 MS (A) ناز کند

² The elk is said to feed on snakes and the water which collects at the corners of the eye (inner canthus) is reputed an antidote for all poisons (Burlan : Qatı)

The following is abridged from the *Hasatu l Hawan* 'The stag is fond of snakes which it eats wherever it can find them, commencing from the tail of the snake. Sometimes the stag gets bitten by the snake in which case its tears flow down, and fill two hollows beneath its eyes large enough to contain the finger, here they congeal and become solid like wax. This wax is used as an antidote against the poison of snakes and scorpions and when given by the mouth is useful as a remedy for other poisons. The stag also eats crabs, and hunts for fish by walking along the margin of the lake or river, when the fish come out of curiosity to see it this fact is made use of by fishermen who are wont to dress in the skin of the stag.

The horns of the stag, which are shed yearly, are of great service to mankind more especially as a remedy for impotence and to facilitate parturition. If a portion is burned and administered mixed with honey it acts as a vermifuge, and when used as a dentifrice removes discoloration of the teeth. Used for fumigation it drives away reptiles and other venomous animals. If a portion is hung round the neck, the wearer will not sleep so long as it remains there. A draught of the stag's blood dissolves stone in the bladder.

In the meadow of thy favour the stag has never seen his quarters and sides as thin as his legs.

Conqueror of the world, I have bound "The stag"¹ with thirty-three couplets in thy praise by way of experiment as though it were a camel.

It is fitting that the word "musk deer" should be repeated as *radif* a hundred times since thou hast sent me in thy kindness a stag twice.

Formerly the stag thought of nothing but the musk-bag, now he makes the glory of thy praise his constant occupation.

'Amīd has opened the musk-bag of wisdom in singing thy praises, like the musk-bag upon which the stag prides itself.²

Always, as long as men search for musk on the surface of the ground, and no musk deer lays aside its power of producing musk,

May the perfection of thy justice reach such a height that the stag may extract musk from the hunting leopard.

Mayest thou roam at large and enjoy thyself in the meadow of fortune, just as the stag roams over the meadows in spring time.

Fasting has made his form which was like the Nārwan³ slender as a reed, and has made his face which was red as the Arghawān⁴ pale like the saffron.

¹ The word *āhū* stag, occurs in every couplet of this qaṣīda.

² *مشک* *mishk* is said to be the congealed blood of the navel of the stag of *Khiṭā*. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* and *Makhzanu-l-Adwīya*). The latter work says "It is very difficult to procure genuine musk, it is only brought as a great rarity as a present to kings and great rulers mixed with saffron and a little camphor as a remedy for headache; and is used alone or with other drugs such as the testicles of the beaver (Castoreum) as a stimulant snuff in paralysis and other cold diseases of the brain, for which it is also used by inunction. Smelling it removes the evil effects of poisons, especially of *bīsh* (aconite) and *qur'ūnu-s-sumbul*. (?) It is also very useful as a collyrium in many diseases of the eye.

It is a cardiac tonic removing palpitation, and faintness, relieves dysentery and globulent distension. A suppository of musk assists parturition."

See also Ibn Baiṭār (Sontheimer) Vol. II. pp. 513 *et seqq.* for a full account of the statements of various authors regarding musk.

³ *نارون* The Nārwan is described in the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* as a very graceful tree with abundance of leaves; called also *گلنار* *Gulnar*.

⁴ *ارغوان* The Arghawān according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* is a tree with

How can it be saffron for it has not made me smile¹
 Fasting has made my cheek yellow like the Zarir² through
 weeping, and my tears red as the Arghawan
 How can it be a tulip, for fasting makes his cheek like the 120
 Khiri³
 How can it be a cypress, when fasting makes it weak and
 tremulous?⁴

brilliant red flowers, a drink made of which removes the effects of intoxica-
 tion The wood is burned and used as a pencil for the eyebrows which it
 causes to grow and become black Ibn Baţar (Sonthemer) says, (Vol I
 p 28)

"The tree is very abundant in I-fahan and bears brilliantly red flowers
 which are edible, having a sweet taste which is communicated to wine.
 The wood is soft and when burnt yields a black ash which is used as a
 cosmetic The decoction of the root bark when drunk is a certain emetic"
 Sonthemer does not give the botanical name See note 1 page 109

¹ See p 11, n 2

زرر Zarir The *Burhan : Qaf* says this is "a herb with which they dye
 clothes, it is called also asparag (اسپرگ) According to some however it
 is the leaf of *Zard choba* (turmeric) so do other authors say it is a flower It
 is also the name given to the bile, and also to jaundice (*Burhan : Qaf*)

In Vullers we find اسرگ (*Asparag*) herba flava tingendo inserviens,
 alias زرار (*Zarir*) or ورس (*vars*)

According to Ibn Baţar (Sonthemer) ورس *vars* is *Memecylon tinctorium*—
 N O Melastomaceae, regarding which Drury in his *Useful plants of India*,
 page 291, says 'The leaves are used in dyeing affording a delicate yellow
 lake they are also good for dyeing clothes red by itself it gives an
 ochraceous yellow

³ حيري A flower of which there are many varieties

حيري حطائي *Khiri : Khifā'i* — is dark purple

حيري ميردني *Khiri : Mirdani* — is violet It is also called هفت رنگ
Haft rang

حيري صحرائي *Khiri : Sahra :* — is red and white, called also
 حيري حرامي *Khiri : Khirami*

گل همیشه بهار *Khiri : Sharazi* — is yellow, called also
Gul-e hamesha bahar and in Arabic عصفر *Asfir* (*Burhan : Qaf*)

See also Vullers

According to Ibn Baţar (Sonthemer) this plant is the wall flower *Cheiran*
 thus *Cheiri* N O Cruciferae

⁴ MSS A and B have نوان The text reads نوان which is a better
 reading

Haply she has hung the amulet on her silvery mouse like neck, so that wisdom like a fasting cat has been compelled to remain fasting¹

My tongue has become dry like that of one fasting in advising her

For thy form is like a fresh blown rose, fasting is the autumn wind (which withers it)

Although thou openest thy lips like a bud which had been closed by fasting, just as I broke my fast at the table of the praise of my Lord,

The ocean of benevolence, champion of the truth, round the table of whose bounty men and genii broke their fast,

Muhammad whose vanguard is like destiny, the joints of whose spear broke their fast with the blood of the enemies (trickling down) from the point

He, whose right hand is like that of Isfandiyār, has also, from the liberality of his hand, caused the age² to break its fast on this side of the seven stages

Before the generosity of his heart, the ocean and the mine, have, in their utter poverty, considered fasting to be their bounden duty

Hail O King! in whose just reign the wolf, as though it were a shepherd has kept its fast to secure the safety of the flock

Thou art like the two first fingers,³ a close companion of the heavens, just as fasting goes hand in hand with prayer

Thy existence is the twin brother of kingdom, just as fasting is the twin brother of *Zakat*, *Hajj* and '*Umrah*'⁴

لب از ناراده دلاویزتر
زبان از غرزد شکر درتر

A lip more alluring than the seed of the pomegranate

A tongue far sweeter than the whitest sugar

A favourite simile with Persian poets

1 These complets occur in this order in MSS A and B

2 MS (A) reads *دهر کشاده* which is the reading adopted here

3 *وسطی سنانہ* The forefinger and middle finger which are most commonly used together to oppose the thumb

4 *زکوٰۃ* *Zakat* or almsgiving is one of the five foundations of practical religion Qur an 11 77 *وَقُولُوا لِلنَّاسِ حُسْنًا وَاقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتُوا الزَّكَاةَ*

"And speak to men kindly and be steadfast in prayer and give alms"

The proportion to be given varies with the different kinds of property

The breeze of thy good qualities like the fragrance of the perfume of the breath of the faster,¹ has carried fasting as a special offering to the garden of Paradise.

Thou hast cast out the eastern of tyranny from the kingdoms under thy sway, inasmuch as thou hast relieved waste countries of taxes, and rescued the feeble from fasting.

The spirit of man is often broken by the vicissitudes of the heavens² just as his bodily fast is broken by bread.

In this time no one, from the time of Jashid till now, remembers fasting at the table of such a host as thou art.

At the smell of the table of thy bounty the great has considered it incumbent upon him, whether in the fast or in the fray, to fast from food of all kinds.

The bird of thy arrow has broken its fast, like the goat of Nimrud on the brain of thy enemy in the cup of the skull (the cup of vapours).

For the maintenance of thy kingdom, young and old have fasted, both the old and the new creation.

The revolution of this six-storied world is full of the mention of thy glory, just as fasting fills the seven members of the body in this darkness.

Hajj. The Pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent upon all Muslims who have the necessary means.

Umrah. The lesser pilgrimage, which may be performed at any time except during the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of Zūl Hijjah. See Hughes (*Dict. of Islām*.)

Text. نسيم خلق تو چون طيب مشکبوي خلوف ۱
چون طشت مشکبوي خلوف.

khālūf is defined as the smell of the breath of one who fasts.

A Hadīṣ says.

خُلُوفٌ وَفَمُ الصَّائِمِ أَطْيَبُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ مِنَ الطَّيِّبِ.

The breath of one fasting is sweeter in the sight of God than sweet smelling savour.

See also Lane. *Art.* خلف. It became altered (for the worse).

The Qāmūs, says

وَحَلَفَ فَمُ الصَّائِمِ خُلُوفًا وَخُلُوفُهُ تَغْيِرَتْ وَاجْتَدَتْ.

² Both MSS. (A) and (B) agree with the text. I take the word إِبَاهَات *abāhāt* to be a plural formed by Badā'ī on the analogy of إِمَاهَات *ummahāt*, and to stand for the نُهْ أَبَايَ عُلُوبِهِ *nuh ābā-i-‘ulū‘īya*, the nine heavens.

On this earth, the worlds children (have fasted) with such endurance that the spiritual beings will never be able to break the fast.

I stood before thee with my loins girt in honest service, as though fasting, because fasting is not one of my objects, neither openly nor in secret.¹

My manliness actuated by ambition bowed the knee to me² 123.
and said,

Imagine that both your pen and your finger tips are fasting. The claims of thy generosity caused me to break my fast³ and consume my time, had it not been for that I would have speedily imposed a fast upon my words.

Had not the praise of thee been the sustenance of my powers of speech how could the point of my tongue have broken its fast by breaking into poetry?

Like the parrot, my first morning food⁴ is the sugar of gratitude to thee, not like the *humā* do I break my fast upon bones.

Who is able to break his fast in this way at the time of bringing in the "*radif*" better than 'Amid, with the draught of trial.

He has broken his fast with a feather from the wing of the bird of praise, because at this time fasting is the best nest for the bird of praise.

¹ MS. (A) reads زبازید نه پیدا ونه نهان روزه MS. (B) reads زبازید the reading in the text is

زمانه برنی و پیدا ونی نهان روزه

All of these readings appear to be corrupt and the following reading seems reasonable, and has been adopted in the translation

زمانید نه پیدا ونی نهان روزه

² The text reads شمار برد but MSS. (A) and (B) read نماز برد

³ مفطر MS. (A)

⁴ "The following is the routine of a fast day. About half an hour after midnight, the gun sounds its warning to faithful men that it is time to prepare for the *Sahūr* (سحور) or morning meal." (Barton's *Mecca* I. p 110 note) see also Lane's *Modern Egyptians* for the observances of the month of Ramazān.

Always, as long as fasting brings as its reward from the bounty and mercy of God, a hidden treasure worth a hundred princely treasures,
Mayest thou be famed¹ for generosity and kindness in this world, for fasting points the way to the highest heaven.

ANOTHER QAṢĪDA.

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner like the *Sīmurgh*²
I have made my nest beyond the axis of earthly sphere.
Why do I bear the shame of every bird in this ill-omened land?³

I have gone like the 'Anqā⁴ and have made my resting place in the mountains.

¹ MS. (A) reads *نشانۀ* instead of *فسانۀ* as in the Text.

² The bird of the mountain of Alburz which nourished Zāl when he was abandoned there by order of his father Sām, and taught him the language of the country. On restoring Zāl to his father she gave him a feather from her wing and said "Whenever thou art involved in any difficulty or danger put this feather on the fire and I will instantly appear to thee to ensure thy safety." See *Shāh Nāma* (Atkinson) p. 75 *Shāhnāma*, Turner Macan, Ed. I. pp. 97 *et seqq.*

³ There is a play on the word *يوم* here which cannot be preserved.

⁴ Another name for the *Sīmurgh*, and a synonym for anything rare and unattainable. (See *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* under the name *عنقاى مغرب*)

There is a long account of the 'Anqā in the *Harīātu-l-Haivān* where it says on the authority of Qazwīnī that the 'Anqā is the largest of all birds which can seize an elephant as easily as a kite snatches up a rat. It once lived among men, but caused them so much annoyance that by the prayers of a holy prophet it was banished to an uninhabited island in mid ocean beyond the Equator, full of enormous animals. When the 'Anqā flies there is a sound like thunder and floods. It lives 2000 years, and pairs at the age of 500. It is said that the claws are made into large drinking cups. A description of the mode of capturing the 'Anqā is also given but is too long to quote.

Among the proverbs of the Arabs one is *حلفت به عنقا مغرب* which is said of any one of whose reformation there is no hope. "May the Anqā fly away with him."

They also say *السخود والغول والعنقا ثلاثة اسماء لشيء لم توجد ولم تكن*
Liberality, the Ghūl, and the Anqā are three names of things unattainable and non-existent.

To dream of the 'Anqā is also said to ensure marrying a beautiful woman, or if already married, to ensure having a brave son.

Until the bird of my ambition swoops down upon the harvest
of the lower world, I have made the harvest field of the
sky full of grain like stars

Why does the moon display the halo harvest when it does
not show a single grain to any one, whereas I with one single
grain of manliness have bound many a sheaf

By the light of the knowledge of God I have made the
newly wedded virgin bride of reality to shine in the
chamber of wisdom with the brilliancy of the day

The course of the heavenly bodies in the columns of the
almanac of the Creation, I have proved one by one by
comparison with the astronomical tables¹ of intellect

In the bridle of four rings, that is the trappings of the four
elements, great is the training which I have given the
unruly steed of my passions

I have made the parrot of my soul, whose cage is the form
of this uncouth body which is like a mudden, every moment
to rival the nightingale of the verdant² garden

The parrot has left for the garden the kite of lust which is
following it circling round and round my nature I have
detained within the mudden of the body

In many an art for which³ the scientists had no taste

I have made as great progress, hundred fold as they are, as
a man who follows but one art

My intellect has served to light the lamp of the treasure of
science, I have made my skill the oil which supplies the
light to the wick⁴

The jewel of the secret of reality has been acquired in such
a (perfect) way that I have made my mind the storehouse
of the treasury of secret knowledge

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Once by way of vaunting in the rose garden of desire,

¹ The text (and also MS B) has an absurd reading نوردرج the real
reading is نور ذبح as is seen in MS (A)

² گلشن MS (A). There is a verbal antithesis between گلشن
(*gulshan*) garden and گلشن *galshan* in dist leap as the Persian which I have
attempted to imitate by the words *garden* and *million*

³ MS (A) گران The text and MS (B) read گران

⁴ MS (A) and (B) both read در معیش The text has در معیش

I displayed the brilliancy of my skill particoloured like the peacock.

The falcon of the Divine indignation smote me with its talons from its hiding-place, so that I took refuge in a corner like the pigeon.

They would have shewn me the way (and have bidden me walk) in this solitary windowless tower

Had not my ambition carried me far beyond the seven windows (of the sky)

A tower, narrow, ay! at that time even narrower than my heart, (so narrow that) you would say I am a cord and have given myself a place in the eye of a needle.

It is the constellation of the Archer, and I am like the Sun, and have by my cold sighs changed the bright spring of the world into the bitter cold of winter.¹

This was not all; the good tidings of my bad fortune brought to me the blacksmith, to whom I said—Strike off my head in return for the blood which is upon my head.

The splendour and comfort of the golden-throned sun is my desert,

Whereas I am resting upon a (hard) iron (prison) seat.

The seven-headed dragon (*The Sky*) hides its head (in astonishment) to see that I have brought this two-headed serpent (*night and day*) under my skirt.

They determine for me an imprisonment like that of Bizhan in the well of tyranny. I have not seen Manīzha² nor have I committed the crime of Bizhan.

¹ The Sun enters the constellation of Sagittarius in the commencement of the winter.

² The daughter of Afrasiyāb. When Bizhan undertook to clear the country of Armān of its plague of wild hogs, after fulfilling his task he was led by the machinations of his companion Girgīn, who was jealous of him, to intrude upon the retirement of Manīzha, the beautiful daughter of Afrāsiyāb, and press his suit, which he did with such success that after some time their amour was discovered and Gersiwāz was sent by Afrāsiyāb to put Bizhan to death: by the intercession of Pīrān the punishment was averted, but Bizhan was imprisoned in a deep pit. At first Manīzha was condemned to undergo the same punishment but her doom was changed and she was allowed to dwell near the pit, all the people being forbidden by proclamation to supply her with food. Eventually, by the help of Rustum, Bizhan was freed and he and Manīzha went to Irān together. (See Atkinson's *Shāh Nāmāh*, pp. 300 and seqq). See also page 116 note 5.

Patience has the strength of Rustum,¹ as one may say,
I have entrusted the strength necessary for my release to the
arm of Rustum-like patience.

All of my companions are free to follow their occupations
while I am fast in prison,

God forbid I should be the only one of all mankind to have 126
committed this fault

The times are out of joint, if not how can the following of
the Ishrāqī philosophy² which I followed so excellently
have thrown me into misfortune?

The shaft of the tyrannical heavens passed through and
through from the back, although I had armed my breast
with the cuirass of patience

My body longs for food in the captivity of sorrow, and I have
prepared for its support my blood as its drink, and my heart
as its meat

Once I was like the tulip in complaining, but then afterwards
I made myself like the lily ten-tongued (but silent)³

Like the violet I have let my head fall forward (in sorrow)
from death of benefactors, and though like the lily I have
ten tongues I am become dumb in thy praise

I am suffering the punishment of my words, because in my

¹ Rustum extricated Bizhan from the pit by drawing him up with his
kamand or lasso

² اشرقية The Illuminati. A sect of Philosophers, of whom Plato was
one, who, instead of following the precepts of any revealed law, looked to their
own proper inspiration and mental illumination which they held to be the
result of spiritual meditation. Haji Khalifah, III p. 87, writes as follows
"Philosophia illuminationis (*Hekmet el ishrīc*) sine Neo Platonica inter veteres
disciplinas philosophicas eun lem locum tenet que n Theosophia inter doctrinas
Islami similis mo lo, quo philosophia physica et theologica inter illas disciplinas
locum tenet quem theologi dogmatico scholastica inter has

In the حاحي ملا هادي سنزواري by شرح منظومه we find Philosophers
are of four kinds,—those who arrive at wisdom simply by meditation those
who arrive at it simply by purification of the mind by seclusion and retire-
ment, those who arrive at it by combining these two These last are called
the Ishraqi sect

See Haji Khalifah علم الحكمة See also de Slane, *Proleg Ibn Khal* III 167.

³ The MS (A) has حيشتى را ده زبان The text follows MS (B)

See note 1 page 101

lying flattery I have made every beggar a king, and have made the (worthless) Lādan¹ into frankincense.

At one time I have proclaimed Suhā² superior in brilliancy to the moon,

At another I have scorned the river as being inferior to the drippings of a sieve.³

I have made friends with Avarice, like 'Amīd from the lust for blood, and for that reason I have made contentment my enemy.

I have subjected my spirit, which is like a high mettled horse, to the burthen of labour, because of the tyranny and meanness of the heavens, see now what a jade he has become.

127. I have made barren my truth-adorning heart and my jewel-producing nature, without the help of Qitrān,⁴ not now only but long ago.

1 لادن *Ladan*. The resinous balsamic juice of *Cistus creticus* and other species; according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*¹ it is called also عذير عسلي *Honey-ambergris* and is used in medicine. It is the juice of a plant growing in sandy soil, of which goats are very fond, and their hair becomes covered with the exudation, the best is collected from their beards; *si femina quædam, cui in utero fœtus mortuus sit, vaginam suam vapore ladani vaporaverit; fœtus ille mortuus illico excidit*. See also Ibn Baiṭār (Sontheimer) I. p. 409.

It is the مرمر of Genesis xxxvii 25 and xliii. 11, where it is translated in our version *myrrh*. The Greeks called it στακτή. The true *myrrh* (Ar. مرمر *murrin*) is different.

The Ashhab is the white ambergris which was accounted the best.

2 A small obscure star in the Lesser Bear.

3 MSS. (A) and (B) have فيض عزيزان but غريزان is a better reading.

4 Qitrān, the exudation from species of mountain pines, black in colour, used according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*¹ (and *Qīmūs*) for inunction of camels affected with mange. It is, according to these, the exudation of the tree called عرعر 'ar'ar, (Juniper) the properties of which are thus enumerated in the *Makhzanul-Adwiyā*: Deobstruent, diuretic, emmenagogue, relieves cough and chest pains, and pain in the spleen; relieves flatulence, hæmorrhoids, flatulent colic or uterine pains. Sitting over a hot infusion of it causes uterine spasm, while a poultice of it is antisudorific. I can find no mention in either of these books of its use as an abortifacient. It is perhaps *Juniperus Sabina* (Savine) which is powerfully ecbotic. According to Ibn Baiṭār (Sonth.) II. p. 94, it is *Pinus cedrus*, but this appears to be incorrect. See also II. p. 189, عرعر 'Ar'ar.

The word سترون is derived in *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*¹ from استرون and ون i.e. mule-like, because mules have no offspring.

This one poem¹ of mine is worth a whole *Duān* and a hundred caskets of jewels, nay more, every verse of it have I made better than particoloured hair¹

Imprisonment has brought me to lamentation, and from the delicacy of my speech you see the joy which I have given in the very midst of my lamentation

Oh Lord, give me my sustenance from the date tree of thy favour, I have made the bud of my heart to sing the praises of thy Unity

Present me with the robe of honour of thy protection, for thy court is my original refuge, lo I have fled to my refuge Keep far from the darkness of infidelity,² hypocrisy hatred and enmity, that heart which I have embellished with the light of sincerity to Thee

Keep thou the Sun of Divine knowledge shining within my heart, for I have made my heart the mine of the jewels of true belief

SULTAN GHIYASU D DIN BALBAN I KHURD

Who had the title of *Ulugh Khān*, by the consent of the *Maliks* and *Amirs* adjoined the throne by his accession in the *Qasr i Safed*

¹ شعر The word شعر here has its double meaning Sa'ifi in his prosody says, 'A bait (poem) is called bait for the reason that bait means a house and they compare the bait of poetry (شعر) with the bait of hair (شعر) and he quotes the verses by Abu l Ala Ma'arra

الجنس بطهروني الجنس رونق بنت من الشعر وبنت من الشعر

The brilliancy of beauty is shewn forth in two tents

The tent of poetry (shar) and the tent of hair (shir)

² شرك Shirk 'Idolatry paganism polytheism' Ascribing plurality to the Deity Associating anything with God

The Wahhabi writers define Shirk as of four kinds

| | | |
|-------------|-------------------|---|
| شرك العلم | Shirku l 'ilm | Ascribing knowledge to others than God. |
| شرك التصرف | Shirku l tatarraf | Ascribing power to others than God |
| شرك العبادة | Shirku l 'ibadah | Offering worship to created things |
| شرك العادة | Shirku l adah | The performance of ceremonies which imply reliance on others than God |

Hughes Dictionary of Islam p 579 Art Shirk 9 v

See also Qur an xxxv 38 and xlv and 3, and various other places

128.

(the White Palace) in the year 664 H.¹ He was one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, each one of whom had attained to the dignity of Amīr. Inasmuch as the reins of government had been in his hands even in the days when he was merely Ulugh Khān, the affairs of the State very quickly came into his grasp. He would not allow people of low origin to have the slightest authority. It is said that a man named Fakhr, who had for years served as chief of the Bāzār, had recourse to one of the Sultān's more intimate attendants, and offered a very large sum² on the condition that if the Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban would speak with him once only, he would give him all this money and valuable property.³ When this request was represented to the Sultān he would not entertain it, and said 'to converse with people of low and mean extraction will lower my prestige.' He was altogether opposed to oppression, and, in the early days of his reign, punished certain of his Amīrs on account of some tyranny which they had practised upon their subjects, and having handed over one or two of them⁴ he permitted the complainants to exact retaliation, and after that these Amīrs had paid the blood money, for shame they could never come out of their houses as long as they lived, and at last they left the world.

Verse.

Reputation arises from equity and justice;

Oppression and kingship are as the caudle and the wind.

And all his praiseworthy qualities may be estimated from this, that he used never to omit the ceremony of purification, and on going into an assembly where one was preaching he used to

¹ Of the six years which intervened between the events recorded as having occurred in 658 H. and the accession of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban there is no known historical record. The *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Zīāu-d-Dīn Baranī only begins from Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban.

² MS. (A) has the word *مال* between *تقبیل* and *بسیار*.

³ MS. (A) reads *نقد و جنس گرانمند*

⁴ *یکدوچی وابسته*. According to Firishta one of these was Haidār Khān the Amīr of Oudh, who had killed a man in the fury of intoxication. Balban after enquiry had the Amīr publicly flogged, and delivered him to the widow as a slave. He bought his release with a sum of 20,000 silver tankahs but never left his house afterwards and died from shame. (See also Elliott, III. 101.)

display emotion, and weep much, while as regards his treatment of sedition and revolt he used to show himself a merciless repressor.

He laid claim to the glory of an Emperor, because of this
 That he adorned the world with wisdom and equity,
 In days of retirement he would wear a blanket;
 And he strove in prayer and supplication
 His eyes fixed upon the ground, his heart boiling like a
 cauldron;
 A heart eloquent of speech, but a silent tongue;
 Till his heart perceived with the eye of secret knowledge
 All that was visible of these intricate matters

In this same year of his reign Tātār Khān the son of Arsalān Khān sent from Lakhnauti sixty-three elephants as a present; and in this year the Saltān proceeding to Patiali¹ and Kanpila, built the forts of Patiali, Kanpila, Bhojpūr, and certain other forts, and with five thousand cavalry crossed the Ganges on the pretext of making preparation for an expedition to the Jūd hills. In two days after leaving Delhi he arrived in the midst of the territory of Kāthar² and put to death every male, even those of eight years of age, and bound the women, and inflicted such chastisement that up till the reign of Jalālu-d-Dīn the territory of Badāon and Amroha remained safe from the ravages of the Kātharis,³ and he threw open all the roads of Bihār and Jaunpūr, and all the roads of the Eastern part of India which were closed, and made over the territory of Miwāt, which lies in the Doib, to strong handed governors, with orders to put to death the rebels, which they did, imprisoning some. Then he made an attack in the direction of the country at the foot of the Sintur

129.

¹ MS (A) پتالی Patiali. The printed text has بتالی Betali.

Patiali In Aligarh tahsil, 22 miles north of Etah, a ruined fort still exists (Hunter *Imp Gaz*)

Kanpila In Farakhabad district, celebrated in Mahābhārata—(*Imp. Gaz*)

Bhojpur The residence of the Ujjainiah Rajahs, west of Arrah and north of Siasseram, a pargana in the Sirkār Rohitās Bihar

² So also *Turikh*: Firoz Shāh Firishta reads کتہر Katoher. MS (A) reads کانتھ Kānthar. The district of Rohilkhand is meant

³ Who Firishta says were notorious robbers and brigands

hills,¹ and built a fort on those boundaries, and having called it *Hiṣār-i-Nau* (New Castle) proceeded to the Jūd hills, and brought an army² towards Lāhor, and rebuilt the castle of Lāhor which had been laid waste by the Mughūls in the reign of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh. Here he became ill, and the news of his illness³ reached the confines of Lakhnautī, and Tughral, Nāib of Amīn Khān, who had been appointed to succeed Sher Khān in that district, laid the foundation of rebellion, and fought with his master Amīn Khān and came off victorious, and having imprisoned him gathered round himself the paraphernalia of royalty, and gave himself the title of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, and completely defeated some imperial troops which had been sent to oppose him. Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn brought up an army against Tughral but he went towards Jājnagar and Tārkila (Nārkila)⁴ and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Beg Birlās⁵ was ordered to pursue him, the Rāi of Sunārgām named Dhanūj⁶ offering his services to the Sultān engaged to bring Tughral, and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn proceeding by forced marches found Tughral, who had fled into a jungle,⁷ walking about off his guard, and having put him to death sent his head to the court. The Sultān conferred that kingdom with a canopy and baton of office on his younger son Bughrā Khān, Governor of Sāmāna, who eventually received the

130.

¹ MS. (A) reads *کوهایه سنڌوز* *Kohpaya-i-Sanbūz*. This seems to be a copyist's error, but I cannot suggest the true reading. The Kumāon hills must be meant.

² *حصار نو نام نهاد* MS. (A).

³ Neither Firishta nor Ziān-d-Dīn Barnī mention this.

⁴ MS. (A) reads *نارکیلہ در بجرہ سرونشته* and *نارکیلہ*

⁵ MS. (A) *ملک اختیار الدین تنکرس را* Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Tangras. *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* calls him Malik Bārbak Bektars Sultānī. See Elliott, III. 117, note.

⁶ Called Danūj Rāi in *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*. See Elliott, III. 113, note.

"The Jājnagar here mentioned was evidently east of the Brahmaputra and corresponds to Tippera. The Sunārgānw, presently mentioned as on the road to Jājnagar, is described by Rennell as being once a large city and now a village on a branch of the Brahmaputra 13 miles S. E. of Dacca."

It is marked in Rennell's Map given in Vol. III. of Tieffenthaler "Sonner-gong." See Map N. 6. See J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 82.

⁷ The printed text and MS. (A) both have *که در جنگلی گریخته می گشت* The above appears to be the meaning.

title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, and then left for the capital. Since, after the death of Sher Khān (who was uncle's son to the Sulṭān and one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn, and Governor of Lāhor and Dihālpur, and had read the *Khuṭbah* in Ghazni in the name of Sulṭān Nāṣiru d-Dīn, the Mughūls during his governorship not daring to invade Hindustān) the road of communication had become opened¹ to the Mughūls, accordingly Sulṭān Balbān, to remedy this, despatched his elder son Sulṭān Muḥammad, who is known as the *Khān-i Shāhī*, and *Qān-i-Mulk*, (having first conferred upon him a canopy and baton of office, and the signs and insignia of royalty, and having made him his heir-apparent, and giving over Sind with its dependencies to his care) with full equipment towards Multān, and the country right up to Tattha and the scorecast was in his possession. Amīr Khusrū and Amīr Ḥasan of Dehli remained in his service for five years in Multān, and were enrolled among his intimate companions. On two occasions he sent large sums of gold from Multān to Shirāz and begged that Shaiḫ Sa'di,² may God have mercy on him, would come to live with him. The Shaiḫ did not come, excusing himself on the score of old age, but commended Mir Khusrū to the care of the Sulṭān, writing in excessively laudatory terms concerning him, and sent a collection of autograph poems. Sulṭān Muḥammad used to visit Multān every year to see Sulṭān Balbān, and used to return distinguished with robes of honour and all

¹ The Calcutta text exactly reverses the meaning by reading *واشد* *نود*. Thus losing all the sense of the passage. Cf. MSS (A) (B)

MSS (A) has, correctly, *واشد* *نود*.

² Shaiḫ Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥib ibn 'Abdu'l-lah as-Sa'di. He was a native of Shirāz where his family for generations had been famed for eminence in learning. He is said to have lived to a great age, accounts differing between 102 and 112 years (Beale says 120). He spent 30 years in acquiring sciences, 30 years in travelling (he made the Hajj fourteen times) and 30 years in quietude. He died in the year 691 H (1291 A D). He was the contemporary of many great men, among them Amīr Khusrū of Dehli who entertained him. His kalligraphic art of world wide reputation. The *Majma'ul Faṣihā* (I 271) from which the above is taken does not give the date of Sa'di's birth and gives the date of his death as 701 H which is wrong. According to the account given by Beale Sa'di was born "about the year 571 A H". The above account would however place his birth in either 580 A H or 579 A H. Of his works the *Gulistan* and *Bustan* are the best known.

For a full account of Sa'di see the preface to Platt's *Gulistan*. See also *Hashtak la*, p 284.

possible rewards and distinctions, and on the last occasion on which they were able to meet, the Sultān instructed him in private with excellent counsels and pleasing discourses, which are mentioned in the books of the Histories of Dehlī, and having granted him permission to depart sent him to Multān; and in the same year *Ītīmar*¹ the Mughūl with thirty thousand horsemen having crossed the Rāwī by the ford of Lāhor caused great commotion in those districts, and the Governor of Lāhor sent a petition to *Khān-i-Shahīd*² telling him of what had occurred. He while in his assembly read 30,000 as 3,000 and, marching with a large force, by rapid and continuous marches arrived at the boundaries of Bāgh-i-Sabz,³ on the banks of the Lāhor river where he engaged the infidels and attained the dignity of martyrdom. This event took place in Zū-Hijjah of the year 683 H,⁴ and Mir Ḥasan⁵ of Dehlī composed a prose lament, and sent it to Dehlī. It is copied here in its very words.

The Lament of Mīr Ḥasan.

It is an old story that the tyrannous sphere, though it may for a time knit the knot of complaisance, and make a covenant of mutual sincerity, turns from its promise, and that discordant time, although it professes to shew acquiescence, and makes specious promises of fidelity, fails to perform them.

The wanton-eyed heaven, the pupil of whose manliness is sullied by the defect of the mote of meanness, at first, like a drunken man, gives some bounty in a case where there has been no favour received to demand it, but in the end, like the children, takes the

¹ *Ītīmar*. Both in the printed text and in MS. (A) Zīān-d-Dīn Barnī calls him Samar. Firishta calls him Tīmūr Khān.

² Called *Khān-i-Shahīd* or the "Martyr Prince" because he fell in battle opposing "the accursed Samar, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changīz Khān" (Elliott, III. 122.)

³ MS. (A) باغ سبز MS. (B) باغ سر the text reads باغ سریر Bagh-i-Sarīr with a footnote variant Bagh-i-Sard.

⁴ Zīān-d-Dīn Barnī says 684 H.

⁵ Zīān-d-Dīn Barnī attributes this lament to Amīr Khusrū. (Elliott III. 122). Firishta also states that Amīr Khusrū escaped when the Prince was killed, and wrote a lament. It seems probable therefore that the lament should be attributed to Mīr Khusrū. The Ḥasan which occurs in Text and both MSS. (A)(B) may have had its origin in a copyist's error.

gift back again without any treacherous conduct having been committed. The habits and customs of the oppressive times are cast in the same mould, whether by experience or by hearsay, we see or hear that whomsoever it perceives coming to perfection like the moon, it desires to darken the face of his fulness with the blot of defect, and whomsoever it finds rising like a cloud him it strives to tear to pieces, and to scatter his substance to the extreme boundaries of the horizon. As in this orchard of amazement and garden of regrets, no rose blooms without a thorn so no heart escapes the thorn of sorrow. Alas! for the newly sprung verdure which has become yellow, withered in the bloom of its beauty by the autumn of calamity. Alas! for the many fresh-springing trees which have been laid low in the dust of the ground by the fierce blast of Death.

132.

Consider the winds of Autumn, how chill they are and cold,
The cowardly blows they have dealt alike at the young and old.

One of the examples of this allegory is the death of the late Emperor Qān-i-Mulk Ghāzī,¹ *may God make manifest his demonstrations and weigh down the scale with his excellencies*, on Friday the last day of the month of Zū-l-Hijjah in the year 683 A.H., when the moon, like kindness in the heart of infidels, could nowhere be seen, the Sun with the company of the army of Islām came forth to smite with the sword, and the great Prince who was the Sun of the heaven of the kingdom, with the light of holy war shining on his noble brow, and the unchangeable determination of "jihād" firmly planted in his illustrious mind, placed his auspicious foot in the stirrup. By night they submitted to his judgment which solved all difficulties, that Itimar with the whole of his army had advanced into the plain at a distance of three *farsangs*. When morning broke, he commenced to march intending to leave that place, and at a distance of one *farsang* coming face to face with those accursed ones,² elected to draw up their forces in a place on the outskirts

¹ Qān-i-Mulk Ghāzī. The eldest son of Ghiyāṣ-u-d Dīn Balban who was Khān of Multān. See page 187 ante.

² آن ملا عین را MS. (A)

133. of Bāgh-i-Sarīr¹ on the banks of the river of Lāhor. Accordingly he very strongly fortified a large village which was close to the river, and made such dispositions that when the infidels came against it, both rivers² should be in the rear of his army, so that neither could any man of his own army turn in flight nor could any injury be inflicted upon his army by that troublesome horde³ and in very truth that choice of position was the acme of caution and the very height of skill in that world-conquering Khān, but since when Fate is adverse the thread of all plans becomes tangled, and the orderly row of enterprises becomes disordered,

He who falls in with evil fortune by the way,
His affairs fall out just as his enemies desire.
His Fortune like a mad man loses the right way,
His senses, like the nightblind, fall into the well.

By chance that day the Moon and the Sun, which may be compared to kings, were suspended in the sign of the Fish,⁴ and Mars, whose blood-red aspect is entirely due to the blood of the princes of the people, had drawn out from the quiver of that sign the arrow of disappointment and the dart of disobedience against that Orion⁵ (white) girdled Khān, who was like Leo coming forth from a watery sign; the house of fear and calamity and the proofs of sedition and signs of harm thus became evidently

¹ باغ سرب MS. (A) باغ تيز Probably the باغ سبز before mentioned.

² The Rāvi and Satlaj. This battle was fought close to Multān, and is described by Firishta, who states that after having routed the Mughūl army, the Prince and some of his retainers were resting by the bank of the river when they were attacked by one of the Mughūl chiefs who was lying in ambush with 2,000 men, and the Prince was killed with many of his followers; the army which had taken the alarm returning just in time to see him die.

³ I read مخاذيل شاقه MS. (A).

⁴ MS. (A) reads در نشانه ماهي

جاء القضا ضاق الغضا Lit. When Fate comes, the plain becomes narrow.

Other proverbs of this kind are the following:—

إذا نزل القضاء بطل الحذر When Fate comes, caution is useless.

إذا نزل القضاء عمى البصر When Fate comes the eye is blind.

⁵ The three stars in Orion's belt. See Lane s. v. الجوزاء

manifest, while the hunt and indication of the proverb "*In face of Fate wide becomes strait*" became written on the consecutive pages (of his history) In short, at midday just as the courier of the heaven reached the country of noon, and the day of that world conquering Emperor was approaching its decline, suddenly a band made its appearance from the direction of those infidels The Khan : Ghāzī at that same moment mounted his horse and issued an order in obedience to which all the cavalry and the body servants and retinue and retainers, in accordance with the mandate 'Kill the infidels all of them',¹ drew up in a line a hundred times stronger than the rampart of Sikandar² After ordering the right wing and dressing the left wing, he himself of noble qualities, stood in the centre like the moon and the host of the stars, ready for the *jihād*, while the Tatār infidels, *let confusion and dismay come upon them*, crossed the river of Lahor, and confronted the ranks of the Muslims Thereupon these wild 134 loving desert born savages, placing the feathers of the owl³ upon their illomened heads, while the Ghāzīs of Islam, kings of Turkestan and Khilj and notables of Hindustan, and all the soldiery made the battlefield a place of prayer—as the Holy Apostle, *may the blessings and peace of God be upon him*, declared that the holy war was closely allied to prayer, saying *We return from the lesser holy war to the greater holy war*,⁴ reciting the *takbīr*⁵

¹ See Qar an IX 5

مَا تَقُولُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ حَيْثُ وَجَدْتُمُوهُمْ

² The thick wall said to have been built by Alexander the great to restrain the wild natives of Northern Asia commonly known as the wall of Gog and Magog See D Herbelot Vol. I p 640 II p 282 Ibn Khaldoun Proleg 1 162

³ The owl called by the Arabs عراب الليل is a bird of ill omen and is held to be unclean Muslims being forbidden to eat its flesh (*Hasyatu l Hawanat*)

Hence the proverb نُوْكَأَنَّ فِي الدَّوْمَةِ حَيْرٌ مَّا تَرَكَهَا لَصِيَادٍ

Had there been any good in the owl the hunter would not have passed it by See also page 157 note 1 See also J A S B 1877 p 81

⁴ According to Sufi writers there are two *Jihads* *Al Jihadu l Akbar* or the greater warfare which is against one's own lusts and *Al Jihadu l Asghar* or 'the lesser warfare' against infidels (See Hughes *Dict of Islam and Jihad*)

⁵ Crying *Allahu Akbar* الله اكبر God is Almighty See *Mishkutu l Masabih* X 11

raised their hands in prayer, and in the first attack they put to the sword a considerable number of able-bodied men of the Mughūl cavalry, and the lances of the Maliks of the Court so wounded the limbs of their enemies that above each of them the blood spurted up like a spear, while sixty selected Turks interweaving their arrows like closely-woven cloth, made it appear as though the web (of existence) of the Tātārs was being torn to shreds.¹

In the beginning of the fray the arrow of the king leapt forth
The Tātārs were all laid low.

As often as the great Lord, lion-hearted, wielding the sword,
with a blade as bright as his own faith, sallied forth to
attack from the midst of the ranks.

You would say that the sword was trembling in that battlefield
at the excellencies of the monarch, and becoming in its entirety
a tongue was saying to him, Up and make an end of these accursed ones, and entrust their discomfiture to thy servants, but do thou thyself refrain from personal action, for the sword is double faced, and the scimitar of Fate pitiless in its wounding—no one can tell what may happen to any one of us from the decree of the All powerful. I close my eyes against the fatal eye.²

Go not, that I may bind thy dust upon mine eyes.
Act not, for I greatly fear the evil eye.
The heaven has never seen such a brilliant countenance,
I am as rue upon that fire to guard that eye.³

135. As long as he strenuously performed the duties of fighting and warfare, each of the weapons as it were entered into colloquy with him—the spear was saying, Oh King! refrain your hand from me

¹ There is a sequence of plays upon words in the original which cannot possibly be preserved in a translation. تیر *tīr* is a kind of cambric or lawn. It also has the usual meaning of "arrow."

² عین الکمال *ʿayn al-kamāl* An eye supposed to have the power of killing with one glance. The Arabs say فاق الله عينك *faqa lillāh ʿaynuk* May God blind the fateful eye to thee.

³ سپند *spīnd* According to *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*, a seed which is burned to avert the consequences of being "overlooked" by the evil eye. See Vüller's Lexicon.

For an interesting account of charms against the evil eye see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

this day, for the tongue of my point by reason of constant fighting and slaying is blunted, and I have no power left of opposing the enemy with thrusts, I fear lest I should leap up and should commit some untoward act. The arrow too was saying,

Thou, the knot of whose bowstring opens the knot of the Jauzhar, do not advance to meet this danger! ¹

I myself in rushing forth to destruction cast dust upon my head, lest the close eyed beauty of the heaven ² who sits on the fifth roof near the door of the eighth mansion, ³ sitting in ambush, out of temerity and spite, should discharge against you the shaft of error from the bow of fraud and malice, the Lasso was saying, to dry the thread of planning should not be let go from the hand of deliberation, for I am contorted with anxiety at this precipitate conflict and ill considered battle, wait a while! for Islam and the Muslims are like the tent ropes connected with the tent of your favours. Oh God! in dealing with this people, do not so long delay putting the halter round their necks.

I have willingly put my neck in the noose for thy sake
Thou art my lassoer, who takest me with the noose of thy locks

In short, that mighty king, the defender of the faith, the uprooter of infidelity, from mid day till eventide attacked that impious crowd with the whole main body of his army, cheerfully and willingly, while the shouts of the victors in the fight, and the clamour of those eager for the fray ⁴ deafened the ears of the world and of the sky, ⁵ and tongues of fire which leapt from the heads of

¹ MS (A) has *مفسدة* as has the text MS B *فددة* Neither is intelligible

Possibly we should read *مفسدة* *mafsada* Jauzhar the head and tail of Draco see *Burhan* : i Q ti also *Ain* : *Akbari* II (J) p 9 also *Aash-haf*, I, 202

² *منادى ترک تنگ چشم ملک* MS (A)

³ I read *نرد در حانہ* MSS (A) and (B) have *نرد در حانہ* which makes no sense unless we supply a word such as *رسانندہ* for which there is no sanction. The text reads *ونر* but it seems to me *نرد* is more likely to be right. It might easily have become *نوا* by copyist's error.

⁴ MS (A) *وعوای عالدی وعوای طالبان عزرا* This is a better reading than the text

⁵ MSS (A) and (B) read *صباح سما* for *اسماع سما* in the text

the flashing spears, and tongues of the swords made not a single mistake in even in a letter in transmitting the message of destruction. In that uproar like the day of resurrection every one thought of this *Āyat A day when a man will flee from his own brother*,¹ the surface of the earth, like the eyes of old men who have lost their sons² was full of blood, and the face of the sky like the head of sons who have killed their fathers, full of dust.

Alas! my father why dost thou submit to the steel of the fire-like sword

Oh! dost thou wish to inflict the wound of orphanage on my heart.

In the very midst of this weary conflict, and amid all this pain and anguish, suddenly an arrow shot by Fate struck the wing of that falcon of the field of foray, and the bird of his life took its flight from the cage of the body of that noble one to the gardens of the Compassionate and meadows of Rīẓwān³

Verily we are God's and verily to Him do we return.⁴

At that same moment the backbone of the religion of Muḥammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, broke like the heart of sorrowful orphans, and the rampart of the religion of Muḥammad fell in like the grave of poor people of low origin, and the assistance which the arm of the king alone could give slipped from our grasp, and the confidence which the army of the Muslims had possessed⁵ was lost. Exactly at the time of sunset,

¹ Qur'ān Sur: lxxx. 34.

² MS. (A) *پسر بباد داد*. The text has *بصر بباد داد* which is bald and destroys all the antithetical force of the sentence.

In MS. (B) the word *پسر* is omitted.

³ MS. (A) *گلشن حنان وروضه رضوان* Rīẓwān, the name of the door-keeper of the garden of Paradise. The word means "Pardon" "forgiveness."

⁴ The formula of resignation to the Divine will uttered by pious Muslims in all times of adversity, more especially bereavement or in presence of death. In the Qur'ān II. 150, 151 we read, "We will try you with something of fear, and hunger and loss of wealth and souls and fruit; but give good tidings to the patient who when there falls on them a calamity say, 'Verily we are God's and verily, to Him do we return' these, on them are blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they it is who are guided." (Palmer).

⁵ *بيضة الاسلام* see Lane, Ar. Dict. *بيضة الاسلام*. The place which comprises El-Islām (meaning the Muslims) like as the egg comprises the young bird, or the congregation or collective body of the Muslims.

the sun of the life of that king whose sun was setting sunk into the west of extinction, and the heaven, after the habit of mourners, dyed its rament blue, while falling tears began to course down both its cheeks. Saturn, by way of fulfilling the requirements of fidelity and the demands of mourning, turned its robe to black and bewailed the people of Hindustan because of his death. Jupiter, in pity for that dust besotted body and blood-stained mantle sent his garments and cast his turban in the dust.

And Mars, may the hand of his power be tightly closed as the eye of the beauties, and the face of his sustenance be dark as the locks of Ethiopians, sore wounded by compassion for that calamity, with a rankling thorn¹ which brought forth his heart's blood, was trembling like the Fish² before the Sun, and like the Ram³ in the hands of the slaughterer, while the Sun, for shame that it had not striven to avert this calamity and prevent this disaster, came not forth, but sank below the earth, and Venus when she saw what violence the heavenly bodies were undergoing at the hands of Time, played her tambour more vehemently,⁴ changed the tone of the drum, and commenced music in a fresh measure, and because of the death of that slave cherishing king, others in place of uttering musical strains began to weep, and Mercury⁵ who in forage and conquests in accord with the scribe, used to write many records of victory, in that tyranny⁶ was blackening his face with the contents of his inkhorn, and was clothing himself in a garment of paper made of the sheets of his own records, while the new moon in the shape of a crescent on the horizon, with bowed stature, in that day of judgment which had visited the earth, was striking its head on the wall and performing all the customary mourning duties.

¹ خار عقرب *Khār* : 'Aqrab The thorn of Scorpio. Mars is called خار عقرب

² حوت *Hit* The sign Pisces

³ حمل *Hamal* The sign Aries.

⁴ راد فی الطنبور *rad fī al-tanbur* on the analogy of راد فی حدیثه said of a liar

The طنبور *tanbur* is a kind of mandolin with chords of brass wire played with a plectrum. The word was originally راد فی حدیثه from its being likened to the tail of a lamb. (Lane)

⁵ Mercury is called دبیر فلک *Dabir* : *Falak* The scribe of the sky

⁶ نظم *tazallum* MS (A) MS (B) The textual reading نظم must be wrong

Thou placest thy cheek in the dust, alas, I wish not this
for thee

Moon of my days, I do not wish thee to pass beneath the
Earth.

If thou goest out to the chase (*i.e.* diest) thy dust is my life :
My life ! is the solitude of thy dust pleasing to thee ? I do
not wish it for thee.

May God, *be He exalted and blessed*, raise the purified and
sanctified soul of that warrior prince to lofty heights and high
dignities, and give him, from time to time, cups full of the bil-
liancy of his beauty and glory, and make all the kindness, and
clemency, and affection, and care which he evinced towards this
broken down worthless one, a means of increasing the dignity and
wiping out the faults of that prince. Amen, Oh Lord of the worlds !

And Mīr Khusrū¹ also on that day fell a prisoner into the
hands of Lahorī, a servant of the Mughūl, and had to carry a
nosebag and horsecloth upon his head. He recounts this circum-
stance in these words—

I who never even placed a rose upon my head,
He placed a load on my head and said "It is a rose."²

And he composed in poetry and sent to Dehlī two elegies written
in *tarkīb-band*³ which are found in the anthology known as

میر خسرو¹ For an account of Mīr Khusrū see index reference.

The poet, relates some of his experiences as a captive—"At the time
that this learner of evil, the author, was a captive in the hands of the
Mughūls—may such days never return !—travelling in a sandy desert, where
the heat made my head boil like a cauldron, I and the man who was with
me on horseback arrived thirsty at a stream by the roadside. Although
the naphtha of my life was heated I would not inflame it with oil by
drinking a draught of water. Both my guard and his horse drank their
fill and expired immediately." Elliott, III, Appendix, p. 545.

2 *دل* means both *horsecloth* and also *rose*. There is a difference in the read-
ings MS. (A) reads, *توبره برسرنهاد و گفتا دل* MS. (B) is like the text.

3 *ترکیب بند*. In this class of composition a certain number of verses
having the same metre and rhyme are followed by a couplet in the same
metre but having a different rhyme—then the original rhyme is reverted to
for a certain number of verses, and is again followed by a fresh couplet
having the same metre, but a rhyme differing from both the original rhyme
and that of the first interpolated couplet—and so on. In *Tarjī-band* as

*Gluratu l Kanul*¹ For a space of a month more or less folk used to sing those *tarīb* bands and used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house

The following is one of them —

Is this the Resurrection day or is it a calamity from heaven 138
which has come to light?

Is this a disaster or has the day of Judgment appeared
upon the earth?

That breach which has appeared this year in Hindustan
has given entrance to the flood of sedition below the
foundation of the world

The assembly of his friends has been scattered like the
petals of the rose before the wind

Autumn the leaf scatterer has one would say appeared in
the garden,²

• Every eyelash in the absence of friends, has become a
spear point to the eye and each point of the spear has
brought blood spouting forth to a spear's length

The heart writhes in agony since Time has broken the thread
of companionship

When the string is broken the pearls are scattered far and
wide

Such a flood of tears has been shed by the people on all
sides that five fresh rivers have appeared around Multan³

I wished to bring my heart's fire upon the tongue in the
form of words

When lo! a hundred tongues of fire appeared within my
mouth

It has been stated elsewhere the plan is similar to the above but the interpolated couplet is always the same. This interpolation occurs not more than seven times both in *Tarkīb band* and in *Tarjū band*

¹ *Qh̄rat il lamal* The longest of the four *Diwāns* of Amr *Khusra*. It contains poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life for an account of this and the other *Diwāns* see Elliott III Appendix. See also II j *Klālī* IV 311

² MS (A) reads گلسان for بوسان

³ MS (A) agrees with the text MS (B) has a worthless reading

هج دیگر بندر مولیان آمد پدید

I dug deep in my breast, empty of all desire, and tears burst forth from both my eyes: when the earth is hollowed out then springs of water make their appearance.

Weeping has taken the bloom off my cheek, and disgraced me, because by reason of it, the skin has left my cheek and the bones have come in sight.

The planets are all conjoined in my eyes¹ perchance it portends a storm, since in a watery constellation a conjunction of planets is seen.

I only wish for that same collection (of friends) and how can this be!

It is essentially impossible—how can this *Banātu-n-Na'sh* become the Pleiades² (How can mourning become joy).

With what omen³ did the king lead his army from Multān and draw the infidel-slaying sword in order to slay the infidels.

¹ The text has در چشم we should read در چشم as in MS. (A).

The astrologers state that when a conjunction of all the planets shall take place in one of the watery constellations (Scorpio, Pisces, Aquarius) a deluge like that which destroyed the world in the time of Noah will occur again.

² This couplet differing as it does in rhyme, but being in the same metre is characteristic of ترکیب بند *tarkīb band*, see p. 196, note 3.

بنات النعش *Banātu-u-na'sh*, this name "The daughters of the bier" is given by the Arabs to the constellation *Ursa Major*. See Lane, s. v. نعش -

The origin of the name "The daughters of the bier" is said by Sedillot in his Notes to the *Prolegomenes des Tables Astronomiques d'Oloug Beg*, to be that "the Arab Christians called the "Chariot" or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear نعش لعازر *Feretrum Lazarī*, and the three stars (the handle of the plough) of the tail *Maria, Martha ac ancilla*." The Persians have a superstition that if two people are together and one of them points out this constellation to the other, one of the two will die within the year.

The allusion to the Pleiades is explained by the following verses of *Ibn al-Amīd* (see de Slane, *Ibn Khall.*: III. 263).

"I have seized on one of the opportunities which life offers to form with my companions a part of the band of the Pleiades, and, if you do not aid us to maintain our rank in that choir by sending us some wine, we shall be sad like the daughters of the hearse."

The Pleiades is considered a fortunate asterism (cf.) Job xxxviii. 13, "The sweet influences of Pleiades."

³ MSS. (A) and (B) read تاجه طالع.

When they brought him tidings of the enemy, with that strength which he possessed, ruthlessly he displayed his wrath and unfurled his standards.

That army which was then present sought for no second army,

For this reason that Rustum must not be indebted to an armed host.¹

One assault took him from Multān to Lāhor, saying

In my reign can any one rebel against me ?

Am I not such a lion, that my sword which is like fire and water

Has by its slaying turned every year of theirs to dust and ashes ?

Such torrents of blood often have I set flowing over the earth,

That the vulture flies² over the surface of blood like a duck over the water.

In this year to such an extent do I stain the earth with their blood,

That the evening twilight reddens with the reflection of the earth

He was bent upon this enterprise and did not know that the Destiny of heaven had drawn the line of fate across the writing of the page of intention

His eyes were smitten by the stars; if I have the power I must heat a needle, and like a shooting star thrust it into the eye of the seven planets.

The first day of the month became Muharram³ for him, 140.
not for him only but for all people.

¹ These verses are transposed in the text. MS. (A) and MS. (B) give this order.

² MSS. (A) and (B) read بر سر خون پر کشید.

³ MS. (A) reads غرؤ مع شد محرم.

The Martyr Prince was killed on the last day of Zūl Hijjah the morrow of which was the sacred month of Muharram.

The 'Āshūrā (the tenth) is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muharram. We read in the *Mishkāt* (VII.) Ibn Abbās said "I did not see his highness intend the fast of any day which he considered more noble than the 'Āshūrā and the fast of Ramaẓān" Again "the fast of

Since at the end of Zūl Hijjah he drove his dagger into the neck of his enemies.

That the day of 'Āshūra might arrive he entered the ranks of holy war like Husain; the dust of his steed served as collyrium for the eye of the brilliant moon.

What an hour was that when the infidel reached the van of the army!

One upon another his squadrons passed over the river and came upon them unawares.¹

Thou didst see the king's steed,² casting the cloud of dust to the sky.

The wind-footed courier charging the infidels worthless as dust.

He raised a turmoil among the stars by the shouts of his army.

He produced an earthquake in the world by the rushing of his cavalry,

From the roll of the drums, the neighing of the horses, and the shouts of their riders, he caused a quaking of the plain and desert and mountain.

His horses were reeking (with sweat), with shoes as hot as fire, so that the hoofs of each fiery-shod steed struck sparks.³

What awe was there! at one time drawing up for battle, What terror was there! at another time raising the battle cries.⁴

141.

From the flash of the sword in his hand he scattered heat and oppressiveness around him.

the day 'Āshūrā I am hopeful will cover the faults of the coming year." (Matthews, Vol. I. p. 402).

"It is the only day of Muharram observed by the Sunnī Muslims, being the day on which, it is said, God created Adam and Eve, heaven and hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, life and death." (Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*).

1 MS. (A) reads جوق جوق آب را بگذشت و ناله در رسید and آن چه ساعت.

2 MS. (A) reads جنگ instead of خنگ as in the text.

3 MSS. (A.) (B.) read وز سم هر آتشین نعلی.

4 MS. (A) آن چه هیبت بود گاهی کارزار آراستن
وان چه دهشت بود گاهی تیرو دار انگیختن

MS. (B) reads the same as (A) repeating هیبت in the second line.

While the very thought of his spear pricked the heart like
so many thorns.

The brave-hearted were attacking, bent on consuming their
enemies,

The faint-hearted were plotting intent upon flight.

[Whiles, the king the cherisher of brave men, in that
field of battle,

Was doing deeds of bravery and urging on the warriors].¹

Striking manfully blow after blow upon the ribs of the
unmanly cowards,

And sending forth flames of fire from his well tempered
sword.

Raising aloft like Jamshid the standard, to restrain the
demons,

Urging on his steed, like the sun, to capture kingdoms.

Bringing the sky into supplication from that affliction.

Making the sun perform the *Tayammum*² with that dust.

[At that time when there was a distinction between brave
and coward,

Many a one there was whose lips were dry and his cheeks
pale].³

¹ These lines are omitted in the text but are in both MSS.

گدا شاه مرد پرور اندران میدان کار
کار مردان کودن و مردان کار انگیزختن

² *tayammum*. This word signifies "Intention" and is restricted to the *Wuḍū* or ablutional ceremony performed with sand instead of water, which is permissible under certain circumstances, as for instance when water cannot be procured without incurring undue risk or labour. Qur'ān V 9. "If ye cannot find water then take fine surface sand and wipe your faces, and your hands therewith." This like so many of Muḥammad's injunctions was excellent as a sanitary measure.

³ The text and MS. (B) are both wrong here, repeating the preceding band as though this poem were a *tarjībānd*. The following is the correct reading as given in MS (A)

اندران وقتے کہ فسرق از مرد تا نامرد بود
ای بساکسی را کہ لبها خشک و روها زرد بود

.Consequently in the translation I have omitted the incorrectly repeated lines, and have given these in their place.

The day was cast into darkness when they hurled¹ one upon the other,

The sun became pale when dagger was interweaved with dagger.

The day was nearing its decline, seeing that the swords² were weaving a sky of rust over the sun of the army.

The rows of swords in both ranks resembled (the teeth of) a comb,

The combatants are entangled one with the other like hair with hair.³

The Earth looked like a sheet of water when cuirass was knit with cuirass, the plain resembled a rose garden when shield was woven with shield.

The heaven flies away as though flying from an arrow, The arrows flying above their heads are thick as the feathers of a wing.

When half the force of the infidels had their heads swept off by the sword

Those infidel heads⁴ which were matted together like the locks of black hair.

Ruby-red drops of blood sprang like tears⁵ from the sword So that the gold-woven standards were besprinkled with the jewels.

Each single head was cleft in twain when the swords blows met.

1 MS. (B) reads **تافتند** which is the best reading.

2 This is the reading of MS. (A) **که از زنگار تیغ** MS. (B) follows the text but with no intelligible meaning. The reading of MS. (A) is not quite satisfactory and it seems possible that we should read **از جنگار تیغ** i.e. The warriors' swords.

3 MS. (A) has the following:—

شاه را مانند آن صفهای تیغ از هر دوسو

MS. (B) has **شانه را مانند** while the text has this as an alternative reading for **شانه را زانست**.

MS. (B) is the reading adopted for this line, reading however **بافتند** (text) and MS. (A) for **تافتند** MS. (B) in the second line.

4 MS. (A) **کافران هوسر**.

5 Insert **از** before **تیغ** MS. (A).

The cloven heads became as one again when head was thrust against head.

The slain were lying on all sides of that verdant plain¹
Like the figures which they weave on the green brocade.
Long had they been striving even from morning till evening, face to face, and hair to hair, and hand to hand.²

The king³ wished to spread the carpet of victory but to what avail

Since the heavens had woven that carpet in another pattern.

⁴[His auspicious sword did not cease from contest for one moment.

From the declining day till night in that day of declining fortune].

Oh Lord ! was that blood which flowed over the face of the plain¹⁴³.

Or was it a river urging its waves toward the lips of the thirsty.

Just as water drops to the earth when you sift it⁵ in a sieve

So the blood dript from the limbs of the weary warriors.

The mortally wounded lay in the death-agony writhing on the ground, while from his throat blood burst in billows, spouting in the air.

The arrows drove the bodies over the sea of blood like boats,

Plying their oars madly and urging their course onwards.⁶

¹ MS. (A) reads کشتگان افتاده در اطراف آن صحرای سبز which is the reading adopted.

² MS. (A) reads. روبروی و صوبوی و بسو بسو بریافتند

MS. (B) reads روبرو و صوبو و بسو بریافتند

³ MS. (B) reads incorrectly خواست شد

⁴ The text and MS. (B) are again wrong here giving in this place the complement beginning اندران میدان, see page 196 note 3, instead of the lines which should follow

یگ زمان شمشیر اقبالش نیاسود از قتال
از زوال روز تاشب اندران روز زوال

⁵ MS. (A) بیزي

⁶ These lines follow here in MS. (A) in the text they are five complets later.

The river bore those (the infidel enemies) to hell and the stream bore these (the Muslims) to Paradise, although the blood of infidel and Muslim was flowing side by side. The chargers were plunging and the heads of the riders falling.

The feet of the horses speeding and the heads of the riders bowling along.

Every spurt of blood which spurted from the body struck by an arrow

Leapt without restraint like a man who leaps to avoid an arrow.¹

The arrow of every man who from stoutness of heart had an arm nerved for the fight, fitted accurately to the bow flew straight to the heart of the enemy's army.

And he who from faint-heartedness has lost command of his arms and legs, was running now to the water and now to the plain.

The king, the commander of the army, was urging on the charger of his fortune, and it galloped with him in drawing up his line, and planning the scheme of action.

144.

The heavens turned Victory backwards seizing it by the hair,

Although Victory was speeding towards us having left the accursed (infidels).

² [The infidels were expecting the coming of night, to take to flight,

Suddenly the scale of the balance turned against us].

What a night was that! when the sun had fallen from the sky!

And demons were hurling fire upon the earth, and the stars had fallen.

When nothing of day remained for that sun of fortune.³

¹ These lines follow here in MS. (A) which reads چون کسی کز تیر بسجده

² Here again the text and MS. (B) are wrong. Here should follow as in MS. (A).

کافر اندر انتظار شب که تا بیرون شجود

تا بکمان میزان مارا بیکه دیگر گون بشود

³ These are omitted in MS. (B). MS. (A) reads افتاب بخت را

and the following are transposed in the text.

Some little daylight remained when the sun (of royalty) fell.

Although Husain of the famous Kerbelā¹ was in straits for want of water.

He was the Muḥammad whose end came upon him in the water.²

The heart of mankind became (full of holes like) a fishing net because, from the craft of the demon the royal signet which was on the hand of Solomon fell into the water.³

The infidels were wallowing in blood as the donkey wallows in the gutter, the believers lay in the mud like jewels in the mire.

One army was passing through the water of the flood of disaster,

The other parched with thirst had fallen in with a mirage.

Each one of them was put down on the tablet of the earth for this reason that their affairs had fallen into the account of the day of reckoning.

¹ A city in 'Irāq 50 miles south west of Bagdad and six miles west of the Euphrates. Husain was slain there A.H. 61 in conflict with Yazīd ibn Mu'āwīa on the 10th of Muḥarram; the name of the place where Husain was cut off from the Euphrates was called Kerbelā. See Hughes Dict. of Islām art. *Husain*.

² MS. (A) reads *که در کشت به آب افتاده بود* but the text is the correct reading.

It refers to the circumstances already related under which the *Khān-i-Shahīd*, the Martyr prince met his death. Firishta relates that having defeated the enemy the "generals of Hindustān discarded all caution and pursued the fugitives while the Muḥammad, the Martyr *Khān*, who had not performed the mid-day prayer, went hastily with 500 of his army to the margin of a large tank which then was near, alighted and engaged in prayer when his party were suddenly attacked by one of the Mughūl Generals with 2,000 men who were in ambush" (*Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, I. 143. *Bombay Edition*.) The Prince after a gallant fight was killed by an arrow and most of his men, killed. It was here Amīr *Khusrū* was taken prisoner but escaped.

³ The following is greatly abridged from the *Qissa-u-l-Anbiyā*.

Solomon's famous signet ring in which lay the secret of all his power was stolen from him by the jinn *Astargī* who while Solomon was bathing, personated him and demanded the ring from his wife (*Yamīnah*) to whom he had entrusted it. Obtaining it from her he sat on the throne and ruled the kingdom, Solomon having been cast out as an imposter. Solomon entered the service of some fishermen who used to give him two fish daily as his

The skull caps which were lying in the fresh crimson blood looked like cocoanuts engraved and ornamented with vermillion.¹

145.

The wounds of the heart were weeping tears of blood in bidding farewell to the soul, and the bodies were lying desolate owing to separation from life. .*

Alas! many were the living who were lying among the dead overcome with terror, their bodies blood-stained and their eyes sunk in (feigned) sleep.

Look at the deeds of this crafty old wolf (the sky) for lions were as though bound in chains and elephants in fetters at the hands of (infidel) dogs.

[This was not a battle, I verily saw that that was the day of resurrection. If these are the tokens of the resurrection, then I have seen it].²

Look at the revolution of the heaven, for it brought about such a change, that it made the centre of Islām to go round and round (in perplexity) like the compasses.³

wages, one of which he ate but sold the other to feed the poor. In the meantime Āṣaf recognized that it was not Solomon who was ruling, and brought 40 holy men (راسخ) before the throne each bearing an open copy of the Taurāt (Book of the Law) which they read aloud; Aṣṭarjī the demon was not able to bear this, rushed up to the roof of the palace, cast the ring into the water and fled. Solomon happened to be fishing that day but being tired fell asleep on the bank of the river, a large snake came out of the water and taking the green bough of a tree in its mouth was fanning Solomon as he slept, when the fisherman's daughter passed by; she ran off to her father and begged him to marry her to Solomon. Eventually this was settled (though Solomon protested his inability to provide a dowry) and Solomon married the girl. The fish which had swallowed the ring fell into their net on the following day and was given to Solomon with two other fish, Solomon took them and sold two of them and gave the other to the fisherman's daughter to fry. She struck a knife into it and the ring fell out, the whole house becoming illuminated, she screamed and fainted, Solomon seized the ring and put it on, thus recovering his lost kingdom.

1 MS. (A) reads کشتگان را سر. The text and MS. (B) read کاسبای سر which seems preferable.

2 The text and MS. (B) are again wrong: the proper lines here are

نی فزع بود آن قیامت را معین دیده ام

گر قیامت را نشان اینست پس من دیده ام

3 MS. (A) reads (variant adopted) دایرات آسمان بن MS. (B) is the same as the text except that it reads پروار in both lines.

Has one ever seen an atom carry off the water of the sun's spring?

Has one ever seen a stone, which has rivalled the princely pearl?

When the king entered the cave of the protection of God, that man is a dog who did not wake the sleepers of the cave¹ with his lamentations.

That he entered the secret cave (of death) when fleeing from his enemies, is no disgrace.

The elect of God (Muhammad) fled towards the cave to avoid the attack of his enemies.²

And if a spark reached him from the arrow of his enemies this too is right³ for the wrath of Nimrod at last committed Abraham to the fire.⁴ 146.

And if he went to the holy place (Paradise) do not be vexed and count it as a shame to him⁵ for 'Iṣā through the spite of the Nazarenes devoted his life on the cross.

And if the (infidel) dogs were crafty as foxes to him, say this, that it is of a piece with the dog like behaviour which was shewn to ('Alī) the Ḥaidār-i-Karrār (lion of repeated attacks).⁶

And if the demons caused him to drown, then say this that it is like when a demon drowned Rustum in the ocean.⁷

Every year he used to devote his life and energy to fighting the Mughūls,

At last he yielded up his precious life in this endeavour.

¹ Qur'ān, Sūratu-l-Kahf, XVIII. The seven sleepers of Ephesus. MS. (A) reads *سگست آن آدمی گوند*. MS. (B) which the text follows reads *شکست*; and the text reads. *گوند* for *گوند*.

² MSS. (A) and (B) read *از رزم خصمان*.

³ The text and MS. (B) are hopelessly wrong here: the correct reading MS (A) is *از تیر خصمان هم رواست*.

⁴ Qur'ān, xxi. 62-69.

Said they Burn him and help your gods if ye are going to do so

We said Oh fire! be thou cool and a safety for Abraham.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) read *از ننگ شان دل بدمکن*. The reading in the text *تنگنا* is inadmissible.

⁶ Abdur Rahman ibn Muljim slew 'Alī with a sword while engaged in prayer on the 10th Ramaẓān 35 A.H. in the Mosque of Kūfa.

⁷ See *Shāh Nāma* (Turner Macan), Vol. II, p. 748. l. 8.

This is one of the tricks of fate which at one time sheds blood and at another gives life; ¹ we are powerless, it is useless to strive against the all-powerful tyrant (fate). The mighty lion when stung by the ant roars aloud in agony.

The infuriated elephant when pricked by a thorn shrieks from pain.

[It was on Friday, the last day of Zūl Hijjah that this battle took place

At the end of eighty-three and the beginning of eighty-four].²

The sun and moon wept over the face of that one of auspicious features,

Day and night wept over the youth of that short-lived one. Like his orders, tears from the eyes, flowed from east to west

Behold the obedience of the servants³ who wept without any master.

In his reign birds and fishes were so happy

That the fishes wept in the water and the birds in the air.

The heavens with its thousand eyes wept over the people of the earth like vernal showers upon the grass.⁴

The dew which falls every morning from heaven and waters the earth, consider that as the tears of the stars who are weeping in the highest heavens.

The people of Multān, men and women, weeping and tearing their hair, in every street, face to face and every where.

No one could sleep at night for the noise of the wailing, and the beating of the drums, for in every house the mourners were weeping bitterly.

¹ MS. (A) و گه جان دهد

² MS. (A) has the following lines in place of those in the text

جمعه بود و سلخ ذی الحجه که رفت آن کارزار
آخر هشتاد و سه آغاز هشتاد و چهار

1st Muharram (684 A.H.)

³ MS. (A) بنده فرمان بن

⁴ This couplet is omitted from MS. (B).

They were preparing to perform the *wazū* in the water of
their eyes,

Hoping for pardon for that they wept at the time of prayer.

Their tongues were blistered like the feet of prisoners,

So sorely did they weep for the captives of calamity.

Their eyes poured forth blood upon the earth like the
throat of the slain,

So bitterly did each one weep for his own dead ¹

And if by chance a captive returned from that bond of
calamity,

Every one seeing his face wept honest tears of sorrow

[So great was the weeping that the waves of the tears
were greater than those of the Jihun.

This was my own condition, the state of the others how can
I describe !] ²

Shall I wring my hands, or shall I with my own teeth
make my arm livid,

Or shall I wear clothes of a darker blue than this blue 148
heaven ? ³

Every man of reputation, tattoos his arm with the needle,
But when I make my arm blue with my teeth, the name of
the king leaps forth on my arm

Alas ! that he by the tyranny of the blue sky, is sleeping
beneath the earth, while ⁴ because of his sleeping there
the whole horizon has become blue (dark)

There was both the blackness of the Hindu and the white-
ness of the Turk, whereas now both Turk and Hindu are
wearing blue (as mourning)

⁵ [It was as though the people were tearing the heavens
and dividing them among themselves,

¹ This is the order of the couplets in MS (A)

² MS (A) گره چندان شد که موج دند از حنجرو گذشت
حال من اس بود حال دیگران تا چون گذشت

³ Blue was the customary mourning colour in Persia

⁴ MS (A) وز

⁵ This couplet is not in the text nor in MS (B) MS (A) reads

آسمان را گونا بردند و قسمت کرد خلق

بسکه اطراف زمین از حامه شد فرسود کدود

To such an extent was the earth in all directions blue with mourning garments.]

Now it has become customary to wear blue—so that henceforth it behoves the weavers of white cloth to dye their thread blue in the shuttle.¹

In every street² of Cairo a river blue like the Nile was flowing; to such an extent were blue garments being washed in tears on all sides.

The dyers of blue cloth were as happy as if there was a bridal in their houses, because so many brides had their garments dyed blue in mourning for their husbands.³

The lovely ones who were smiting their foreheads and shedding tears of blood had their cheeks below their eyes red (with blood) while above their eye-brows it was blue.

The beauties have no need of blue (patches) and redness (rouge) after this,

For the cheeks are torn till they are red (with blood) and the face is smitten till it is blue (with bruises).

In such quantities do they tear their hair from their delicate brows, one and all

That the root of every hair becomes blue from such rough treatment.

149.

[How long shall I tear out the hair of my head in this lamentation and mourning!

Nay I will pluck this body of mine like a hair from the head of my life].⁴

Alas! that my heart has suddenly turned to blood on account of (the loss of) my friends.

The order of the following couplets differs from that of the text as will be seen.

1 MS. (A) reads *یا کو* for *ما کو* the latter is the correct reading.

2 MS. (A) *بهر کوی*.

3 MS. (A) *پیرهنهای عروسان*

4 MS. A. *موی سر تا چند از این غم زار و گویان برکنم* Not in the text.

این تن چون موی باری از سر جان برکنم

Alas! for that assembly who were a constant fresh joy to
their friends

The eyes became flooded with water and blood on account
of their friends, so long as I saw my friends in the
midst of blood and water

Such priceless blood of my friends has the earth swallowed
That it is my right to demand from the Earth the blood
money for my friends

If it were possible for those who sleep in the dust to arise,
I would devote the remainder of my life to secure the
existence of my friends

It were a pity that the eye should have its pupil always
with it, and yet that its friends should be out of sight ¹

How can one bear to look at others instead of one's friends,
My friends are gone! How can I embrace a stranger!

How can I clothe any other person in the mantle of any
friends!

I will place their dust in my eyes (as a collyrium) How
can it be right that the dust of my friends' feet should
be so little valued ²

In desire for my friends, even though they sever my head
(from my body),

Still the desire for my friends will never be severed from
my ³ head

Oh my King! whenever thou biddest me I will tear my
garment of life to the very edge in mourning for my
friends

My life has been torn to shreds in a hundred places through
grief, how can it be right that I should tear a shred into
shreds for the sake of my friends ⁴ 150

My friends have gone of whom are you talking,

Once for all bring your speech to an ending and breathe
a prayer for my friends

¹ MS (A) حیف باشد مرد ماں در چشم و بار از چشم دور

² MS (A) The order in the text differs

³ MS (A) در هوای دوستانم گرم سرم بیرون کنده

⁴ I follow the text here MS (A) reads

پاره پاره کردن اکسوں از برای دوستان

[Always remember the departed, especially at the time of prayer,

Because nothing shows you the way to mercy save the guidance of prayer].¹

O Lord may the illumination of the sun of mercy light upon their souls,²

May, their souls shine like the sun from the bounty of thy light.

In the day of battle the Great Khān was their leader,

May the same Khān be also their leader to the Garden of Paradise.

If an angel flies thither in desire for him it becomes a fly,³

May the wings of the peacock of Paradise drive away the flies from them.

The bounty of mercy is the water of life in the gloom of the grave,⁴

Oh Lord, in the darkness of the tomb may they have the water of life.

[When the faces become black from the sun of resurrection

May the wings of the angels cast protecting shade over their heads].⁵

When they give⁶ into their hands the record of their deeds taken from the book of punishment,

May the record bear as its heading the words "A book for the right hand."⁷

These lines are not in the text nor in MS. (B).

1 یاد می کن خفتگان را خاصه در حال دعا
کت برحمت راء ننماید مگر دال دعا

دال دعا *Dāl-i-du'ā* *Dāl* signifies the letter with which the word *du'ā* begins, while *Dāll* also means "that which shews the way."

2 یارب از MS. (A).

3 در هوایش گرمک پرد گردد مگس MS. (A).

4 در ظلمات گور MS. (A).

5 This couplet is omitted from the text.

چون ز خورشید قیامت رویها گردد سیاه
بر سر از پر ملائک سایه گردان باد شان

6 برکف دهند MS. (A) (B).

7 See Qur'ān lxxxiv. 7, 8, 9 "and as for him who is given his book in his

May the drops of blood which were shed from their throats
 Become the most costly rubies of their crown of pardon
 For the thirsty ones¹ whose souls departed for lack of
 water,

May the cloud of mercy rain continuously upon their heads
 For the captives² who were long subjected to hardships,
 Oh Lord³ may the hope of speedy release make their way
 light for them

151

May the affliction which they suffered in imprisonment, be
 to those who have escaped from prison (by death) the
 cause of their eternal salvation,

And those who have survived and have returned from
 that calamity,

May they experience the mercy of the Author of good,⁴ and
 may the favour of the Sultān be theirs

Since Muhammad has departed may the event be happy for
 the king May his son Kaiqubād be most fortunate and
 his son Kaiḫusru be blessed

And the opening [of another threnody]⁴ is as follows

My heart sit silent in sorrow for no trace of joy remains,
 Grief, do thou take away the world, for no joy is left
 therein

In the following ode too he refers to the same disastrous
 occurrence

Behold this calamity⁵ which has be fallen this year on the
 frontier of Multan,
 The right wing of the believers has been defeated⁶ by the
 infidel ranks

right hand he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning; and he shall go
 back to his family joyfully

¹ MS (A) تشنگان را که جانهای شاه بی ای گدشت I follow the text here

² Th s is the reading of the text MS (A) reads کشگان MS (B) تشنگان

³ Yullers مردان

⁴ These words are not in either MS

⁵ MS (A) reads ہمیں بلا نگر اعمال This is the preferable reading

⁶ MS (A) شکست.

How can I explain that day of resurrection, from the agony of which the Angel of Death would have craved respite.

How can I describe the way in which the Ghāzīs, attacked the front of the Khaibarīs, like the Lion of repeated attacks.

But what help has anyone against the decree of fate which was ordained by and issued from the Almighty.

2. What was the condition of the battle field? it was one load of dead bodies,

So much blood was spilled and the load was lying upon it.¹

The blood of martyrs, poured out like a libation, was mingled with the earth,

The necks of prisoners bound together with ropes in rows, like rose chains,

The heads strangled in the tight noose of the saddle-cords,²

The necks caught in the toils of the head-ropes.

Although my head escaped that game of strangulation,

Still my neck did not escape that noose of torture.

I was taken captive, and for fear lest they should shed my blood

My blood dried up, not a single drop remained in my weak and emaciated body.

I was poured out like water running without beginning and without end, and like bubbles thousands of blisters appeared on my feet from much travelling.

The skin was separated from my feet by the blisters,

Like to the seams of a slipper burst open.

My heart, because of affliction, was as hard as the hilt of a sword

¹ MS. (A) reads زمین رزم که شد یار کشته بود همه

MS. (B) زمین رزم که شد باز گشت بود همه

The real reading seems to be زمین رزم چه شد بار کشته بود همه

² دوال پای. See Richardson s. v. دوال بازی

From weakness my body was become wood like the handle
of a club.¹

Not a breath remained in my wind pipe by reason of thirst,
My belly was like a drum from the duration of my hunger.²
My body was stripped naked like a tree in autumn,
And like a rose torn into a thousand shreds by the thorns
For sorrow the pupil of my eyes poured forth drops
Like the (scattered pearls) of a necklace broken from the
neck of a bride

A *Qurūna*³ driving me on in front followed along the way 153
scoted on a horse, like a leopard on a hill range

Fœtor ab isto ore teterimus axillæ odori similis,
Capilli oris ejus pubi similes usque ad mentum delapsi.⁴
If I lagged behind a step or two through fatigue
He would draw at one time his falchion⁵ at another his
javelin⁶

I kept heaving deep sighs and saying to myself
Alas! I shall never be able to escape from this calamity!⁷
A thousand thanks to God Almighty who liberated me
With my heart free from arrow wounds and my body
unhurt by the sword

When he desired to make my body a brick for the grave,
Water and clay built up for me anew my palace of years
But what good to me was my escape from that rope
If snapped like the bond between the *Muhājir* and *Anṣār*⁷

چقمار *Chuqmar* Pavet de Courteille in his Turkish dictionary gives this
word as چوقمار *Cluqmar*, with the meanings *massue gourdin*

² These lines are as follows in MS (A)

دعى بمادة بنام ريدون تشنه
دعى شدة شکم من رمادن ناچار

³ I cannot find this word, possibly it is connected with the Turki قورچی *qorchi*
an armed soldier

⁴ See Elliot and Dowson, III 528

⁵ طوعان *faghana* there is a Turki word طوعان *tgha* which means
a falcon and another طوعانک *tughanak* oiseau semblable à l'épervier (P
de C) Hence the above translation by the word *falchion*

⁶ قحمار *takhmar* a dart having no point (Richardson)

⁷ The *Anṣār* or 'helpers of the prophet' were those tribes of El Medinah

All those lives were poured out in the dust like roses
 By the fierce blast of misfortune, this is Autumn not Spring.
 The world full of roses and the assembly emptied of those
 who can smell their perfume,
 How should not my heart turn to blood like the rose bud
 at this treatment! ¹

Not one of my friends of last year remains to me this year,
 It is evident that "this year" also will become "last year."
 Do thou also like me, oh cloud of the newly born spring
 Now wash thy hands of water, and rain teardrops of blood.
 Give me a cup, that from the depths of my regret
 I may empty it of wine, and fill it with bitter tears.
 Now that the date is 684 (H.)

154.

To me in my three and thirtieth year comes the good
 tidings of the thirty-fourth.

Not thirty-four because if my years should be thirty
 thousand, when one comes to the account of Annihilation
 neither thirty counts for aught nor a thousand.

I am not a poet, even though I were a magician, still then
 I shall become dust.

I am not a Khusrū, even were I a Kaikhusrū, still at that
 time my kingdom would be but the grave.

And in the preface to the *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* he writes some
 epitomised poems relating to this circumstance; the gist of
 the matter is that they brought Tughral to nothing, and the
 prince who used to pray with lamentation and tears at the foot-
 stool of the best of all helpers saying *Make me of thy mercy*
a victorious Emperor rose to such power in the districts of
 Lakhnautī and Chatar La'l that his head which touched the
 stars, reached to the starless expanse of the highest heaven, and

who, while in other respects rivals, united so far as to espouse the cause of
 Muḥammad.

The *Muḥājirīn* were the refugees from Mecca, and to avoid jealousy and
 strife between them and the *Anṣār*, each of the *Anṣār* was made to swear an
 oath of brotherhood with one of the *Muḥājirīn*. This bond was however
 broken shortly after the battle of Bedr. See Muir's *Life of Mahomed*, Vol. III.
 p. 26, also Palmer's translation of the *Qur'ān*, p. xxxiv. and Hughes *Dict.*
of Islām s. v. Anṣār.

¹ These lines follow here in MS. (A).

Malik Shamsu d Dīn Dabū, and Qāzī Aṣṣī desired to retain me by seizing my garments,¹ but the separation from my friends seized me by the collar I was obliged like Joseph to leave that prison pit and turn my steps to² the metropolis, and under the shadow of the standard of the Shadow of God I remained in the city In those very same months, the Khan Buzurg Qaan Malik arrived from the conquest of Damīel,³ and a rumour came to us that my words had reached him,⁴ so that he made enquiries regarding the ripe fruit of my words, unripe fruit as it really was I laid it before him, and it was honoured with acceptance in his private hall of audience, and I was distinguished by a robe of honour and rewards, and I girded my loins in his service and wore the cap of companionship, and I gave for five years more to the Panjab and Multān water from the sea of my comfortable circumstances, till suddenly, by the potent order of the wise ruler, the star of my glory came into opposition with the inauspicious Mars,⁵ 155 the time of its decline had arrived when the unlucky cavalcade of those born under the influence of Mars came in sight, and at evening time, the bright sun⁶ sank by the revolution of the heaven, a world of brave men struck by arrows had fallen, and the plain of the earth was full of broken cups, and Death itself was saying at that time "Where shall I place my cup and where shall I take my pitcher" The sky fed upon dust and the sun swallowed a bowl of blood

How can we describe that day of resurrection

When even the Angel of Death sought protection from the fray.

In that forge of calamity the rope of the infidels seized me also by the throat, but inasmuch as God Most High had lengthened the

1 دلدا ساتم داس گبری نكند MSS (A) and (B)

2 مصرحانج See Muqaddasi DeGoeje's Glossary, p 207

3 MS (A) دمیرلہ

4 داورسد MS (A)

5 مریخ نحس Mars and Saturn are considered stars of ill omen, and are called in Arabic نحسان *nahsan* 'The two misfortunes' (See Ibn Khaldun Proleg 11 218)

6 MS (A) reads اواب مشرق MS (B) اواب مشرق So also footnote variant to the text The former is the reading adopted

rope of my life, I obtained release, and by the high road I made for the abode of favours, and attained to the sight of the dome of Islām¹ and at the feet of my mother became (as it were) an inhabitant of Paradise, while as for herself, as soon as her eyes fell upon me the fountain of her milk flowed from tenderness towards me.

Paradise always lies beneath the feet of a mother,
See two streams of milk flow therefrom, the sign of
Paradise.²

And I spent some time pleasantly and quietly in seeing my beloved mother and other dear ones in the fort of Mūminpur, otherwise called Patiālī³ on the banks of the river Ganges."

156. In short, when the news of this heart-rending disaster reached the ears of the Sultān, having observed the duties of mourning for some days, a great affliction fell upon him, so much so that he could never again gird his loins, but he used to occupy himself in all matters, and sent a despatch addressed to Bughrā Khān who had acquired the title of Sultān Nāsiru-d-Dīn,⁴ to Lakhnauti saying. Since so great a calamity has fallen upon your brother I desire that you should take his place as you are well able to do, that in looking in your face I may be able to forget the numerous

1 The reading here is very uncertain, the text reads, وَأَنْ شَاهِرَةً بِالْأَزْدِ which has no evident meaning: MS. (B) reads وَأَزْ شَاهِرَةً بِدَارِ الْأَزْدِ. The word شَاهِرَةً here is clearly wrong. MS. (A) reads وَأَزْ شَاهِرَةً بِدَارِ الْأَزْدِ and this is the variant I adopt although the phrase دَارِ الْ house of benefits is not a very usual one. Still, I have thought it better to take this as the true reading than to suggest other hypothetical readings.

* This refers to the two springs of Paradise mentioned in the Qur'ān, iv.

(Sūratu-r-Raḥmān). وَمِنْ دُونِهِمَا جَنَّتَانِ فِيهِمَا عَيْنَانِ نَضَّا خَتَّانِ

And besides these are gardens twain In each two gushing springs.

The proverb runs بهشت در پای مادران See Roebuck O. P. 484.

³ Patiālī "Ancient town in Aliganj *tahsil* Etah District, N.-W. Provinces situated on the old high bank of the Ganges 22 mile north-east of Etah town." Imp. Gaz. xi. 90. *Tieffenthaler* I. 198, places it at a distance of about 75 miles from Dihlī and about 20 from Furruckābād.

⁴ See page 186.

sorrows which I suffer on his account. Nāsiru-d-Dīn who¹ had acquired permanent and independent control over that district (of Lakhnauti) put off for some time coming to Dihli, and even after coming to Dihli at the earnest solicitation of his father was not able to remain there, "the elephant bethought him of Hindustān"² so that forgetting the demands of filial, paternal, and brotherly affection he became so restless from staying in that place that one day without his father's permission³ together with certain of his kinsfolk he went forth on pretence of hunting, and marching by rapid stages reached Lakhnauti and busied himself with his own affairs

VERSE.

Why should I not betake myself to my own country?

Why should I not be the dust of the sole of the foot of my friend?

I cannot endure the sorrow of exile and absence from home,

I will go to my own country, and be my own monarch.

Accordingly Sultān Balban, who was very depressed and dejected at this occurrence, so that day by day his weakness gathered strength, as he lay on his bed of sickness, being moreover past eighty years of age, conferred upon the eldest son of the Martyred Khān who was called Kaiḫusrū, the title of Khusrū Khān, and gave the affairs of Empire into his hands. Multān too was entrusted to him, and he made him the heir-apparent, and made a will to the effect that Kaiqubād the son of Bughrā Khān should be sent to his father in Lakhnauti. After he had relieved his mind of anxiety as to the succession of Kaiḫusrū, and the other testamentary dispositions of the government having occupied him three days, he removed the baggage of existence from this world to

¹ MSS (A) and (B) نصیر الدین واکه. The text and both MSS. call him Nāsiru d-Dīn.

² His thoughts turned homewards. Another proverb of this kind is دوق چمن ز خاطر بنبل نمیرود, *zauq-i-chaman* z *ḥāḥ-i-bulbul namirauaa*, i.e., the desire of the garden never leaves the heart of the nightingale.

³ بی رخصت پدر. MSS (A) and (B) The reading in the text پدر رخصت is at variance both with the sense, and also with the statement of other historians. Burni says "He wanted to go to Lakhnauti so he found a pretext for doing so and set off thither without leave from his father (E. D. III 124).

57. the next. This event took place in the year 686 H.¹ He had reigned twenty-two years and some months.

Oh my heart! the world is no place of permanence and stay,
Keep thy hand from the world—for it has no stability.

SULTĀN MU'IZZU-D-DĪN KAIQUBĀD BIN SULTĀN NĀSIRU-D-DĪN BIN
SULTĀN GHĪYĀSU-D-DĪN BALBAN.

- In the sixteenth year of his age, in succession to his grandfather, by the intervention of Malik Kachhan, who was called Itimar, and other Amirs who were disaffected to the Martyred Khān, succeeded to the throne of Empire.² Then having bestowed Multān upon Khusrū Khān with his family and dependents, they sent him off there under some pretext and exiled his adherents, and when the Empire became established he appointed all the officers of the state to their old posts in the kingdom, and Malik Nizāmu-d-Dīn³ was appointed *Dādbeg*⁴ and they gave Khawāja Khaṭīru-d-Dīn the title of Khawāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Shāhik Amīr Hājib that of Wazīr Khān, and Malik Qiyāmu-l-Mulk obtained the post of *Wakildar*: and after six months he left Dihli and founded the palace of Kilūgharī, which is now a ruin, near the ford of Khawāja Khizr on the banks of the river Jumna; there he held public audiences, and by craft getting hold of the Mughals who had newly become Moslems, put the majority of them to death, and banished a certain number of them. The chief author and cause of this action was Malik Nizāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa the
58. Wazīr (this Nizāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa is the same in whose honour Muḥammad 'Aufi composed the books *Jāmi'u-l-Hikāyāt* and

¹ 1287 A. D.

² Zīāu-d-Dīn Barnī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* gives a slightly different account of the means by which Kaiqubād attained the succession. He states that shortly before his death Balban summoned to his presence Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī, Khawāja Husain Baṣrī the Wazīr and some others and charged them to set Kaikhusrū son of the Martyr prince upon the throne. After his death, however, the Kotwāl and his people who for some private reason (از جهتی که آن بکشف احوال عورات دارد) had been unfriendly to the Martyr prince, were apprehensive of danger if Kaikhusrū succeeded, so they sent him to Multān and placed the son of Bughrā Khān, Kaiqubād on the throne with the title of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn (Elliott III. 124).

³ Nephew of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī.

⁴ Chief Justice.

Tazkiratu 'sh Shu'ara), and to Malik Chhaju (who eventually became grantee of Karra¹ and Manikpur, and whom Mir Khusrū eulogises in the *Qirānu s Sa'dain* in these words,²

Khan of Karra Chhaju, conqueror of countries

Who hast encircled thy feet with anklets³ formed from the
lips of Khans)

was given Sāmanā, his daughter was united in marriage to Sultān Mu'izzu d Din Kaiqubād. At the end of the month of Zul Hijjah in the abovementioned year, news arrived that the Tatar infidels whose leader was Itimar had attacked Lahore and the frontier of Multan. The Sultan appointed Siyāh Barbak with thirty thousand cavalry and giving him the title of Khan-i-Jahan despatched him to oppose them. He pursued the Tatars as far as the foot of the Juh hills, and put the greater number of them to the sword, or made them prisoners, and having repulsed them he came to the Court.

Inasmuch as Sultān Kaiqubād, during the lifetime of Sultan Balbān, had not attained the desires of his heart, and learned instructors had been placed in charge of him, at this time when he attained to the Empire finding himself completely unfettered he occupied himself with the full fruition of lustful delights, while the majority of the people took advantage of the luxuriousness of his reign to spend their days in wantonness and license. The ministrants of debauchery, jesters, singers and jugglers were admitted to close intimacy in his Court, in marked contrast to his grandfather's reign, and learning, and piety, and integrity were nothing valued, and Malik Nizam u Din 'Alaqa seeing that the

¹ Not كور as in the text, but كره MSS (A) and (B) also Barni. See note 3. Malik Chhaju was brother & son to Balbān.

² MSS (A) and (B) تعريف كرده و گفته. See Haji Khulfa IV 510 9399 f r *Qirānu s Sa'dain*.

³ In the original there is a play on the word كره Karra which cannot be reproduced in English. The lines are as follows MSS (A) and (B,

خان كره چاقوى كشور كشای كریب جانان كره بسى بهای

See *Ain-i-Akbari* II 167 note 2 where Karra is said (as by Ibn Batuta) to have been the place of meeting of Mu'izzu d Din and Nasiru d Din. See also Kar-i-Imp Gaz of India Vol VIII but Karra is on the Ganges and lies far away from the line Lakhanā—Dillī but so also does the river Sarj

Sultān was immersed in luxury and enjoyment, and utterly careless of his kingdom's affairs, stretched forth the hand of oppression and went to unwarranted lengths. The vain desire of sovereignty came into his heart, so that he set about devising the downfall of the family of Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn. In the first instance having instigated Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to murder Kai Khusrū the son of Sultān Muḥammad the Martyr, he summoned him from Multān, and in the town of Rohtak raised him to the dignity of martyrdom and sent him to join his father.

59. In the same way he accused Khwāja-i-Jahān of an imaginary crime and had him publicly paraded on an ass through the city, he also imprisoned the Amīr and Maliks of the house of Balban who were related to the Mughals who had recently become Moslems, and deported them to distant fortresses, and destroyed the glory of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn.

Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, when the tidings of his son's ruinous condition reached him in Lakhnautī, wrote a letter full of hints couched in the language of enigma and innuendo to Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn warning him of the sinister intentions of Nizāmu-l-Mulk. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn out of the hot-headedness of youth, did not act on his father's advice, and after much correspondence it was decided that Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn should leave Lakhnautī, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn should start from Dihli and that they should visit each other in Oudh.

From what Mīr Khusrū may the mercy of God be upon him, says in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*,¹ and also from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*² we learn that Bughrā Khān, on his accession to the throne of Bengāla with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, was coming with a large gathering to attack Dihli, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn also having collected his forces from the neighbouring districts advanced against him in the direction of Oudh; and since the river Sarū³ lay between them the son alighted on this side and the father on

Qirānu-s-Sa'dain. The conjunction of the two auspicious planets. Jupiter and Venus, see H. K. 9399, also E. and D. III. 524.

² *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, the author of this work is Yāhyā bin Aḥmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindī. (Elliott. IV. 6).

³ The principal streams (of Oudh) are the Sarū (Sarjū) the Ghaghar (Gogra) the Sai, and the Godī (Gumtī). In the first mentioned divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance shew themselves. (*Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. 171).

the other side and neither was able to cross the river. The Amirs and Maliks of Ghiyasu d Din's party, intervened with advice to come to peaceful terms and Sultan Nasiru d Din with a party of special retainers crossed the river as it had been agreed that the son should sit upon the throne and the father, standing below the throne, should pay the customary dues of reverence and respect to him. Sultan Mu'izzu d Din from excess of desire forgot that compact, and on the instant his eyes fell upon the splendid presence of his father he came down from his throne and running barefooted, was about to fall at his feet. The father however would not permit this, whereupon each embraced the other and for a long time they wept bitterly, and in spite of all the father's attempts to take his stand at the foot of the throne, the son forcibly took him by the hand, and led him to the throne and seated him upon it. Then he also took his seat and after a long time the Sultan Nasiru d Din returned to his own camp and sent as presents to his son a large number of famous elephants and very many extremely valuable presents and curiosities and priceless treasures from the country of Lakhnauti. The son also sent to his father an equal number of Persian horses, and other kinds of valuable articles and cloth goods and rare and unique presents such that the accountant of imagination is unable to estimate their number and value, and all sorts of delight and pleasure burst upon the Amirs of Ghiyasu-d Din and Nasiru d Din and Mu'izzu d Din, and upon high and low of the armies, and the Maliks of both parties exchanged visits. Mir Khusru relates in detail this meeting¹ in the *Qiranu s Sa'dain*, and in another place he writes in a *qasida*

*Hail ' to the happy kingdom when two kings are as one
Hail ' to the happy era when two troths are as one*

Ain i Akbari II 305 gives an account of the meeting of father and son. For the river Sarju see Tieff I 200 259 260 291 also plate XIX facing page 292 in which the confluence of the Sarju and Ghagra is shown as it was in 1768.

The *Qiranu s Sa'dain* fixes the meeting between father and son as having taken place at Ajudliya on the banks of the Ghagra.

¹ Ibn Batuta gives a somewhat more fanciful description of this meeting of Nasiru d Din and Mu'izzu d Din. Paris Edn 1805 Vol III p 177, see also Elliott III p 596.

Behold ! the son is a monarch, the father a Sultān,
Behold the glorious kingdom now that two kings are as one.
'Tis for the sake of kingship and world enslaving power,
That for the world, two world-protecting kings become
as one.

One is the Nāṣir of the age, the king Maḥmūd Sultān,
Whose edict in the four parts of the world is still as one.
The other is Mu'izzu-d-Dīn the world's king Kaiqubād,
In whose grasp Irān and Turān are welded into one.

And this is his also—

161.

Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dunyā wad Dīn Kaiqubād Shāh
Hast thou ever seen one who is the light of the eyes of four
kings

On the last day ¹ when Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn came to bid farewell in the presence of Malik Nizāmu-l-Mulk and Qiwāmu-l-Mulk, who were both of them counsellors and closely bound up with the Government, he gave Mu'izzu-d-Dīn many good pieces of useful advice on all subjects, with exhortation, and examples and instances, and first of all warned him against excess in wine and venery, then spoke of his carelessness with regard to state matters, and rebuked him severely for killing his brother Kai Khusrū and the other noted Amīrs and Maliks of the adherents of Ghīyāsu-d-Dīn; then he exhorted him to be continually given to prayer and to perform the fast of Ramazān, and to keep all the principal tenets of the Musulmān religion, and taught him certain fixed rules and essential regulations of sovereignty. At the time of taking his departure he whispered in a low tone telling him to get rid of Nizāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa as soon as possible, "for" said he "if he gets a chance at you it is small chance you will get" this much he said, and they bid one another farewell with great emotion, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn for a few days remembered his father's injunctions, and gave up his vicious pleasures, but when he had travelled a few stages the merry courtesans and all kinds of enticing musicians and enchanting jugglers, subverters of piety, skilled and clever, crowded round him on all sides, and enticed his feet from the firm path of fortitude and self-

¹ MS. (A) در روز آخرین.

restraint, by all sorts of gallantries and coquetries, and sense-rivishing gestures and allurements

The bitter parting advice of his father did not find place in his heart

For this reason that his heart was inclined to sweets of pleasure

And the elephant saw Hindustan¹ in its dreams and he broke through his forced repentance, which was as filmy as the web of a spider, at the first provocation, and used to say, "Which advice?² and what counsel?"

I will not give up the delights of to day for tomorrow
Let tomorrow bring what it may, say to it "Bring it"

In opposition to this view is the following,
It befits not a king to be drunken with wine
Nor become entangled in lust and desire,
The king should be always the guardian of his people,
It is a sin that a guardian should be drunken
When the shepherd becomes full of new wine
The flock sleeps in the belly of the wolf

Heavy cups of wine used he to drink from the hands of the light-living cup bearers, and used to snatch a portion from his short ephemeral existence, and in this state malicious time used to foretell this calamity,³

Oh thou whose reign is the reign of faithless friends
From thy love springs hate, from thy honour disgrace,
Thou art as full of turmoil, but as empty, as the drum
Lasting for one night like the candle, and for one day like the rose

In this licentious mode of life he made his way to Dihli where he arrived in the year 689 H (1290 A D) There certain of his notable Amirs became suspicious of his intentions, and withdrew

¹ See note 2 page 219

² The text has کدام پد misprint for کدام پند

³ The text reads ای نکته but MS (A) reads I referably نکهه

to the skirts of the mountains. Sher Khān¹ who was one of their number repented and returned, and was thrown into a prison which he only left to go to the prison house of the grave, the others were punished. They bestowed upon Fīroz Khān ibn Yaghrash the Khiljī, who eventually obtained the title of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, the title of Shāyista Khān,² and entrusted the district of Baran³ to his control; accordingly he formed a plot by which he got Malik Hīmār Kachhan, who had treacherously attempted to slay him, into his power, and took vengeance on him for the deed which he had failed to accomplish. Then was seen the truth of the proverb "He who digged a pit for his brother is fallen into it himself."

Thou hast digged a pit in the way⁴ that thou mayest overthrow others.

Dost thou not fear lest one day thou should'st find thyself in the midst of it?

This was the plan which Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn carried into effect. He was very anxious to act upon the advice of his father and remove Nizāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa, so he in the first instance appointed him to Multān, but Nizāmu-l-Mulk saw through this device, and kept making excuses for delaying his departure, whereupon certain of the king's retainers at a hint from him, poisoned Nizāmu-l-Mulk's cup, and despatched him to the land of non-existence. It so happened that this occurrence became a cause of injury to the State. At this same time the Sultān was attacked by paralysis⁵ from his excesses in wine and venery, in addition to which other deadly ills and chronic diseases obtained the mastery over his body, and his constitution not being able to stand against them, his powers succumbed. The greater number of the Amīrs and Maliks who were well disposed to him raised his son

¹ MS. (A) reads اوسر خان Arsar Khān.

² MS. (A) شایستی خان.

³ MS. (A) اقطاع برن.

⁴ MS (A) تو چاهی کندۀ در دل.

⁵ لقوة. *Laqva* Facial paralysis. The disease is thus described in the بحرالسیواهر *Baḥru-l-jawāhir* "a disease in which one half of the face is drawn to one side so that the breath and the spittle come from one side, the lips cannot be properly approximated and one of the eyes cannot be closed."

Khān was; they then ordered ¹ a man whose father had been put to death by Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to go to the palace of Kilūgharī, which he did, and finding the Sultān at his last gasp, he kicked him several times on the head, and then threw him into the river Jumna, and the Empire passed from the dynasty of Ghor, and kingship from the family of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn. This occurrence took place in the middle ² of the month of Muḥarram in the year 689 H. (1209 A.D.).³ The duration of the sovereignty of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn was three years and some months.

165.

This is the changeableness of the ancient heaven,
At one time it is like a bow at another like an arrow ;
At one time it feeds you with kindness at another poisons
you with enmity,
This is an example of the custom of the revolving heaven.

We learn from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* ⁴ that Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, after the capture of the *Shāhzāda*, was seized while sitting in durbar during that revolt of the populace, and was bound, and died in captivity of hunger and thirst: in the course of his sufferings he wrote this quatrain,

The horse of my excellence has been left far behind on the
plain.
The hand of my generosity has fallen between the hammer
and the anvil.
My eye which used to see the gold of the mine and the
invisible jewel
To-day alas ! is blinded for lack of bread.

And when the tumult between Itīmar Surkha and the people of Dihli subsided, and *Shāyista Khān* had gained his heart's desire and seated the prince upon the throne, and had set the affairs of the kingdom going again, on the second day after this, Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn bade farewell to this transitory ⁵ unstable

¹ MS. (A) فرمودند.

² MS. (A) در اواسط.

³ Firishta says 687 H. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* says 19th Muḥarram 689 H.

⁴ The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* gives the date of the death of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn as the 19th Muḥarram A. H. 689.

⁵ MS. (A) omits فانی.

The duration of the kingdom of Shamsu-d-Dīn Kāi Kāūs was three months and a few days.¹

The wine of the sky is not unmixed with the brine of sorrow,

The world's one employment is jugglery—naught else.

SULTĀN JALĀLU-D-DĪN IBN YAGHRASH KHILJĪ

57.

Whose name was Malik Fīroz and his title Shāyista Khān, came to the throne in the year 689 H. as has already been said, with the consent and assistance of Malik Chhajū Kishli Khān; and inasmuch he had previously been regent and governor of the kingdom ² the affairs (of state) all devolved upon him.

It must not be forgotten that although Shihābu-d-Dīn Ḥakīm Kirmānī Jaunpūrī,³ the author of the history called *Tabaqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī*, deduces the pedigree of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn and Sultān Maḥmūd Mālwi from the stock of Qālīj Khān, son-in-law of Changīz Khān, there is a long story connected with this. This at least is clear that this ancestry has no real authority, any one of sound judgment will be able to detect the falsity of his claim to this descent; and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Qālīj and Khalj, in spite of the fact that Qālīj has too rough a sound for the Turki tongue, and if it had any equivalent (of sufficient softness) it would be Qalj ⁴ with the meaning

¹ Neither Barnī nor Firishta reckon Kaikāūs (or Kaiumours) as having had an independent reign, and inasmuch as he was only an infant of some three years of age, it seems more rational to allude to him merely as the puppet that he really was. The only object in raising him to the throne was an attempt to save the kingdom from passing into the hands of the Khiljīs. Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, who had been appointed Vizīr when Nizāmu-l-Mulk had been poisoned, was ready to seize upon the throne. The fief of Baran had been conferred upon him with the title of Shāyista Khān, subsequently he was made 'Ariz-i-Mamālik. The plots he contrived to get rid of Kaiqubād have been detailed above.

² MS. (A) omits the word (ملکی).

³ See the *Tabaqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī*.

⁴ The editor of the text states in a footnote that this is a mere verbal quibble of no importance, because قالج *qalj* and قālīj *qālīj* are the same, the *alif* in قālīj being in place of the *fathah* which follows the ق in قالج in accordance with the customary mode of writing Turki, further he states that among modern Persians خ is frequently used for ق.

of a sword and in some histories it is said that Khālī is the name of one of the sons of Yāfiq, (Japhet) the son of Nūḥ (Noah) *on whom be peace* and that the Khiljīs descend from him God knows the truth of this. To make a long story short, Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn divided the greater portion of the valuable appointments between his sons and brothers, and bestowed the following titles—upon his eldest son the title of Khān Khānān, upon his second son that of Arkālī Khān, and on his youngest son that of Qadr Khān, while he gave to his uncle Malik Ḥusain the title of Tājū-l-Mulk. In this same way he bestowed various titles upon others, and allotted them estates, and having built a new town, and a new garden on the banks of the Jumna opposite to the Mu'izzī palace he called it a citadel, "The Rocky Citadel"; when it was completed it was called "Shahr-i-nau" (New-town)¹ and in Sha'hān, of the second year after his accession, Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān went to Kara, and became openly rebellious. The Amirs of the party of Ghīyāsu-d-Dīn who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budāon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlāna with the intention of attacking Dihli, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajū who was to come by way of Kara,² (and)³ Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn left Khān Khānān in Dihli and marched against them. Dividing his forces into two army corps he himself went by way of Kol, and reached Budāon,⁴ sending Arkālī Khān towards Amroha to oppose Malik Chhajū. Arkālī Khān fought the enemy valiantly in many engagements during several days on the banks of the Rahab. In the meantime the people of Bairām Dev the Raja of Kola, which was also called Koela, gave information to Malik Chhajū that Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn was in pursuit of him, and having frightened him exceedingly, urged him to take to flight. He was in such dread of the Sultān, that he did not know his head from his heels, and in the dead of night he made his escape, but eventually fell into the hands of the Kuwārs.⁵ Arkālī Khān crossed the Rahab,⁶ despatched Bairām

¹ MS. (A) شهر نو موسوم گردید.

² MS. (A) reads گراز را کوه دروید. The reading in the text is adopted.

³ MS. (A) inserts و here.

⁴ MS. (A) reads از راه کول و بدایت رسید. The text is preferable.

⁵ The text gives an alternation reading دورانیان.

⁶ MS (A) عبور کرده.

Dev to hell, and pursued Malik Chhaju, and took him prisoner together with some of the other Amirs of the Ghiyasi faction. Then he went in the direction of Bahān and Kasam Kūr, which is the same as Shamsabād,¹ and when they took Malik Chhaju and the other captive Bahāni Amirs in fetters and chains² into the presence of the Sultān, he called to mind their old ties of relationship, and loosed them from their bonds, sent them to the baths, clothed them in rich garments of honour, and made them partake of his own table, sending Malik Chhaju with the greatest marks of respect to Multān.

169. Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn who was the brother's son and son-in-law of the Sultān,³ and had been appointed to the district of Karra, and Ilmās Beg, the brother of 'Alāu-d-Dīn who subsequently became Ulugh Khān⁴ was appointed to the post of Akhor Beg. In the meanwhile, the summons which is distasteful to all reached Khān-i-Khānān. The Sultān was greatly distressed at his loss. Mir Khusrū wrote the following dirge in memory of him :—

What day is this that I see not the sun shining,
 If night has come why do I not see the brilliant moon.
 Since two days my sun has remained behind the clouds,
 So that in my eyes I see nothing but clouds and rain.
 In Hindustān an evident danger has appeared,
 On every face I see thousands of wrinkles but I do not see
 the Khāqān.⁵
 The stone of the royal signet is hidden as a stone in the
 mine.
 My heart has turned to blood like the ruby for that I see
 him not.

1 MS. (A) omits باشد.

2 MS. (A) به بند و غل.

3 MS. (A) has ملک علی الدین را which is a mistake: and omits the و after the word داماد inserting it after the word بود.

4 MS. (A) which reads که بعد از ان الغان گشت.

5 There are plays on the words خطا meaning a fault, and the kingdom of Khatā or Cathay, and چین meaning a wrinkle and the kingdom of Chīn or China. The title خاقان Khāqān is the title of the Emperors of Cathay. For the meaning of Khāqān, see *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, (Ross and Elias), page 30, note 1.

Lo there is the King, seated on his throne, with his courtiers
 standing round him on all sides,
 All are there, but still I do not see Khān 1-Khānān
 When I saw fortune blinded, I asked him, Dost thou wish
 for sight?
 He replied, What could I do with sight, since I cannot see
 Mahmud Sultan!

And in the year following, Arkali Khān came from Multān to
 Dihli, and the Sultan leaving him in Dihli proceeded to Mandawar,
 and after his arrival at that stage, having received with anxiety
 tidings of the revolt of certain of the Ghuyūsi Amirs, he made
 over the district of Budāon to Malik Maghlaṭī,¹ sent him off at
 once and appointed Malik Mubārak to Tiberhindah, then after
 reducing the fortress of Mandāwar proceeded by an uninterrupted 17
 series of marches to Dihli, and in those days a certain Saiyyid
 ascetic and recluse, holding close communion with God,² relying
 upon Him, bountiful,³ adorned with so many excellencies and
 perfections, Sidi Maulā⁴ by name first came from 'Ajam (Persia)
 to Ajudhan in the service of the pillar of the Saints the master
Shaiḥ Farid, Ganj i Shakkar, *may God sanctify his resting place*,
 and sought permission to proceed to the eastern parts of Hin-
 dustan They said to him "Beware of crowds of men, and abstain
 from intercourse with kings" When he reached Dihli, Khān 1-
Khānān, the eldest son of the Sultan, displayed the greatest desire
 to become his disciple⁵ In the same way the greater number of
 the deposed Maliks and Amirs of the Balban party⁶ used daily
 both morning and evening to sit at the table of that darvesh, who
 would not accept anything from any one People used to credit
 him with alchemistic powers, and used to come in such crowds that
 a thousand *mans* of fine flour and five hundred *mans* of freshly
 skinned meat, and three hundred *mans* of sugar used to be the daily

1 MS (A) ملک معلطی

2 صاحب تقریبی MS (A)

3 بادلی MS (A)

4 See Beale's Dictionary, page 240

5 MS (A) ارادے اعتقاد

6 MS (A) omits کے

expenditure of the Shaikh which he expended in alms; the aforesaid Sidi although he engaged always in vigils¹ and the prayers of the five stated times, was, however, never present at the public prayer on Fridays, nor was he bound by the conditions of public² worship in accordance with established custom, and Qāzī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāshānī (and)³ Qāzī Urdū and men of note, and trusted chiefs, and all both great and small, used continually to worship at his monastery.

When this news reached the Sultān, the story goes that one night he went in disguise to his monastery, and saw for himself that he expended even more than was reported. Accordingly the next day he held a grand darbār and ordered Sidi Maulā with the Qāzī and the other Amīrs who were his disciples, to be brought before him with ignominious treatment of all kinds, bound in fetters and chains. He enquired into the state of the case, and asked each one whether the Sidi laid claim to kingly power. The aforesaid Sidi denied it, and fortified his denial with an oath, but to no purpose. At that time Qāzī Jalālu-d-Dīn lay under the Sultān's displeasure, he also denied the allegation. The Sultān deposed him, and nominated him as Qāzī of Budāon. In order to verify the claims to Saiyyidship, and to test the miraculous powers of the Sidi, he had a huge fire like that prepared by Nimrūd (for Abraham) lighted, and wished to have Sidi Maulā thrown into that temple of fire. The Ulamā of the time, in consideration of the irreligious nature of that order, issued a mandamus which they communicated to the Sultān saying, "The essential nature of fire is to consume things, and no one can issue forth from it in safety unhurt." The Sultān accordingly desisted and gave up that ordeal, but he punished the larger number of those Maliks in that same assembly, and some he expatriated; and inasmuch as the answers of Sidi Maulā⁴ were all in accordance with reason, and no fault could be found with him either on the score of religious law or logic, the Sultān was reduced to extremity, and suddenly turning to Abū Bakr Tūsi Ḥaidarī who was the chief of the sect of Qalandars, and utterly unscrupulous, he

1 MS. (A) تهجد.

2 MS. (A) adds نيز.

3 MS. (A) omits و.

4 MS. (A) omits the words صولة همه.

said "Why do not you darveshes avenge me of this tyrant," there upon a Qalandar leapt up from their midst, and struck the unfortunate Sidi several blows with a razor and wounded him, then they shaved off the holy man's whiskers¹ with a knife even to the chin, and stabbed him in the side² with sackmakers' needle and then, by command of Arkali Khān, the second son of the Sultān, an elephant driver drove a rogue elephant over the head of the poor oppressed Sidi, and martyred him with countless tortures *may God be gracious to him*. They say that this same Sidi, for a whole month before this occurrence used to sing these verses at all times, smiling the while he sang:

*In the kitchen of love, they slay naught but the good :
The weak natured, and evil disposed they kill not.
If thou art a sincere lover, flee not from slaughter,
He whom they slay not is no better than a corpse.*

And just at this time, on the very day of his murder, a white wind black with dust arose, and the world was darkened; there was a scarcity of rain in that year, and such a famine occurred that the Hindūs, from excess of hunger and want, went in bands and joining their hands threw themselves into the river Jumna and became the portion of the alligator of extinction. Many Muslims also, burning in the flames of hunger, were drowned in the ocean of non-existence, while the rest of the world took these signs and events as proofs of the verity of Sidi and evidence of his sincerity. Although no inferences can be drawn from facts of this kind, since they may finally prove to be only coincidences, still I myself have seen with my own eyes examples of such incidents, as shall be related in their proper places if God so will it.

God has never cursed any nation
Until the heart of a holy man has been grieved.

The remainder of the accused, at the intercession of Arkali Khān, were delivered from the danger which threatened their lives, and from the punishment intended by the Sultān; and in this same year the Sultān for the second time marched again

¹ محاسن مبارک MS. (A).

² برپهلوی MS. (A).

Rantambhor, and destroyed the country round it, and overthrew the idols and idol-temples, but returned without attempting to reduce the fort. Arkali Khān went to Multān without his permission, at which the Sultān was very vexed.

In the year 691 H. the Mughuls under Chingiz Khān came up against Hindustān with a very large army, and fought a very severe battle with the Sultān's victorious forces in the neighbourhood of Sanām. When the Mughuls became aware of the size of the army of Hindustān they began to make overtures for peace. The Sultān thereupon summoned their leader, who was very closely related to Halākū Khān, and also his son, who called the Sultān his father. They accordingly had an interview and exchanged gifts and presents and each returned to his own country :
 3. and Alghū¹ the grandson of Chingiz Khān, embraced Islām, and several thousand Mughuls besides followed his example and having learnt to repeat the sacred and blessed formula, elected to remain in the service of the Sultān. Alghū was selected for the honour of becoming son-in-law to the Sultān. The Mughuls took up their abode in Ghiyāspūr in which is now the sacred tomb of the Prince of Holy men Nizāmul Auliya² *may God sanctify his resting place*. It is commonly known as Mughulpūr and those Mughuls were called the "new Muslims."

At the close of this same year the Sultān having gone up against the fort of Mandāwar ravaged and pillaged the country round it and then returned. 'Alāu-d-Dīn the Governor of Karra, obtained permission in that year to proceed to Bhilsa³ and attacked that country⁴ and brought much booty thence to present to the Sultān, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hindūs, he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Badāon to be trampled upon by the people.⁵ These services of 'Alāu-d-Dīn being highly approved,⁶ the *jāgīr* of Oudh also was added to his other estates ; and since 'Alāu-d-Dīn was very angry and incensed

¹ See *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Eliās and Ross) p. 34.

² Nizām-d-Dīn Auliya. See Reale O. B. D., p. 211, also *Āin-i-Akbārī* (J) III. 365.

³ MS. (A) reads بهلسہ Bhilsa. The text has بهلہک which is meaningless.

⁴ MS. (A) آن ولایات را.

⁵ MS. (A) omits معبود after معبود and has خلایق for خلایق.

⁶ MS. (A) افتاده for افتاد.

against the Sultān's consort, who was his mother-in-law, and against the daughter of the Sultān, because she always made a practice of speaking ill of him to her father, he was anxious, on any pretext whatever, to leave the Sultān's dominions and go to a distance, and find some place of refuge for himself; accordingly he provided himself with new servants, and making all preparations as to personal clothing and furniture, he asked the Sultān¹ to bestow upon him the district of Chandērī, and leaving Dihli came to Karra, and from there under the pretence of attacking Chandērī, he went by way of Illichpūr, and made for the frontiers of the country of Deogīr; leaving Malik 'Alāu-i-Mulk who was one of his friends, as his deputy in Karra, and having instructed him to temporise with the Sultān, went off somewhere unknown to anyone, and when no news could be obtained of Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn's whereabouts for a considerable time, the Sultān was exceedingly sorry.² Suddenly news arrived that 'Alāu-d-Dīn having gone up against the rebel Deo Gir, had conquered the whole of his country as far as the confines of the country of the Deccan, and had taken as spoil much treasure, and elephants and property, several thousands of horses, together with valuables; silk and cloth goods, and jewels, beyond the limits of computation, and that he was making for Karra. This was a source of great gratification to the Sultān, but the wise men of those times knew very well, both from analogy and inference, that 'Alāu-d-Dīn³ had gone to that country without permission from the Sultān, and had suffered much annoyance at the hands of Malika-i-Jahān who was the consort of the Sultān, and also from his own wife, and had accordingly faced the world, always nursing in his breast sinister intentions. Now⁴ that he was in a position perfectly to put his rebellious ideas into execution, and had not the access to the Court, it was strange that the Sultān seemed to suffer no apprehension as regarded him; but no one dared represent these views to the Sultān, who was wholly and entirely ignorant of the annoyance which 'Alāu-d-Dīn had suffered at the hands of the Queen-mother and his own wife, and if by chance they ventured

¹ MS. (A) از جانب سلطان.

² MS. (A) دلگهرانی تمام داشت.

³ MS. (A) omits ده.

⁴ MS. (A) omits و

to speak¹ of the possibility of the revolt and treachery of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, the Sultān attributed it to jealousy, and would never allow the idea of his contumacy or rebellion to enter his head.

In short, at the time when the Sultān was in the neighbourhood of Gwālīār he summoned a council of his Amīrs to deliberate about 'Alāu-d-Dīn and said.² "What in your opinion is 'Alāu-d-Dīn's object in coming hither with so great display and circumstance, what will he do and what ought I to do? shall I go to meet him by way of Chanderī or shall I remain where I am, or again shall I return to Dihlī?" Malik Aḥmad Chap who was a Vazīr of sound judgment and ripe experience and loyal to the backbone, did all he could to warn the Sultān by adducing logical arguments and quoting precedents, reminding him of the revolt of Malik Chhajū and the mutiny of the inhabitants of Karra, events which were of recent occurrence, as testifying to the probabilities of the present position, and urged him to go out to meet 'Alāu-d-Dīn on the way by which he would arrive, and to put an end to his ostentatious display and pompous arrogance, to seize his elephants and property, and all the things which were likely to be of use; but the Sultān would not listen to his advice, and launching forth into extravagant eulogy of 'Alāu-d-Dīn declared that his mind was perfectly at ease on his account in every possible way, "for is he not" (said he) "my protégé³ and foster child, he can never harbour any evil designs against me." Malik Fakhr-u-d-Dīn, and the other Amīrs also went with oily speeches to the Sultān, and brought forward all sorts of absurd arguments simply to suit the humour of the Sultān, and adducing weak examples induced him to return to Dihlī; Malik Aḥmad Chap rose up in wrath from that assembly, and spoke as follows: "If Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn with all this⁴ pomp and royal display has arrived at Karra and crossing the river Sarū makes for Lakhnaūtī, I do not know what can be done by any one to oppose him," and lamenting exceedingly the condition of the Sultān he repeated the following lines—

1 MS. (A) سخن از.

2 MS. (A) کنگاشی طلبید و گفت کہ.

3 MS. (A) پرورده بواورده.

4 MS. (A) با این همه اسباب.

A foeman, though small one should never despise,
For a mountain is made up of stones of small size

The Sultan then came from Gwāhat to Dihli, and 'Alau d Din having reached Kāffa¹ wrote despatches full of craft and cunning to the Court, and worked upon the avarice of the Sultan by presents of elephants and endless wealth, and begged for a kindly worded letter summoning him to the Court, while all the time he was engaged in preparations to start for Lakhnauti and having sent his brother² Zafar Khān to Ondli ordered him to hold in readiness all the boats on the river Saru. The simple minded Sultan Jalalu-d Din wrote a command with his own hand in accordance with 'Alau d Din's request and sent it³ by the hand of two confidential and trusted body servants, one of whom was named Imādu l Mulk and the other⁴ Ziaud Din. These men when they arrived soon perceived by his manner and bearing⁵ that the face of affairs was altered⁶ and 'Alau d Din having prepared the dish for the Sultan, and having arranged for its service at a given signal, handed over⁷ those two messengers to sentries who were charged to keep them so closely guarded that not even a bird should be able to flap its wings near them, then he wrote a letter to Ilmas Beg his brother, who was also a son in law of the Sultān,⁸ and sent it to Dihli couched in these words "Inasmuch as in the course of this expedition, I have committed many unwarranted acts, in that without taking the orders of the Sultan I proceeded to Deogni, for this reason certain persons have aroused fear in my heart and anxiety—but seeing that I am the loyal servant and son of the Sultan, if he will march lightly equipped and by rapid marches come and lay hands upon me, and carry me off I have nothing to urge against

۱ کتّا رسیدہ

۲ MS (A) برادر خود طغر حاب the word حورد in the text is omitted here

۳ MS (A) فرستاد

۴ MS (A) دیگری

۵ MS (A) طرح وضع او

۶ کہ ورق دیگرگون شدہ literally ' that the leaves had changed colour '

۷ MS (A) سپرد

۸ MS (A) کہ او ہم دایماد سلطان بود

imprisonment, and if, as they have said the current rumours are true, and the Sultān's mind is in reality turned against me, I must perforce lay violent hands upon myself and efface myself from the world." When Ilmās Beg laid that ¹ letter before the Sultān, he on the instant sent ² Ilmās Beg to reassure 'Alāu-d-Dīn and gave him a promise that he himself would follow. Ilmās Beg embarked in a boat, and going like the wind over the surface of the water, ³ on the seventh day joined Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and urged him to proceed to Lakhnautī, ⁴ but certain of the wise and far-seeing companions of 'Alāu-d-Dīn said, "What need have we to go to Lakhnautī when the Sultān by reason of his excessive greed for the wealth of Deogīr, and the elephants and horses of that country will come here lightly equipped ⁵ in the very height of the rainy season. ⁶ At that time we will take any steps that may be necessary, ⁷ and whatever has to be done to meet the emergency, we have it all stored up and we will put an end to him on the spot." ⁸ Since the cup of the life of Sultān Jalālū-d-Dīn was full ⁹ and his heart was brim full of lust and greed for that fancied and ill-omened treasure, ¹⁰ and Fate too had rendered him deaf and blind, not one of these evil designs was perceived by him :

Verse.

177. When Fate lets fall from the sky a feather,
All the wise men became ¹¹ blind and deaf.

Casting the advice of his well-wishers behind him, ¹² he embarked on a boat with certain of his trusted followers and a thousand

¹ MS. (A) آن نامه را.

² MS. (A) رخصت فرمود و وعده کرد.

³ MS. (A) بروی آب روانه شد.

⁴ MS. (A) و او را بر رفتن بلکنهوتی تحریص نمود.

⁵ MS. (A) ایکسال.

⁶ *Turkī word, "saison des pluies" (Pavet de Courteilles.)* پشه کال or بشکال

⁷ MS. (A) هر اندیشه که باید اندیشیم.

⁸ MS. (A) همانشا and omits می.

⁹ MS. (A) پر شده و

¹⁰ MS. (A) مال و هوم شوم.

¹¹ MS. (A) گشتند.

¹² *Lit.*, striking their words on the dorsum of his foot.

nowars, borrowing his speed from the wind and his haste from the stream, and set out for Kaffa: he sent Malik Ahmad Chap the Vazir with an armed force and a body of retainers by land,¹ Malik Ahmad Chap was rending his garments but all to no purpose.

Verse.

If the listener will not turn his ear to counsel,
He will reap retribution from the high heaven.

The Sultān, whose life's boat had been wrecked by a contrary wind, and had been cast on the shore of destruction, arrived at Kaffa on the 17th of the blessed month of Ramaḡān: and 'Alau-d-Din, who had kept his forces in readiness, had crossed the river Ganges between Kaffa and Manikpūr and had pitched his camp: then he sent Ilmās Beg to the Sultān, sending by him some valuable jewels, with strict orders to use all the means he could devise and all the craft he could command to separate the Sultān from his army and bring him to 'Alāu-d-Din. His confederate therefore went and presented himself before the Sultān, and with great craftiness and deceit, and with obsequious humility represented that² if he had not come 'Alāu-d-Din would have been utterly scared and would have escaped, "and to such an extent" said he, "have the evil speakers stuffed his ears³ with reports of the unkind and ill-disposed utterances of the Sultān, and filled his mind with fear, that even now fear and suspicion is by no means entirely removed from his mind.⁴ There is still a probability of that of which I spoke before, unless the Sultān should shew him some favour and kindness, and should re-assure him, and going alone, without any retinue, should take him by the hand and lead him here."

⁵The Sultān taking his blood-thirsty words for the truth, ordered the cavalry escort which accompanied him to remain halted where they were, and he himself, together with a small body of retainers armed and ready for battle, proceeded a short distance forward, going forth to meet Death, while the arch-

¹ MS. (A) روان ساخت.

² MS. (A) کہ.

³ MS. (A) گوش اورا.

⁴ MS. (A) omits و.

⁵ MS. (A) omits و.

178. traitor Ilmās Beg further represented ¹ saying "my brother is in great fear and awe of the Sultān ² and is quaking from head to foot; and when he sees even this small body of men, he will be all the more alarmed, and will despair of the Sultān's clemency." ³ Accordingly the Sultān ordered this body of retainers to lay aside their arms which they did: those who were closely attached to the Sultān were greatly agitated at this foolish decision, but the Sultān would not be dissuaded by their objections. When they arrived near the bank of the river, the army of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was plainly visible drawn up in close order fully armed and equipped, and evidently expecting an engagement. Malik Khurram ⁴ the Vakildar said to Ilmās Beg "We left our army behind that we saw instigation, and we laid down our arms, what is this wishes to review ⁵ ready for action?" He replied "my brother wishes to make a proper way, and following his usual course, he to future advantage," the Sultān ⁶ before the Sultān, with an eye "When fate comes the plain betwixt us accordance with the saying moment even did not discover the deceit of narrow" ⁷ up to that own free will walked deliberately into the jaws of ⁸ enemy, but of his

and is quite occupied in that service¹ and he has been preparing food for breaking your fast, and to do honour to the arrival of his guest, and is now awaiting the honoured coming of the Sultan, so that he may be distinguished among his peers by the honour derived from the royal visit." The Sultan all this time was occupied in reading the sacred volume, they reached the river's bank by the time of afternoon prayer and he took his seat in the place they had made ready for him to sit in, and 'Alāu d Din having got every thing ready² came with a great gathering to pay his respects to the Sultan and fell at his feet³. The Sultan smiling, with affection and kindness and love smote him a gentle blow on the cheek, and addressing him with great show of fondness and clemency and warm heartedness, began to give him words of counsel, and was talking to him affectionately and lovingly, reassuring him in every possible way, and seizing the hand of Malik 'Alāu d Din was drawing him near. At this moment when the Sultan laid hold of his beard, and, kissing him, was showing him marks of his special favour, and⁴ had given his hand into his, 'Alāu d Din seizing the Sultan's hand firmly, writhed it, and gave a signal to a party of men who were confederate and had sworn together to murder the Sultan. Then Mahmūd Salim who was one of the scum of Samānā, aimed a blow with his sword at the Sultan and wounded him; on receiving that wound the Sultan made for the boat crying out as he ran: "Thou wretch 'Alau-d Din, what is this thou hast done!" At this juncture one Ikhtiyār d Din who had been a particular protégé of the Sultan ran behind him and inflicted a second wound which killed him, he then cut off his head and brought it to 'Alāu-d Din⁵. By Alāu-d Din's orders, the head of the unfortunate oppressed and martyred monarch was placed upon a spear and carried round Kaffa and Mankpur from thence they took it to Oudh, and the body servants of the Sultan who were in the boat were all put to death, some of them threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the ocean of destruction. Malik Fakhru d Din Kuchī fell into their hands alive and was murdered. Malik Ahmad Chap having made prisoners of the Sultan's army brought it to

¹ MS (A) بآن خدمت مشغول.

² MS (A) omitted.

³ MS (A) بناد.

⁴ MS (A) ad is و.

⁵ MS (A) آورد.

Dihli and ¹ pending the arrival of Arkali Khān from Multān (he was the worthy son of the Sultān and fitted to succeed him in the kingdom) as a temporary measure, with the co-operation of Malika-i-Jahān, seated Qadr Khān the youngest son of the Sultān, upon the throne of Dihli, with the title of Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm. The Amīrs and Maliks of Jalālu-d-Dīn's party came one and all to swear allegiance to him at his accession. He retained the name of King for one month. Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn lost no time,² but on the very day of the assassination of the Sultān, made open display of the insignia and emblems of royalty, and raising the imperial canopy over his own head ³ was addressed as Sultān and ⁴ in the middle of the rainy season marching uninterruptedly he made straight for the metropolis of Dihli, and showering *dīnārs* and *dirhems* like rain over the heads of the populace, and pelting the people in the streets great and small with golden missiles from balistae and slings,⁵ came to his own garden on the banks of the Jumna and alighted there. Day by day the Amīrs of the Jalālī faction joined themselves to him and swore allegiance to him, and by the hope of the red gold, all regret for Jalālu-d-Dīn was completely effaced from their black hearts.

Liberality is the alchemy ⁶ of the copper of faults;
 Liberality is the remedy for all pain.

It is said that by the day when Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn reached Badāon sixty thousand sowārs had joined his standard, Malik Raknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm seeing that he had not the power to resist him went to Multān to Arkali Khān, with certain chosen Amīrs who remained faithful after the massacre (of Jalālu-d-Dīn), and the whole of the kingdom fell under the dominion of 'Alāu-d-Dīn.

¹ MS. (A) inserts و.

² MS. (A) reads علاءالدین فرصت نداده هم در روز.

³ MS. (A) بر سر خود گرفته.

⁴ MS. (A) inserts و.

⁵ MS. (A) reads در عرادا و منجنیق.

⁶ هومس که بکیمیا رسد زر گردد. *Kīmīyā*. Cf. Roebuck. *Proverbs*, 398.

All copper which is affected by *Kīmīyā* becomes gold.

"The science (of Alchemy) has for its object the substance by which gold and silver is perfected by artificial means."

See Proleg: Ibn Khaldūn. (de Slane) III. 207. See also Skeat, s. v.

The kingdom is God's and greatness is His The massacre of 1
Sultan Jalālū d Dīn took place in the seventeenth of the month
of Ramazān in the year 694 H (A D 1294) and the duration of
his reign was seven years and some months.

Verses

Hast thou seen the acts of the tyrant heaven and its star,
Mention it not, what is the heaven, its revolution, or its
arched vault?

How is it that the revolving heaven has cast the sun of the
kingdom headlong into the dust,
Dust be on the head of his sun of glory.

Sultān Jalālū d Dīn had a taste for poetry, and Amīr Khusrū
after the death of Mu'izzū d Dīn Kaqubad, came into the service
of the Sultan Jalālū d Dīn, and was honoured by being selected
as an intimate companion, and was made Qur'an keeper to the
Sultan, he was presented every year with the robes of honour
which were reserved for the Amīrs of the Saljān¹ and were
tokens of special distinction and peculiar trust

In this same category were Amīr Hasan and Muīd Tajarmī and
Amīr Arslan Katībī and Sa'd ī Mantiqī and Baqī ī Khātīb and Qazī
Mughis of Hānsī, who is one of the most learned men of the
time of Jalālū d Dīn and wrote a *Ghazal* in nineteen metres² of
which this is the opening —

Two pearly ears, a stately form, two lovely cheeks, with
fresh youth dight,

Thy glory is the fairy's pride, a fairy thou, at glory's
height

And the rest of the learned men used to keep the Sultan's
assembly embellished and adorned with the jewels of poems and
delicate points of learning and philosophy, and the following
few verses are the offspring of the Sultan's genius —

¹ MS (A) امرای سلطانی

عزل نوردۀ نیری It would appear from the statement that this *ghazal*
or ode was made up of nineteen lines each of which was in a different metre

The first of the above lines is either *Mutaqarib* or *Ramal* It is called
دو بحرین *2 bahrain* (of two metres) in prosody

The second line is in *Ramal*

2.

I do not wish those flowing locks of thine to be entangled
 I do not wish that rosy cheek of thine (with shame) to burn.
 I wish that thou one night unclothed may'st come to my
 embrace
 Yes, loud I cry with all my might, I would not have it
 hidden.

And at the time when he was besieging Gwālīār he built a pavilion and a lofty dome¹ and wrote this quatrain as an inscription for that building:—

Quatrain.

I whose foot spurns the head of heaven,
 How can a heap of stone and earth augment my dignity?
 This broken stone I have thus arranged in order that
 Some broken heart may haply take comfort from it.

And Sa'd Mantiqī and the other poets he ordered to point out to him the defects and beauties of this composition. They all praised it exceedingly and said! It has no fault, but he replied: You are afraid of hurting my feelings, I will point out its defect² in this *quatrain*:

It may be some chance traveller may pass by this spot
 Whose tattered garment is the satin mantle of the starless
 sky;³
 Perchance from the felicity of his auspicious footsteps
 One atom may fall to my lot: this will suffice me.

SULTĀN, 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ.

On the twenty-ninth⁴ of Zūl Hijjah in the year six hundred and ninety-five (695 H.) (A.D. 1295) raised the banner of the Sultānate

¹ MS. (A) بنا کرد و.

² MS. (A) omits عیب.

³ چرخ اطلس. The highest of all the heavens so called (اطلس) because it has no stars. The literal meaning of اطلس is "worn out," "effaced." Thus رجل اطلس الثوب means a man whose garments are worn out. It also by a secondary (post classical) meaning is used in the sense of "Satin." Hence there is a double play on the word اطلس here, in its opposite senses.

⁴ MS. (A) reads در بیست و نهم while our text has در بیست و دوم.

of Dihli, with the consent of his brother Iltiās Beg, to whom he gave the title of Ulugh Khān¹ and to Sinjar, his wife's brother, who was the *Mir-i-Majlis* he gave the title of Alp Khān, while to Malik Nuṣrat Jalisari he gave that of Nuṣrat Khān, and to Malik Badī-ud-Dīn that of Zafar Khān,² and alighted at the plain of Sirī, where he pitched his camp, and giving public audience delighted the hearts of the Amirs and all classes of his subjects by his boundless munificence, then he had the *Khuṭbah* and the *Sikka* promulgated in his own name and conferred³ appointments and titles upon the Amirs, and distributing *jāgīrs* gave his mind first of all to his principal object which was to overthrow the two sons of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn who were in Multān.⁴

Verse.

As long as the head of the heir to the throne is on his
shoulders,

Disorder is the mantle of the body of the state.

In the Muḥarram 696 A. H. (he sent) Ulugh Khān and Alp Khān against Arkālī Khān and Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn;⁵ both these

Mir Khusrū in the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāi*, states that 'Alāu-d-Dīn left Kāṛa Manikpur on the 19th of Rabi'ul Aḥḥir 695 H. and after taking great booty from Rām Deo, Rāi of Deogīr, returned to Kāṛa on the 28th Rajab. His accession to the throne took place on the 16th Ramaṣān 695 H., and he arrived at Dihli on the 22nd of Zilhijjah of the same year.

The text has possibly been corrected to agree with this author's date. Barnī does not give the day of the month: nor does Firishta. The latter tells us that on the death of Jalālu-d-Dīn, Malika-i-Jahān of her own accord set Qadr Khān the youngest son of Jalālu-d-Dīn on the throne, with the title of Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrahim, and finding he was too young, sent to Multān to summon the second son Arkālī Khān, who refused to come hearing of 'Alāu-d-Dīn's success with the army.

¹ MS. (A); the text reads *الخ بیگی خان*.

² Barnī says that the title of Zafar Khān was conferred on Malik Hizabru-d-Dīn, (Elliott III. 157).

³ The text omits *مقرر* before *داشتند* supplied from MS. (A).

⁴ It appears both from Barnī and Firishta that the youngest son of the late Sultān was in Dihli and that Arkālī Khān was in Multān. See note 4, last page, and Elliott III. 159.

⁵ Although the author has given no account of Qadr Khān's coronation he here gives him the title by which he was raised to the throne.

brothers were besieged¹ in the fortress of Multān. The inhabitants of the city and the Kotwāl asked for quarter, and made overtures for peace, and the two princes, by the intervention of Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishī *may God sanctify his resting place*,² came forth and had an interview with Ulugh Khān,³ who treated them with the utmost respect, sending a despatch announcing his victory to Dihlī; and taking the family and tribe of Jalālu-d-Dīn he set out for Dihlī. When they came near Bohar⁴ a place in the vicinity of Hānsī, Nusrat Khān arrived with an order, in obedience to which they put out the eyes of both the sons⁵ of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, of Alghū Khān the Mughul son-in-law to the Sultān, and of Malik Aḥmad Chap,⁶ and handed over the Sultān's sons⁷ to the Kotwāl of Hānsī and martyred them together with two sons of Arkālī Khān.⁸ They kept the Sultān's wives and the rest of his children imprisoned in Dihlī, sending Aḥmad Chap and Alghū the Mughul to the fortress of Gwālīār, and putting out the eyes of some others also, scattered them in all directions and punished them with tortures, and very many of the old families they utterly destroyed and the hidden meaning of Sidī Maula⁹ soon

¹ I read here مُحَصَّر though there is a question if we should not read مُتَحَصَّن. The text reads مُحَصَّر which is manifestly wrong: MS. (A) reads مُتَحَصَّر which is perhaps meant for مُتَحَصَّن MS. (B) which is of very little value as before pointed out reads مُحَصَّر.

² Barnī states that the sons of the Sultān sent Shaikhul-Islām, Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn to sue for safety from Ulugh Khān and received his assurances, (Elliott III. 161), MS. (A) omits العزیز. This Ruknu-d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Dīn 'Ārif and grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā (See Āin-i-Akbārī, Jarrett III. 365).

Firishta gives a full biography of Ruknu-d-Dīn, his father and grandfather q. v.

³ MS. (A) با الغخان ملاقات نموده.

⁴ MS. (A) بوهر.

⁵ MS. (A) هر دو پسر.

⁶ Nāib Amir-i-Hājib (Barnī. Elliott III. 162). MS. (A) omits را.

⁷ MS. (A) omits سلطان.

⁸ Barnī merely states that the princes were imprisoned, and that all the sons of Arkālī Khān were slain.

⁹ MS. (A) omits مردوم.

became evident, and (vengeance for) his blood did not long sleep¹
 In a short time² it became the cause of the shedding of the
 blood of Sultan Jalalud Din and his family, and of so many
 thousands of others among the people who had been murdered

The wealth of Qarun which still sinks down to the bottom
 of the earth,

You may have read, that it was a source of envy to the
 poor³

And in the year⁴ 697 A H (1297 A.D.), Nasrat Khān having
 been appointed to the office of Vazir, used strenuous efforts to
 recover the money which Sultan 'Alāud Din had lavished in
 the commencement of his reign in order to gain over the affec-
 tions of the people, and demanding the repayment of very large
 sums deposited them in the treasury, and having summoned from
 Kara, 'Alau l Mulk the uncle of Zau d Din Barni, the author
 of the *Tārikh-i Feroz Shāh* (whom Sultan 'Alau d Din had re-
 moved from the kotwalship of Delhi and had sent as governor to
 Kara, appointing Nasrat Khān to the office of Kotwal) he
 conferred upon him his old rank Alp Khān being appointed
 to Multān And in the year 698 A H (1298 A.D.) one Saldi⁵ a
 Mughul commander, crossing the Indus came towards Hindustan,
 and Ulugh Khān and Tughlaq Khān the governor of Depalpur
 (who is *Ghāsi Mulk*), were appointed to put down that rising,
 and offered strong opposition to them⁶ on the confines of Jarin
 Manjhar⁷ The Mughul army was defeated, some of them were
 killed and others taken prisoners, and the army of Sultan 'Alau d-
 Din returned victorious with many spoils A second time

¹ MS (A) دیر نچسپند

² MS (A) مدت

³ See Qur'an XXVIII 76

⁴ Omit سال MS (A)

⁵ The text reads چلادی *Chaladi* MS (A) reads ملدی *Saldi* so also
 Barni (Ellott III 165) and *Īn-i Akbari* (Jarrett) III 317.

Firishta calls him Chaldi

⁶ MS (A) با ایشان

⁷ Both Barni and Firishta say Siwistan

185.

Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Duā,¹ came from Māwarān-n-nahr with a countless host to attempt the conquest of Hindustān, and penetrated² as far as Dihlī, inflicting no injury on the districts through which he passed. In Dihlī itself grain became very dear, and the citizens were in great straits,³ and Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn placing Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān in command of the forces, sent them with a countless host to oppose the Mughul army, and a severe battle was fought on the frontiers of Gili.⁴ Zafar Khān was killed, and the Sultān had gained what he wanted in this.⁵ Qutluq Khwāja after his defeat made his way to Khurāsān where he died.

A third time Targhī Mughul who was one of the *margans*,⁶ that is to say accurate archers of that country, accompanied by 100,000 infantry and 20,000 valiant and renowned cavalry, seized the fort of the hills, and gaining possession of that country, penetrated as far as the township of Baran, where Malik Fakhr-d-Dīn Amīr Dād the Governor was entrenched; Malik Tughlaq Ghāzī-i-Mulk was sent from the metropolis to put down that disturbance.⁷ Malik Fakhr-d-Dīn sallying from the fortress of Baran,⁸ joined with Malik Tughlaq, and they jointly made a night attack upon the Mughuls.⁹ The Mughul forces being routed, Targhī was taken prisoner and Malik Tughlaq brought him into the royal presence.

A fourth time, Muḥammad Turtāq¹⁰ and ‘Alī Beg Mughul, who were the sons of the royal house of Khurāsān, brought together

¹ MS. (A), so also Firishta.

² MS. (A) در آمده.

³ MS. (A) جا تنگ گشت.

⁴ Or Kili (Barni).

⁵ Barni explains this. He says “‘Alāu-d-Dīn returned from Kili, considering that he had won a great victory: the Mughuls had been put to flight and the brave and fearless Zafar Khān had been got rid of without disgrace.”

⁶ مرگن. This word is given by M. Pavet de Courteille in the meanings of *fusilier*: *bon tireur*: *héros*. It is a Turkī word.

⁷ The reading of MS. (A) is here followed: *viz*.

ملک تغلق غازي ملک از درگاه بجہت دفع ان فتنہ نامزد گشت.

MS. (A) از حصار برون برآمده.

⁹ MS. (A) شبیخون بر مغل آوردند.

¹⁰ The reading of this name is a little uncertain. MS. (A) may be either ترناق or ترناني. Neither Barni nor Firishta give any assistance: nor does

a very large army, which they divided into two one bore down upon Nagor,¹ while the other seized the fort of the Sumur hills and occupied the country as far as the river Biah which they call Kali Panu.² Sultan 'Alau d Din appointed Malik Mānik his slave (who is Kafur Naib or Hazar Dinari³) with Malik Tughliq Governor of Depalpur to proceed to Amroha, and while the Mughul army, having succeeded in capturing much spoil and many cattle, was marching to the banks of the river Rahrab Malik Manik came up in pursuit⁴ and a severe battle ensued. Both the Mughul princes evinced great bravery, but were ultimately taken prisoners, and were put to death, while the greater part of those accursed ones became food for the sword of vengeance, and the remnant of the sword fled panicstricken to their own country. The heads of these two princes were taken to Badaon and impaled upon the battlements of the fort. One of the learned poets of that time wrote the following quatrain which was afterwards inscribed upon the southern gateway of that city

Quatrain

Noble fortress! whose helper may the assistance of the
Almighty ever be!

• May the victory and conquest of the Emperor ever be thy
standard bearer!

The Malik of this age became thy builder, and built thee
anew,

May Targhi, like 'Alī Beg⁵ become thy captive

And Mir Khusrū⁶ has written an account of the fight between Malik Manik (who had obtained the title of Malik Naib⁷) in

either word appear in the Turki dictionary. The text reads تاريق Taryāq which seems rather an *ex necessitate* reading. The *Turikh*: *Alai* reads Turtaq (Elliott III 72)

¹ MS (A) بجانب ناگور نرد

² MS (A) گانرا کالی پانی منگویند

³ So called because he had been originally purchased for a thousand d nars

⁴ MS (A) ارعقب رسند

⁵ MS (A) علي بیگ

⁶ MS (A) omits علیه الرحمة

⁷ Firishta states that this title was conferred upon Malik Kafur (Hazar Dinari) on the occasion of his being placed in command of an army to proceed against Ram Deo, Raja of Deoghar a refractory tributary

the *Tārīkh-i Khazdinn-i-Patēh*¹ a marvel of literature, which mortal powers confess themselves impotent to approach or imitate, though to tell the truth all the writings of that king of poets, rightly named Khusrū, are of this excellence, and to praise and crown them is an impertinence and error for any other.

Whenever any thought shines forth from his mind

It is so subtle as to escape comprehension and defy imitation.

On the fifth occasion Iqbālmand and Kapak, Mughuls, brought together an army to take vengeance for Turīāq² and 'Alī Beg, and invaded the frontiers of Multān. The Sultān on this occasion also appointed Malik Nāib, and Malik Tughlaq. They proceeded by forced marches while the Mughuls were falling back, and pursuing them gave battle. Kapak was taken prisoner, but was ransomed by the infidel Tātārs, with the prisoners and abundant booty which had fallen into their hands.³ From that day the Mughuls lost their enthusiasm for the conquest of Hindustān, and the teeth of their ambition became blunted.

187. After these victories, the Sultān one night was holding a wine party quite at his ease with his companions, and was quaffing copious draughts of wine. The night, like the circulation of the wine cup, had come near to an end; suddenly some of the assembled guests began to make signs to each other⁴ with hand, and eye, and brow that it was time to break up,⁵ the Sultān happened to perceive it, he was annoyed and cried out Mutiny! Mutiny! and on the instant gave orders for Bahā (who was one of his boon-companions and choice spirits) to be killed. The rest fled in confusion. On the following morning when he came to realise

1 This work, known also as the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāwī*, is a prose history of the first years of Sultān Alāu-d-Dīn *Khiljī* from his accession in 695 H. to the close of 710 H. (Elliot III. 68-69.)

2 MS. (A) omits محمد and gives the pointing of Turīāq as تریاق.

3 MS. (A) افتادہ بود. This account differs somewhat from that given by *Khusrū*, who makes the invasion of Kapak separate from and precedent to that of Iqbāl Mudbir as he calls him.

4 MS. (A) بکدیگورا.

5 MS. (A) و نظر سلطان.

what had occurred, it was as clear as day to the Sultān¹ that his suspicion was groundless

Wait, till the world removes the veil from the face of events,
And till that thou hast done this evening, tomorrow is
plain to thee

Then he asked for Qāzī Bahā² They replied He was sent into eternity at that very moment³ The Sultān was very repentant and ashamed at hearing this, and vowed never again to drink wine, and ordered it to be proclaimed that the use of wine should be absolutely abandoned throughout the kingdom Cask upon cask of wine was poured out in the court till it became a flowing river Everyone who was discovered intoxicated, was hauled off to prison, and punished by imprisonment⁴ and confiscation of property.

Piety and penitence became the order of the day the taverns were in ruins,⁵ and the police officers had plenty of work, and there was no longer any need to purchase vinegar,⁶ while the wine bibbers were giving expression by their actions to these verses

Now he sprinkles the flagon with salt, now he shatters the
cup,⁷

How the policeman disturbs the peace of the tavern in
which we sup

¹ The text has a note here to the effect that a *lā* should probably be inserted after ملطان but that it is not found in either of the two MSS before the editor

MS (A) has *lā* and reads سلطان را چون روز روشن شد که آن گماں علط بود

² The text here and in the former line reads بهار MS (A) has بها

³ The text reads او خود همان زمان بهار سالها پیوست

⁴ MS (A) تعزیر مالی و بددی میکردند

⁵ There is a play on words here in the original حرات حراب شد

⁶ Wine not being drunk all the grapejuice could be utilised for vinegar There is a hint here that every one was discontented I add as we say sour looks which the Persians express by saying فلاں کس سرکه فروشی می کند So and so sells vinegar Qānī says to his mistress

سرکه فروشی میکنی بچه که در عشق
هنچم ارس سرکه کم نگردد ههراء

⁷ MS (A) omits *lā* but the text is correct

And in the year 697 H. (1297 A.D.) the Sultān becoming suspicious of the newly-converted Muslim Mughuls, was contemplating to murder and eradicate them, and they also for their part, goaded by the extortion of the revenue collectors and their extortionate demands for refunding money,¹ were plotting a rebellion whilst the Sultān should be hunting and hawking.² One of them who was opposed to this scheme made it known to the Sultān. Secret orders were written and despatched to the Governors of the country saying that on a certain day³ they should put to death all the new Muslim Mughuls with one consent wherever they found them.

Accordingly on the appointed date they despatched so many poor hapless Mughuls with the sword of injustice, and sent them on their travels to the kingdom of annihilation, that the mind cannot compute their number, and the name of Mughul no longer survived in Hindustān, although this custom of killing strangers has survived from that time.

And in the commencement of affairs, the fact of so many victories following one another in close succession led to extravagant ambitions in the mind of the Sultān; one of these was religious innovation, and moreover by the assistance of these four Ulugh Khān, Nusrat Khān, Zafar Khān and Alp Khān he was led to estimate himself as being superior to the Prophet *on whom be the peace and blessing of God*,⁴ and his companions *may God be gracious to them all*.⁵ The second was the conquest of the whole inhabited world like Sikandar; this led to his ordering his name to be inscribed on the currency and mentioned in the proclamation as Sikandar-i-ḡānī.⁶ When he sought the advice

1 This was spoken of above. 'Alāu-d-Dīn's officers disapproved of the lavish way he had squandered his money in gifts in the early days of his accession to power.

2 پرايدين جانور MS. (A).

3 MS. (A) omits در فلان ماه و.

4 MS. (A) عليه الصلوة والسلام.

5 MS. (A) omits و.

6 Alexander the second. The accuracy of this statement is testified to by the existence of the coins bearing this title. Gold coins weighing 166, 168.6 and 169.5 grs are in existence bearing the legend

سكندر الثاني يمين ا لخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين. (See Thomas, p. 168.)

Sikandar-i-ḡānī Tumīnu-l-*khilāfat* Nāṣiru Amīru-l-mūminīn.

of 'Alāu l Mulk Kotwāl of Dihli he restrained the Sultān from pursuing both these claims and said, "No one can evolve a religion out of his own brain unless he be aided¹ by God, and till he can perform miracles² This object cannot be acquired by the strength of dominion, and wealth, and majesty, and splendour, moreover such an attempt may be expected, nay is certain to result in violent disorders and tumults of all kinds, nothing will be gained while disgrace will follow the attempt as for conquering realms, it is a worthy ambition, but needs the highest qualifications, as well as perfection of rule and a vizir like Aristotle, none of which are here existent

If the Sultan clears Hindustān of infidels and frees the environs of Dihli from these contumacious infidels, this will be in no way inferior to the world conquests of Sikandar"

The Sultan, after due meditation, was greatly pleased with these proofs deduced from reason and supported by precedent and bestowed a robe of honour upon 'Alau l Mulk and gave him large rewards, and abstained from attempting to satisfy either of his ambitions The Amirs, who on account of the harshness of the Sultan, and the roughness of his temper, were unable to say anything of service, all sent presents of horses and valuables for 'Alau l Mulk and were loud in praise of him

Verse

In my opinion that one is thy well wisher,
Who says that will be a thorn in thy path

In this year the Sultān proceeding to Deogir gained a fresh conquest³ and doubled his spoils

That which he cut after that his sword cut double,
That which he defeated after that his mace defeated again
and again

And in the year 698 H (1298 A D) he appointed Ulugh Khan to the command of a powerful army, to proceed into the country of Gujerat against Rai Karan who had thirty thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry, and thirty herd of elephants Ulugh

¹ MS (A) تا مؤید من عدد الله نباشد

² MS (A) و معجزات عباد نشوند The text reads شود correctly

³ MS (A) فتح ممدومرد و

this rather unfun, and consequently plotted a rebellion, but eventually were dispersed, some of them went off to Rāi Hamir Dev in Jhain,¹ which is near Rantanbhor, and some went elsewhere

Ulugh Khān proceeded by continuous marches to his master at Dīhli, and from this we gather that the massacre of the foreigners (above alluded to) took place after the arrival of Ulugh Khān from Gujrat. Historians have paid little attention to the due order of events, but God knows the truth

And in the year 699 H (1299 A D) Ulugh Khān was nominated to proceed against the fortress of Rantanbhor and Jhain, which is better known as Naushahr,² and Rai Hamir Dev, the grandson of Rai Pithora,³ who had ten thousand cavalry, and countless infantry, and celebrated elephants, gave him battle but was defeated, and with great generalship withdrew the whole of his forces into the fortress of Rantanbhor

Ulugh Khān having reported⁴ the state of affairs to the Court, urged the Sultān to capture the fort, the Sultan collected his forces⁵ and marched against Rantanbhor, and in a short time, by skilful effort, and aided by the energy of his Maliks, completely subdued and took the fortress, and despatched Hamir Dev to hell. Great booty, and spoil, and treasures fell into his hands. Then he appointed⁶ a Kotwal to hold that fortress, and having bestowed the country of Jhain upon Ulugh Khān, left to attack Chitor,⁷ and having conquered that place also within a few days,

¹ Tieffenthaler, I p 322, mentions a city called Tschan at a distance of five miles from the fortress of Rantanbhor. This would appear to be probably the place spoken of in the text

See Elliot, III 146 where Jhain is said to be Ujjain, also p 172, note 1, where this opinion is abandoned

² Tieffenthaler does not mention this name

³ MS (A) reads Rai Hamir Dev of Rantanbhor omitting بندرہ رای پدھورا, but Barni calls Hamir Dev the نابسہ nabsa of Rai Pithora, so that the reading of the text is adopted

⁴ MS (A) عرض نمودہ

⁵ MS (A) omits را

⁶ MS (A) تعیین نمود

⁷ Barni says that after taking Rantanbhor and putting Hamir Dev to death the Sultān returned to Dīhli so also Firāshā. See Hunter Imp Gaz III 430

and¹ having given it the name of Khizrābād, and having bestowed a red canopy upon Khizr Khān aforesaid, made Chitor over to him as governor. Among the events which happened in this expedition this was one, that Nuṣrat Khān had come from Kaṣṣa² to Rantanbhor, to reinforce Ulugh Khān before the Sultān arrived there;³ and during the siege one day a stone struck him on the head, and he went without delay to the other world. One arm of the Sultān, that is to say Zafar Khān, had been broken in the fight with Qutluq Khwāja, and now the second arm was broken also.

When the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Mallhab⁴ the Sultān one day was engaged in the hunting field;⁵ when night came on he remained in the plain, and at dawn of day he posted his troops all round, while he himself with a select following ascended an eminence and was watching the sport.⁶ In the meantime the brother's son of the Sultān, Akat Khān,⁷ together with a band of new-Muslim Mughuls who were engaged in performing the duties of guards, attacked the Sultān relentlessly and smote him with arrows, seized him and wounded his arm. As it was the winter season, and the Sultān was wearing a cap⁸ stuffed with cotton his wounds were not fatal. Akat Khān wished to alight from his horse and strike off the Sultān's head from his body, but some of the attendants pretending to side with him and take his part, cried out, the Sultān is killed! Akat Khān was satisfied at hearing this, and made off with all speed to the camp on horseback, and entering the royal hall of audience seated himself upon the throne, and drawing the canopy over his head, the Amirs, in accordance with ancient custom, gave in their allegiance to him

1 MS. (A) و.

2 MS. (A) از کتّه.

3 MS. (A) omits بآنجا.

4 The reading here is doubtful. The text has در نواحی قصبة پنہیت with an alternative reading سون پت in a footnote. MS. (A) reads در نواحی ملہب Firishta (Bo. Text p. 186) reads تلیب Taltib.

5 قمرغه Qamurgha, lieu de chasse. (Pavet de Courteille). A Turkī word signifying hunting ground. Firishta loc. cit. also uses this word.

6 MS. (A) omits و.

7 Firishta also says Akat Khān.

8 MS. (A) reads کلہ پر پندہ.

as the rightful king,¹ and raised no overt objection Akat Khān was so overwhelmed by his inordinate lust that on the instant he made an attempt upon the *haram*,² but Malik Dinar Haramī who was on guard at the entrance to the *haram* with his men armed and equipped, said, Till you shew me the head of the Sultan I will not permit you to set foot within this private chamber Sultan 'Alau d-Dīn, when he had somewhat regained consciousness³ after that perilous attack, bound up his wounds. He was convinced in his own mind that Akat Khān, in unison with the Amīra who had revolted, had had the audacity to make this disgraceful attempt upon his life, for that were it not so, he was not the man to attempt it alone.

Accordingly his intention was to make his way to Jhūn (where Ulugh Khān was) with the fifty or sixty attendants who had remained with him, and see what course Ulugh Khān would recommend. One or two of his confidential retainers pointed out the unwisdom of this course and urged him to go at once to the royal pavilion and kingly court.

Before they arrived at the Court fifty horsemen joined them, and Akat Khān took the road to Afghaniyū, but a body of men who had been despatched in pursuit of him by forced marches made him prisoner,⁴ sent him into the Sultan's presence, and then utterly destroyed all his family and relations wherever they found them, among whom Qutluq Khān his brother also perished.⁵ 193

Verse

One who injures the country is better beheaded

And at that same time 'Umar Khān and Mangu Khān the two

¹ The words *تورۂ و تۈزۈک* *tora o tuzak* are Turki words (P de O) *تورا* or *تورۂ* signifies the royal family. It also means king law right also a custom introduced by Chengiz Khān. *تۈزۈک* means simply 'right' or 'authority,' hence the words in the text would mean that they acknowledged him as rightful king with due formalities.

² MS (A) omits *حاصل*.

³ MS (A) *پهوش آمد*.

⁴ MS (A) *اورا دستگیر کرد*.

⁵ The account given by Barni of this occurrence is the same as the text (Elhot III 17-173). Firsihta also calls him Sulaimān Shāh, Akat Khān, though Briggs in his translation calls him The Prince Rookh Khān.

the entrance to the Red Palace, and compelled the chief men whether they would or no, to swear allegiance to him.

The Sultan, when he heard this tidings, did not publish it, nor did he betray any signs of emotion, until he had succeeded by superhuman effort in entirely¹ reducing the fortress. A week had hardly passed after this exploit of Hājī Maulā when Malik Hamidu Dīn, who was Amir of Koh, with his sons who were renowned for their valour, and a body of the cavalry of Zafar Khān who had come from Amrohā to oppose the Mughuls,² engaged Hājī Maulā in fight, and having destroyed him, put to death the hapless Sayyid Zada also, and sent their heads to Rantanbhor. The Sultan nominated Ulugh Khān to proceed to Dihli to track out those who had taken part in that³ rebellion, and bring them to destruction. He also completely eradicated the family and relations of Maliku l Umarā on this suspicion that Hājī Maulā would not have embarked on this enterprise without their instigation.⁴

The Sultān after adding the fortress of Rantanbhor and its surrounding districts to the *jāgir* of Ulugh Khān returned (to Dihli). Ulugh Khān was taken ill that very day while on the road, and died,⁵ and Rantanbhor became for him like the Paradise of Shaddad.⁶

1 MS (A) سعد تمام فوق السد والغاية فتح قلعة دست داد و

2 MS (A) نجهت عرض معلي

3 MS (A) در آن فتنه

4 The text reads شروع درین امر نموده باشد so also MS (A), but we should, read نه نموده باشد as without this the sense is not very obvious

Barni states, "The sons and grandsons of the old *kotwal* Maliku l Umāra had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to that family were put to death

5 The *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* states, in opposition to our author, that Ulugh Khān did not die till four or five months later, when he had collected a large force for the purpose of attacking Tilang and Ma'bar. Firishta also states that Ulugh Khān died about six months later

6 MS (A) حکم بهشت شداد پیدا کرد See Qur'an lxxxix 5

"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Ād? with Iram of the columns? the like of which has not been created in the land"

Moreover a band of robbers of Jālor, whose leader was Mir Muḥammad Shāh, were captured in Rantanbhor after the fort

Iram of the columns "This city is said to have been situated in Yemen, between Hazramaut and Ṣana'ā. It was founded by Shaddād ibn 'Ad, who was excessively strong and mighty, and when he heard of Paradise and of what God had prepared therein for his saints, 'palaces of gold and silver and abodes beneath which rivers flow, and upper chambers above which are other upper chambers, (Qur'ān xxxix. 21) he said to his mighty men 'Verily I will take to myself upon the earth a city like unto Paradise.' Then he appointed thereunto a hundred men of his servants and mighty men of valour, and under the hand of each of them a thousand helpers, and bade them search out and find an open space of the plain in the land of Yemen, and choose the best thereof in soil. Then he provided them with wealth, and designed for them the pattern of their work, and wrote to his three chief lords Ghānim-ibn-'Ulwān, Zahhāk ibn 'Ulwān, and Walid ibn al-Raiyyān, and charged them to write to their lords in the utmost parts of their cities that they should collect all that was in their land of gold and of silver, of pearls and of rubies, of musk and ambergris and saffron, and should send them unto him. Then he sent unto all the mines, and took out therefrom all the gold and the silver that was in them, and he sent his three agents to the divers into the oceans, and they brought out therefrom jewels, and gathered them together as it were mountains, and all of this was brought to Shaddād. Then they sent the miners to the mines of rubies and emeralds and all other jewels, and they brought out from thence immense riches. Then he ordered and the gold was beaten and fashioned into bricks, and he builded therewith that city, and he commanded the pearls and the rubies, the onyx and the emerald and the cornelian, and the walls of the city were set with them. And he made for it upper chambers, and above them other chambers supported on columns, and to all of them pillars of emerald and of onyx and of ruby. Then he caused to flow beneath the city a wide channel which he brought to the city from beneath the earth a space of forty leagues, like to a large canal. Then he ordered, and there were made to flow from that channel, rivulets in the streets, and highways and streets flowed with clear water. And he ordered banks to be made for that canal and for all the rivulets, and they were overlaid with red gold, and the pebbles thereof were made of all kinds of precious stones, red and yellow and green. And there were planted on either bank of the stream and of the rivulets trees of gold bearing fruit, and the fruits of them were of those rubies and precious gems. And the length of the city was made twelve *farsakhs* and the breadth thereof like unto the length. And the walls of the city were high and lofty, and there were builded therein three hundred thousand palaces set with all kinds of jewels within and without. And he built for himself in the midst of the city on the bank of the canal a palace lofty and high, towering over all those palaces *

* * * * * and there passed
in the building of it five hundred years.

was taken. When the Sultān asked Muḥammad Shāh (who had been wounded) 'If I should spare your life and have you cured, and you should thus escape this deadly danger, how would you treat me in future?' he replied, 'If I should get well and should have an opportunity, I would kill you and raise the son of Hamir Dev to the throne.' The Sultān wondered, and was amazed at this audacity, and enquired of his most shrewd and astute Amīr the reason why the people had so turned against him, and why these continual riots and seditions were so constantly occurring, and further sought to know how to set about remedying these evils. They shewed him several paths of conduct which would end naturally in four things. *Firstly*, that the king should in his own person be aware of the enterprises both good and bad which are going on in his kingdom. *Secondly*, that he should put an end to wine bibbing, which is the source of so much evil. *Thirdly*, abandonment by the maliks of their gadding about to each others' houses and holding deliberative meetings. *Fourthly*, to demand back the money which he had lavished, from all classes, whether soldiery or populace, because it is the fountain head of all riot and sedition, especially upstarts and *nouveaux riches*,² and in a short time these regulations would by their inherent good, be acceptable to the Ruīs, and pass from potentiality to actuality just as has already been related in a former place.

The Sultān did away with wine drinking, and brought the other

Then Almighty God wished to send a warning to him and to his host, calling him to repentance, and he chose to himself Hud ibn Alḥalid who came and called upon Shaddid to believe and confess the power and unity of God, but he persisted in his idolatry and disobedience. Then Hud warned him of punishment to come and of the fall of his kingdom but he would not be moved from his evil ways.

At last he was informed that the city was finished and he set out to go to it with three hundred thousand, leaving all his kingdom to his son Murād who had it as said believed in the words of Hud. When Shaddid arrived with one day's journey of Iram a voice came from heaven, and he and all who were with him fell dead, not one remained, and all who were in the city died, the workmen and artificers the agents and warriors, not a soul remained alive. And the city sank into the earth.

Muḥṣamu l Buldan Yaqt Vol I

¹ MS (A) reads تاهم in place of تاهم

² The Persian phrase is نوکیسهای سقله Naukisahā : sylā

regulations also into force, and also published several new rules of his own, which have never been heard of either before or after his time, whether they were in accordance with religious law or not; one of these rules was that regulating the price of grain, and cloth, and horses, and all necessaries essential to the comfort of the soldiery and populace, and the bestowal of rewards and alms upon all classes of the people, the detail of which is told at some length in the history of *Ziā-i-Barnī*.¹ Those laws were the most extraordinary of all: this cheapness of provisions was one of the chief sources of the prosperity of the people, and formed a stout wall of defence against the irruption of the *Mughuls*. And inasmuch as in mentioning some of these events and occurrences in the original work,² the chronological sequence has not been preserved, and they have been only incidentally mentioned as occasion arose, for this reason they have also been recounted here in the same manner.

196. In the year 700 H. he ordered 'Ainu-l-Mulk *Shihāb Multānī* to proceed to *Mālwa* with a large army [and *Kōkā* the *Rānī* who had forty thousand cavalry and 100,000 infantry, not being able to stand against him fled].³ 'Ainu-l-Mulk ravaged and pillaged that country and returned victorious with countless spoils.⁴ The *Khusrū* of poets has described this in the '*Ashīqa*, in these words :

He gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk a signal with his brow
To turn his face towards the kingdom of *Mālwa* ;
From the clear-sightedness which 'Ainu-l-Mulk possessed,
That which he ordered was brought into sight.
He marched with an army drawn up in array,
And placed round them sentinels like the eyelashes.⁵

And in the year already mentioned the *Sultān* set out for *Sorath*⁶ on a hunting expedition, and despatched to *hell Satal*

¹ The *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*. Elliot and Dowson, III. pp. 192 et seqq.

² MS. (A) در اصل کتاب.

³ The words in brackets are not found in MS. (A).

⁴ *Firishṭa* gives the date of this expedition as 704 H. and calls *Koka* the *Rājā* of *Malwa*. The text and MS. (B) reads رانی *Rānī*.

⁵ There is a series of play upon the words عین *ain* and دیده *dida* both of which mean "eye" which is quite lost in translation.

⁶ MS. (A) reads سورانه *Sawāna*. The text has سورته *Sorath*. *Āin-i-Akbarī* II. (J.) 243, 358. Bayley, *Hist. of Gujarāt* p. 2.

Dev a rebel who had taken refuge in that fortress with a huge army, the Sultān's army having before been unable to reduce it, but it now fell into their hands. And in the year 701 H. (1301 A D) the fort of Jalor was reduced by Kamālu-d Dīn Kaik and he sent Kanhar Dev, a headstrong rebel to the lowest abyss of hell

And in the year 702 H (1302 A.D.) he sent Malik Kāfūr Nāib¹ with a large army and complete equipment towards Tiling and Marhat² and an immense quantity of treasure with elephants and horses, jewels and cloths, fell as spoil into the hands of the troops.

And in the year 709 (1309 A.D.)³ Malik Nāib Kāfūr went a second time to Arankal⁴ and having taken much treasure and several fine elephants and seven thousand horses as a present from Rai Nadar Dev the Governor of Arankal made him a regular tributary And in the year 710 H. (1310 A D.) the country of Ma'bar⁵ as far as Dhor⁶ Samundar came into the possession of the Muslims 19

And in the year 711 H (1311 A D.) Malik Nāib brought to court and presented his spoils consisting of three hundred and twelve elephants, and twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls besides other

¹ MS (A) reverses the order of this name The text has **نایب کافور**.

² Telingā or Telingāna, the ancient name of one of the principal kingdoms of S India See *Ain-i-Akbari* II (J) 237, also Hunter *Imp Gaz* I art Andhra, also Cunningham *Anc Geog of India* p 519, 527

³ There is a great gap here in the history partly due to the confusion of dates, and absence of chronological sequence mentioned by the author Barni gives no assistance and Firishṭa very little

⁴ Warangal was the ancient capital of Telingāna (Tieff III 5) See Hunter *Imp Gaz* XIII 521 Regarding Marhat or Maharashtra see Hunter, *Imp Gaz* IX 166, also Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Preliminary Observations, also Cunningham, *Anc Geog of India* p 553.

Arangal or Warangal Barni gives Laddar Dev as the name of the Rai of Arangal Elliott III 201 So also Firishṭa See text I p 207

⁵ Ma'bar Coromandel See Ibn Baṭūṭah (Paris Edn) III 328 *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) III 51, 60 Abu l Fedā (Reinaud) I cxxxviii

Ma'bar extends from Kulam (Cavalum) to Nūlāwar (Nellore) Wassāf (E and D III 32)

⁶ Firishṭa says Khwaja Hujj and Malik Nāib were sent to conquer Ma'bar and Dhor Samund where there were idol temples full of gold, and jewels I cannot identify Dhor Samund

booty beyond the limits of computation; Amīr Khusrū who was with that army has given full particulars in the Khuzānu-l-Futūḥ: some attributed these victories to respite before punishment, and some to the miraculous powers of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, while others held that the peace and security of that reign were due to the unbounded blessings of the Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-l-Auliā ¹ *may God* ² *sanctify his resting-place.*

At length when the Sultān's mind was satisfied, and he gained some leisure from the administration of the State, he set himself to provide for the future of his two sons, allotting to each one a province in the neighbourhood, and setting apart districts for them. Among other events was the marriage of Khizr Khān to Dewal Rānī, and Girāi's account is of a nature to last to all eternity, and those who have the taste may read the account of that in the 'Ashīqa'; ³ then having bestowed upon Khizr Khān the canopy and staff of office, and having made him his heir the Sultān sent him away to Hatnāpūr ⁴ and the foot of the hills. When affairs were settled, ⁵ and the heavens began to act with their ingrained natural deceit, and commenced displaying those evil *traits*, and old age overcame the Sultān's health, his followers deserted him;

Verse.

In the world, when a king becomes advanced in years
His worshippers grow weary of him;
His head, which is worthy of a crown,
He must recline on musk not on ivory.⁶

198. Various disorders affected him,⁷ and hectic fever which leads ⁸ to

¹ Nizāmud-d-Dīn Auliā was the son of Ahmad Dānyāl. He was born at Badāon. He died A.H. 725 and is buried at Dihlī.

See *Ain-i-Akbari* III. 365. Firishṭa gives a long biography of him.

² MS. (A) omits الله.

³ See E and D III 552, 553.

⁴ Text reads هتتا پور. MS. (A) reads هستناور Hastināwar (? Hatnāwar). See *Ain-i-Akbari* (J) II 104 and III. 70. also Hunter *Gaz. Ind.* v. 352.

⁵ MS. (A) قرار یافت.

⁶ It was the custom to bury kings with musk, camphor and other odorous substances. The throne was of ivory.

⁷ MS. (A) عارض شد و.

⁸ MS. (A) reads مستوجب for موجب.

ill temper, and suspiciousness, and causes the health to become deranged, gained the mastery over him, and when only such a small amount of health remained that it was like a single lamp to light the whole house Khizr Khān in fulfilment of a vow he had made, in singleness of heart and sincerity of spirit set out from Hatanpur¹ barefooted upon a pilgrimage to the holy men of Dihli, and performed his thanksgiving for the restoration of his father's health, but it is a very strange fact that he never once went to visit the Sultana I-Mashā'ih wal Auliyā,

"Shūkh of the sects, Pillar of the faith, Nizāmu d Dīn
Like Khizr and Masīh with a breath brings bones to life "

with whom he was connected by bonds of affection and sanctity

And Malik Naib informed the Sultan of the coming of Khizr Khan with considerable embellishment, saying that Alp Khan, the maternal uncle of Khizr Khan, who had arrived from Gujrat, out of policy and prudence, having regard to the affairs of the State and in his desire to become Naib and Wakil, had himself summoned his sister's son, and further remarked that if this crude idea and immature desire had not fixed itself in the mind of Khizr Khan, why had he come unbidden to the Court?

The Sultan whose health was upset and his brain disordered and disposed to entertain absurd prejudices in accordance with the saying² "When a man's health is disordered his fancies are disordered," from his great lack of discrimination taking this suggestion as the actual fact, and regarding this assertion³ as the truth instantly gave orders for the execution of Alp Khan

Malik Naib and Malik Kamālu d Dīn Kaik seizing that unhappy wretch like a meek lamb, cut him to pieces inside the Royal palace After that Malik Naib induced the Sultan (on the ground that Khizr Khan had taken alarm at the murder of his uncle and that it was not expedient for him to return to his own place in the court), to issue instructions that, to allow of the restoration⁴ of order in the State, he should go for some

¹ MS (A) reads *Hatanawa* Khusrū in the 'Asl qa states When the Sulṭān recovered in some degree Khizr Khan set out on his expedition to Hatanpur (E and D III 554)

² MS (A) ع

³ MS (A) reads سخن

⁴ MS (A) omits اصلاح text line 1 and برد text line 2

time to Amroha till a command should issue summoning him to the presence. In the meantime he might engage in hunting, and he was to return to the Court his canopy and staff of office, and all the other insignia of royalty. Khizr Khān having obeyed this order with a sad and distracted heart, after a little while relying upon the sincerity of affection he entertained for his father and the confidence between them, wrote to him to this effect,¹ that he had never committed any breach of trust which could cause the Sultān to be so wroth with him; then overcome by sorrow he determined to leave Amroha for Dihli. When he arrived to do obeisance to his father, the chord of fatherly affection was stirred in the heart of the Sultān, he clasped his son to his breast, and kissed him several times on the forehead, and motioned to him to go and see his mother. Khizr Khān went thither, and Malik Nāib out of villainy,² on the instant went back to the Sultān and filled his ears with lies, saying,³ ‘Khizr Khān has now come for the second time to the palace with evil intentions without orders, and the Sultān takes no notice of the matter.’ The Sultān upon this occasion gave orders to send both brothers, Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān, to the fortress of Gwāliār.⁴ Malik Nāib, after these two heirs had been deported, and the way was clear for Malik Shihābu-d-Dīn, the son of the Sultān by another mother, who was yet a lad of tender years, made him heir-apparent and exacted from him an agreement.

After two or three days the Sultān’s life became intolerable through his affliction, and he would willingly have purchased a breath at the price of a world, but it was not to be had.

Verse.

Sikandar, who held sway over a world,
At the time when he was departing, and was quitting the
world,

200.

It could not be as he wished, though he would have given
a world could they have given him in return the brief
respite of a moment.

¹ I follow the text here. MS. (A) omits بعرض.

² MS. (A) reads از روی حرامخواهگی.

³ MS. (A) omits و گفت and inserts كس.

⁴ MS. (A) كالپور. *Kālewar*.

The mint of Existence was emptied of the coin of life

This event took place in the year 715 H (1316 A D) ¹ The duration of the reign of Sultān 'Alau d-Dīn was twenty one years

'Alān d Dīn who struck his stamp upon the golden coin
Subdued a world beneath the palm of his gold scattering
hand ²

By the revolution of the sky, that stamp became changed,
but that gold

Remained the same in appearance, and you may see it now
passing from hand to hand

[Account of Amir Khusrū and Mir Ḥasan may God have
mercy on them] ³

And among the poets ⁴ by whose existence the reign of Sultān
'Alau d Dīn was adorned and honoured, one was the Khusrū i-
Sha'irān (Prince of Poets), may God shew him mercy and acceptance,
whose writings, whether prose or poetry, have completely filled
the world from one remotest end to the other

He completed his five works, collectively called Khamsa, ⁵ in the
year 698 H (1298 A D), in honour of Sultān 'Alau d-Dīn,

¹ MS (A) reads خمس Khams in place of ست sit and this is correct
as 'Alau d Dīn died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 H see E and D III 555 but see
also p 208 ' On the sixth Shawwāl towards morning, the corpse of 'Alau d
Dīn was brought out of the Red Palace of Sirī and was buried in a tomb in
front of the Jamī Masjid ' (Turikh : Firuz Shahi) See also Thomas Pathan
Kings of Dilli p 158 n 1

² MS (A) زیر از کف دست See Thomas Pathan Kings pp 158 et seqq,

³ These words are not found in MS (A)

⁴ MS (A) reads وار حمله شعرای که زمان

⁵ These were the following —

هشت بهشت Hasht Bihisht سکندر نامه Sikandar nama
لالی و مجنون Lali wa Majnun شیرین و خسرو Shirin wa Khusru
پنج گنج Panj ganj

Khusru was of Turki origin his father Amir Mal mud came to Dilli during
the invasion of Chingiz Khan into the service of Sultān Mu'izzuddin Iltutmish
Shah by whom he was advanced to high office but was eventually murdered
Mir Khusru succeeded his father but gave up office and became the devoted
disciple of Nizam d Dīn Auliya His Khamsa was written in imitation of
the Khams of Shukh Nizami

He is said to have written 400 000 couplets Neither Khamsa is now extant

within the space of two years. Among these works is the *Maṭla'u-l-Anwār*¹ which he composed in two weeks as he himself says (in these verses) :

The year of this ancient heaven which had passed away
Was after six hundred and ninety eight.
Following on the steps of the sky traversing star²
In two weeks did the full moon³ arrive at completion.

In the *Nafahāt*⁴ it is stated upon the authority of Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-l-Auliya, may God sanctify his sacred resting-place, that on the day of judgment each individual will boast of some one thing, and my boast (said he) will be of the heart-burnings of this Turk Allāh⁵ (God's champion); Mīr Khusrū probably alludes to this when he says :—

201. Khusrū my friend, strive in the right way
That you may be called Turk-i-Khudā (God's champion).

Another poet was Mīr Ḥasan Dihlavī,⁶ whose anthology also has enslaved the east and west of the world. Although in that reign there were other poets who composed anthologies, still by reason of these two eminent poets the mention of the others sinks into insignificance.

“When the sun comes out the stars disappear.”

The death of Mīr Khusrū took place in the year 725 H. (1325 A.D.). He is buried in Dihlī at the foot of the sacred tomb of his

1 The مطلع الأنوار *Maṭla'u-l-Anwār*. “Ortus luminum. Poema persicum, quod ad Pentada Khosrewi Dehlewī, anno 725 (inc 18 Dec. 1324) mortui, pertinet. Viginti libri qui singuli historiam unam continent.” H.K. 12256.

2 اختر گردون خوام. *Akhtar-i-gardūn Khirām*. 3 مه کامل. *Mah-i-Kāmil*.

4 نفحات *Nafahāt*. The *Nafahātu-l-Uns* see Hāji Khalīfah.

Nafahātu-l-uns “halitus familiaritatis e viris sanctitate eminentibus prodeuntes, auctore Molla nostro Nūr-ed-dīn Abd-el-rahmān Ben Almad Jāmī anno 898 (inc. 23 Oct. 1492) mortuo.” H. K. 13922.

5 ترک الله. *Turk Allāh*.

6 میرحسن دهلوی. Mīr Ḥasan Dihlavī, whose name was Shaiikhī Najmu-d-Dīn Ḥasan, was one of the most accomplished poets of his time. He, like Mīr Khusrū, was a disciple of Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣṣah* I. 196). He died as our author tells us (in 739 A.H.) at Daulatābād in the Deccan, where he was buried. So also Ātash Kada p. 351.

own spiritual instructor ¹ may God shew mercy to them Maulānā Shihāb ² wrote an enigmatical chronogram upon that, and having had it engraved upon a tablet of stone had it fixed above the shrine ³ of Mir Khusrū It is as follows —

Mir Khusrū, the Khusrū of the kingdom of eloquence,
That ocean of excellence, and sea of perfection,
His prose is more attractive than flowing water,
His poetry purer than the most limpid streams,
A sweet-singing nightingale without a rival,
Honey-tongued parrot without an equal
In tracing the date of the year of his death,
When I placed my head upon the knee of thought,
One phrase 'Adimu l-Misl ⁴ came as the date,
Another was Tūṭī-ī Shakar Maqāl ⁵

Mir Hasan, in the year in which Sulṭān Muḥammad having laid waste Dīhlī built Daulatābad ⁶ in the Deccan, died in that

¹ Nizām d-Dīn Auliya

² See p 99 note 2 of this work

³ There is no English equivalent that I am aware of for the word مزار which means "a place of pilgrimage" The word "shrine" conveys this idea better than most others

⁴ The letters of عديم المثل give the date 725 Thus 70+4+10+40+1+30+40+500+30 So also do those of طوطي شكر مقل Thus 9+6+9+10+300+20+200+40+100+1+30=725 Not counting the hamza

Mir Khusrū died in the month of Ramazan 725 A H (1325 A D) and is said in the *Majma'u l-Fuṣṣha* to have been buried in the burial place of Shukh Shakkār Ganj, as above stated in the text he was buried close to the grave of his spiritual guide Nizām d-Dīn Auliya

⁵ 'Adimu l-Misl means "peerless" Tūṭī-ī Shakkār Maqāl, "Parrot of homed speech"

⁶ MS (A) omits آباد ساخت تعمیر فرمود

Daulatabad Lat 19° 57' N and long 75° 18 E 28 miles N W of Hyderabad

It was originally called Deogiri or Deogarh, and was the capital of the Yadava kingdom After being taken by 'Alau d-Dīn, which event is noteworthy as being the first appearance of the Muḥammadans in the Deccan it was given back to its Raja Ramechandra who rebelled, was subdued by Naib Malik Kafur taken prisoner and sent to Dīhlī whence he was restored to his kingdom Finally in 1338 (739 A H) Muḥammad Fughlaq Shah

country, and was buried in the city of Daulatābād where his tomb is well known, and is visited as a shrine of sanctity.

'Ārif Jāmī,¹ may his resting-place be sanctified, says—

Those two parrots from whose birth
Hindustān was filled with sugar,
Became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky
And were silenced and prisoned in the cage of earth.

SULTĀN SHIHĀBU-D-DĪN IBN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ

202. Who was a child, ascended the throne as a puppet in the month of Shawwāl, 715 A.H. (1316 A.D.) by the exertions, and with the consent of Malik Nāib, and was styled by the above title. He sent Malik Ikhtiyārū-d-Dīn Sanbal to the fortress of Gwālīār to put out the eyes of Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān. He also caused the mother of Khizr Khān, Malika-i-Jahān, to be imprisoned, and confiscated all her property, and having thrown the Shāhzāda, whose name was Mubārak Khān, into prison, intended to put out his eyes, but fate did not second his efforts.

deserted Dihlī for Deogiri which he renamed Daulatābād and issued stringent orders to all the inhabitants of Dihlī to remove to the new capital.

Ibn Baṭūṭa (Paris Edn. IV. 46) who visited at this time, compares it to the former capital, and say that the citadel was named دیوگیر. This was evidently the old name of the city, Deogīr as we should probably read دیوگیر.

1 Nūru-d-Dīn 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was born in 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) at Jām Khurāsān, whence he took the name of Jāmī.

His father's name was Nizāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad. He was from his earliest years distinguished for his mental powers, and at the early age of five received the name of Nūru-d-Dīn (Light of the Faith) and later he was known as Maulānā. He became very famous and attained to the highest dignity attainable by a mystic, that of 'Ārif. He wrote many works in poetry, grammar and theology, among others the *Haft Aurang*, a series of seven poems, viz., *Silsilatū-l-Zahab*, The golden chain; *Qiṣṣa-i-Salāmān wa Absāl*, Story of Salāmān and Absāl; *Tuḥfatū-l-Aḥrār*; The Offering to the Wise; *Subḥatū-l-abrār*, Rosary of the Pious; *Yūsuf wa Zuleikha*, Yusuf and Zuleikha; *Lailī wa Majnūn*, Lailī and Majnūn *Khīrad Nāma*, Book of Wisdom.

He died in the year 898. H. (1492 A.D.)

See: Hājī Khalīfah 14412. *Yusuf and Zuleikha* (Griffith's Preface.) Boule (Dict. of Or. Biog.). p. 132.

When his attempts to uproot the family of 'Alāu d-Dīn became known, two sirdars named Mubāshshir and Bāshir in concert with a body of *pāiks* of the garrison of the Hazār Satūn palace, one night murdered Malik Naib ¹

Verse.

If thou doest evil, hope not for good,
For never wilt thou gather grapes from thorns,
I do not imagine that thou who hast sown barley in autumn
When harvest comes wilt gather in wheat

Then, having released Shāhizāda Mubārak Khān from prison, they appointed ² him to be Naib to Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn in place of Malik Naib Mubārak Khān carried on the affairs of the state for one or two months after that, and succeeded in conciliating the Amirs and Maliks Then he sent Sultān Shihābu d-Dīn to the fortress of Gwāliār where he finally died in the year 716 H ³

Verse.

No one has ever seen a trace of fidelity in Time,
Everyone who seeks fidelity from Time is in error

The Sirdārs having put some of these *pāiks* to death, ⁴ scattered the rest of them in all directions 203

Verse.

Good requites good, and evil meets with evil,
This is the way of the world requital of actions

And the period of the reign of Shihābu d-Dīn was three months and a few days

SULTĀN QUTBU D-DĪN MUBĀRAK SHAH IBN 'ALĀU-D DĪN KHILJĪ
Ascended the throne of Dihli with the consent of the Amirs

¹ Thirty five days after the death of 'Alau d Dīn (Barni) i.e., 715 H (1316 A D)

² MS (A) منصوب گردانیدند

³ There is a difference here of great importance between the printed text and the MS The former has 710 H while MS (A) reads 716 H which is correct, as is seen from the *Nuh Sipihr* of Mir Khusrū

⁴ MS (A) بقتل رسانیدند

With regard to the succession of Shihābu d-Dīn, see Firishṭa who describes him by the name of 'Umar Khān (Briggs's Firishṭa I 383) His full name was Shihābu d-Dīn 'Umar according to Mir Khusrū

and Vazīrs in the early part of the year 717, II.¹ and apportioning appointments and suitable *jāgīrs* among his most trusted Amīrs, specially distinguished by promoting to high office one Ḥasan, Barāwar bacha,² who was very handsome, and had been brought as a captive from Mālwa. He had been the *protégé* of Malik Shādī Nāib-i-Khāṣṣ, the *Hājib* of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn.³

He gave him the title of Khusrū Khān. The tribe of Barāwar⁴ are a family of servile position in Gujrāt; but now in the kingdom of Dihlī, the Sultān, to such an extent was he infatuated by his beautiful face, raised him, in spite of his unfitness for the office, to the trusted post of Vazīr.

Verse.

If thou desirest thy kingdom to be glorious
Give not high office to an upstart;
Unless thou wishest that thy state should be ruined
Entrust not thy affairs to the inexperienced.

And Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn, inasmuch as he had undergone the affliction of imprisonment, on the very first day of his reign had all the prisoners liberated, and appointed Malik Fakhr-u-d-Dīn Jūnā the Son of Ghāzī Malik, who eventually was entitled Muḥammad ‘Ādil, to be *Mīr Akhor*.⁵

In the first year of his reign he contemplated the conquest of Deogīr otherwise called Daulatābād,⁶ but his Amīrs opposed and dissuaded him.

¹ So also the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Barnī, but Khusrū in both the *‘Ashīqa* and *Nuh Sipīhr*, says the beginning of 716 H. In the latter poem the date is specifically stated to have been the 24th of Muḥarram, 716 H. But Firīshṭa says the 7th of Muḥarram, and the editor states in a footnote to the translation of the *Nuh Sipīhr*, that in some loose extracts the date is 717 H.

‘Alāu-d-Dīn having died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 and Shihābu-d-Dīn having reigned three months and a few days, would bring the accession of Qutbu-d-Dīn to about the middle or end of Muḥarram 716, so that we may consider this as the correct date unless there was an interregnum of a whole year, of which there is no evidence.

² MS. (A).

³ MS. (A) omits و after خا.

⁴ MS. (A).

⁵ Master of the Horse. Akhor is a Turkish word signifying stable. Cf. Akhtā, a Turkī word signifying, a gelding.

⁶ See p. 271 note 6.

Verses

It was not deemed expedient, from motives of wisdom,
 That the world's king should move from his place,
 Who knows, what are the hidden designs of evil wishers, 204.
 Or who, in all sincerity, is well disposed to the king?

In the year 718 H (1318 A D) Saltān Qutb u Dīn sent Sar Salāh Koticāl¹ with orders to proceed to Gwāhār and put to death Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān. Having done this he summoned Dawlat Rām and included her in his *haram*. With reference to this Mir Khusrū writes

Verses

In short one who is acquainted with the secret of this mystery
 In this way opened the door of this treasury of secrets,
 That when the Sultan Mubāīnāh Shah in cruelty
 Turned against his own faith and kin with anger and frowning,
 He considered that the interests of the country demanded
 their murder,
 And thought that they deserved the sharp sword
 His object was to empty the country of noble men by malicious enterprise
 Secretly he sent a messenger to Khizr Khān
 Making treacherous protestations of hearty good will
 Saying, Oh thou shining light who remainest far from the assembly,
 Thy body ill at ease and thy countenance without light,
 Thou knowest that this is none of my doing,
 The oppressed remains while the oppressor disappears
 If thou art imprisoned, by the Lord of the world
 When the time comes he himself will loosen these bonds.
 In this matter haste and anxiety are not fitting,
 An elephant extricates itself from the mire by patient endeavour
 Now, we too are engaged in plumbing this matter
 So that by clever contrivance we may free you from that captivity

1 "A Russian named Slada (Mir Khusrū : E and D III 555)

If thou art fitted to become a king
 We will make thee ruler over a wide kingdom.
 But the affection for some one which springs in thy heart
 Is not fitted for the loftiness of thy ambition.
 Dewal Rānī who is but a handmaiden to thee,
 For whom even were the moon needed as handmaid this were
 an easy matter,
 I have heard that she is so dear to thee
 That thy cypress-like form stoops to kiss her feet.
 This is not fitting that from shortsightedness
 The king should be enslaved by a slave.
 The gourd is in any case of no account in the garden
 That it should attempt to raise its head in emulation of the
Ohinār.

205.

A straw which places its foot upon the face of the stream
 Is carried hither and thither by the wind and buffeted by the
 floods.¹
 [My heart's desire makes this request, that thou should'st give
 up that mistress of thine.]
 Since she went from here, send her back hither again
 Send her to take her place at the foot of my throne.
 When the infatuation of thy mind is somewhat less
 We will send her back to thee to be thy handmaid.
 When the messenger went and took back the message
Khizr Khān's heart no longer enjoyed any rest.
 First he wept tears of blood which flooded his eyes and lips,
 Then he sent back an answer mingled with blood
 Saying, since the *Shāh* has attained his ambition in becoming
 a sovereign,
 He must leave Dewal Rānī to me.
 If however you desire to deprive me of this wealth
 You desire to see me despoiled of wealth and light.
 Since this heart's delight holds her head as high as mine
 Cut off my head, afterwards thou wilt know.
 When the messenger, from that grief-stricken soul

¹ Here follows in the text the following verse given above in brackets.

تمنای دل ما میکند خواست که زان زانو نشین بریایدت خاست

With a footnote saying that this verse is in the '*Ashīqa*' but in none of the three MSS. It is also not in MS. (A.)

Bore those fiery sighs to the palace of the king,
 The Emperor waxed wiath from head to foot
 From his heart he smiled, as lightning smiles in the cloud,
 The flame of the fire of ¹ enmity shot forth,
 He who sought a pretext, was provided with a new one ²
 In anger he sent for Sar Salāh (the Kotwāl)
 Saying you must travel this day before nightfall a hundred
krohs,
 Go to Gwālīār at this moment without delay,
 And with the sword cut off the heads of the lions of the
 country,
 That I may be safe from the nobles of the country,
 Because this disturbance small as it is, risks the existence of
 the country
 At his order the tyrant set out,
 The pigeon was tied ³ by the foot and the hawk hungry.
 In that day and night he travelled several leagues
 He arrived and again imprisoned him intending (to kill him) ⁴
 He made known the orders he had received from the throne,
 The garrison of the fort set about carrying out this severe
 measure,
 The ruthless soldiery entered shamelessly ⁵ into that pure 206.
 place of chastity,
 The veiled ladies ⁶ were thrown into consternation and screamed
 so that the roof and doors shook with their cries
 In that palace every arrow like beam ⁷ became curved like a
 bow,
 The day of resurrection became a guest in that Paradise,
 From the corners of the rooms in great consternation
 The male lions leapt forth in wrath,

¹ MS (A) reads شعله کیں زد ریانه

² MS (A) reads بهای حوی را باند بهانه

³ MS (A) بند The text has a misprint هند

⁴ The text is wrong here MS (A) reads correctly

رسید و بند کرد از بواهدنگ

⁵ MS (A) نه بی آنی

⁶ MS (A) برو پرشیدگان

⁷ نیز has here the two meanings of arrow, and rafter or beam.

The arms had lost their strength, and the bodies their power,
Force was dead, and wit had sunk to sleep.¹

Shādi Khān Walā waxed wrath, and sought aid from the
protection of God most High,

Nimble he leapt upon the Kotwāl and fought with him for a
long time, threw him to the ground and sought for a sword
wherewith to slay him.

Inasmuch as he had lost his sword of victory
What did that unattainable strength avail him ?

Allies ran up to help him from right and left
They fell one after the other and that fallen one rose up.

Each fierce (lion) was attacked by ten dogs.²
See how the dogs vent their wrath upon the lions,

Hey for the meanness of the cowardly sky
That permits dogs to hunt lions !

When they had forcibly bound those two prosperous chief-
tains,

The time bound the hands of fortune and prosperity.

Those wondrous men fell into disgrace,

Blood-reeking swords appeared on every side

When the murderous clashing of daggers was heard,

The blood-thirsty murderer appeared from the door,

Hard as a rock,³ source of grief, though his name was Shādi
(Joy)

As repulsive as the document of a dowry, and the grief
arising from debt.

Artful enough to depose Dajjāl⁴ from his place,

1 توان مرده خرد در خواب رفته MS. (A).

2 MS. (A) بهریک شریزه دهگان سک بیاد بخت.

3 MS. (A) جهادی.

4 دجال Ad-Dajjāl called also المسيح الكذاب Al-Masīḥa-l-Kaẓāb.

The false Christ or Antichrist who is to appear as one of the signs preceding the resurrection. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. So called according to some because he will cover the earth with his adherents like as the tar covers the body of the mangy camel, the word دجل *dajjala* in Arabic having the primary meaning of smearing with tar.

According to others he is so called because of his lying (secondary meaning of دجل) in arrogating to himself godship; or again from دجل *dajjala* in the twofold signification of "covering" (truth with falsehood) or "gilding," see Lane s. v.

Hideous enough to make Satan forgetful of his own ugliness,
 On each side of his face was gathered a dark cloud,¹
 From every hair spring a sword²
 Fierce wrath as cutting as the executioner's sword,
 A glance as piercing as the chisel of Farhād,³
 His lips wreathed in an angry smile,
 Through wrath seizing his lips between his teeth
 His one desire and wish was revenge and punishment,
 From head to foot a statue of hatred and scorn,

207.

According to the *Mishkāt*, Dajjāl will be the second of the ten signs or tokens which are to precede the resurrection. After three of these signs have occurred, namely, the rising of the sun in the west the coming of Dajjāl, and the appearance of the beast which is to emerge from the mountain of Sāfih, repentance will no longer avail anything.

The coming of Dajjāl is to be a time of calamity such as has never before been known. He is of low stature though bulky, with splay feet, blind, with the flesh even on one side of his face without the mark of an eye. His right eye is blind, like the seed of a grape, and the word **كفر** *kufir*, Infidelity, is written between his eyes, he is to appear from the middle of a road between Syria and 'Iraq and will mislead on the right hand and on the left. The repetition of the Chapter of the Cave (Qur'an XVIII) will be a means of repelling his wickedness. He will not be able to enter either Mecca or Medinah. His stay upon earth is to last forty days, one day equal to a year, and another day equal to a month, another day like a week and rest of the days like ordinary days. Dajjāl will it is said bestow great abundance upon those who believe in him, but sorely afflict those who reject him. He is to perform miracles such as killing a youth by severing him in two with a sword and restoring him to life. Then Jesus will descend from heaven and will destroy Dajjāl at the entrance to a village called *Lud* in Palestine. The Jews of Iṣfahan will follow Dajjāl before whose coming there will be three years during the first of which the sky will withhold one third of its rain and the earth one third of her productions; during the second the sky will withhold two thirds and the earth two thirds, during the third neither sky nor earth will yield rain nor produce and every animal in the earth will die. He will then come forth upon a white ass, the space between the ears of which is seventy feet.

¹ His whiskers

² MS (A) **برسنه** The text reads **برسته**

³ **فرهاد** *Farhād*. See Beale *Dict. Or. Bing.* p. 87 for the story of Farhād who in order to gain the lovely *Shirin* with whom he was madly in love, attempted to cut through a mountain, he was on the point of completing his labour when false intelligence was sent to him by the husband of *Shirin* that she was dead, whereupon he cast himself headlong and was dashed in pieces.

When he gave the signal and brandished his sword on all sides ¹
 Not one leapt like lightning from that mass of clouds.

May God have mercy !

How could anyone draw the sword of revenge upon that
 crowd of moonlike faces.

Whose heart would not be torn with distracting grief

In pity for so many young and beautiful men ?

Oh Lord ! may the breast of heaven be rent a hundredfold

To think that it has brought so many noble ones to the dust.

How can you look for pity for the blood he sheds, in the heart
 of the butcher ?

Whose one desire is to see his knife stained with blood.

When the bloody butcher binds roses upon his head,

Why should he withhold his knife from the rose-like body ?

Since no one of them desired that the sword should succeed
 in shedding their blood,²

There leapt from their midst like a whirlwind

A man of low origin, a Hindū by birth

Dusky of hue, like to Ahriman,³

Nay ! a thousand Ahrimans would stand aghast at his face ;

Grief-increasing like the pleasure of those in distress,

Wrong in judgment like the intellect of young people ;

Unlucky to look upon as a young owl,

Like a morning in Dai ⁴ at Ghaznī cold and inhospitable ;

Like the night of sorrow his forehead full of gloom,

Like the nature of a wicked man, accursed.

A lip like the sole of a ploughman's foot,

A cheek like the mouth of a man with paralysis ;

That hideous one had a mouth like a helmet,

His smile like the yawning of a burst shoe ;

Long whiskers twisted over his ears

¹ MS. (A) اشرت کرد و هرسو راند چون تیغ.

² MS. A تیغ خون را.

³ Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, is said in their traditions to have been born out of the thought of the Almighty and of his pride in the world, while the first man (whom they call Gayōmarth) was born from the sweat of the brow of the Almighty wiped off in bewilderment at the sight of Ahrimān. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 107.

⁴ The tenth month of the Persian year. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 52. It answers to our month of December.

His whiskers taking the place of the ring in the slave's ear ,
 Lightly he leapt out from the line of warriors,
 [You would think that a wave of blood would burst from him, 208
 His skirt tucked up in his wrathful haste, his sleeves drawn
 back for bloodshed] ¹
 He demanded a well tempered sword from his officer,²
 Drew it, and tightened up the skirt of his tunic ,
 [The head of that cypress like noble fell from his shoulders
 He who was renowned for his youth and beauty] ³
 Martyrdom was evident ⁴ in Khizr in that palace ,
 Just as the tree praises God when its branches put forth leaves
 The heaven kept lamenting over his punishment ,
 The angels continually assisted him in his martyrdom,
 Rīzwān throw open the gates of Paradise,
 All the Huris began to sing his praises
 From that martyr's shout of triumph which came forth from
 the Shāh,
 The sun and moon joined in the martyr's song
 When the dagger was raised aloft and the Shāh's face was
 seen amid its clustering locks,
 Lamentation arose in that assembly like ⁵ the roll of thunder,
 The sun made his body a shield to protect him,
 But Fate turned it on one side from before him
 When the sword of Fate severs the cord of Hope,
 Neither sun nor moon can become a shield for thee,
 With one blow which that ruthless one struck
 He made the Shāh's head a guest in his bosom
 To wash away the blood, the revolving water wheel of the sky
 Required that the spring of the sun should yield all its blood ,
 But since there was no longer a breath of life in his body,
 Of what avail was it to wash the blood from the surface of it.
 Dewal Rani, who was a woman of dignity and beauty,
 Was the lifespring of Khizr Khan's existence

¹ A footnote to the text states that these lines are not in either MS (A) contains them

² MS (A) فرمابنده

³ These lines are not in the text MS (A) reads

در آمد گردن سر و گرا می * که از سر سدری حود بود نامی

⁴ MS (A) شهادت حامت

⁵ MS (A) چون رعد

Since the Khizr of the sky had lain in ambush to slay him
 That very well of life ¹ of his became the sword of enmity.
 When we look in this crystal globe carefully
 Many life giving springs are also fatal to their Khizr.
 The soul of the lover was poured out with his life blood,
 But still was hovering round about the beloved one.
 A rose from which thou hast tasted a pearl of dew,
 Thou wilt shed thy blood ² for it a hundred times.
 Instead of rose water they drew his heart's blood from that
 rose,
 See how they (mercilessly) robbed him of his blood !

And when the foundation stone of this edifice of his destruction of the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was laid, the question was asked of a devotee, why this should be ? His reply was because 'Alāu-d-Dīn had cast a firebrand into the family ³ of the uncle of his benefactor, and as a consequence similar treatment had been meted out to his own family.

Verse.

209. In this full voiced, re-echoing dome (the world)
 Whatever speech you utter that same will you hear.

At all events, after the usurpation by Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn, all the rules and regulations made by 'Alāu-d-Dīn, each of which embodied some wise purpose or far-seeing design, were thrown into confusion, and dissoluteness and wickedness, contumacy and rebellion sprang anew to life during the reign of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn, who threw open the doors of license and gratification of desires to the people ; and when Malik Kamālu-d-Dīn Garg, after that Alf Khān had been summoned to the presence and had been executed, proceeded to Gujrāt where he attained martyrdom, 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī was nominated by the Court, ⁴ and having quelled the disturbance there regained possession ⁵ of Nahrwāla and all the country of Gujrāt, Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn married the

¹ دیول رانی.

² MS. (A) خون خود.

³ MS. (A) reads. خانان instead of خان و مان and خاندان in place of خانان.

⁴ MS. (A) نامزد شد.

⁵ MS. (A) در ضبط آورد و

daughter of Malik Dinar, and having given¹ him the title of Zafar Khān sent him to Gujrat. He performed² the important duties of that province better and more satisfactorily than 'Ainu-l-Mulk.

In the year 718 H (1318 A D) Sultan Qutbu-d-Din marched for Deogar with a larger army, and the Rais of that country were not able to stand against him.

He slayed³ Harpāl Deo who had rebelled during the time which followed the death of Rām Deo⁴. The country of the Marhattas also fell into the hands of Qutbu d Din who, having given Khusrū Khān the canopy and staff of office ordered him to proceed to Ma'bar, and having left Yaklikhū in Deogar as Naib, returned to Dihli. Near Badra i Sakun⁵ Malik Asadu d Din ibn Yaghyaresh Khān who was called Malik Khamūsh, and who was the uncle's son of Sultān 'Alāu d Din, was smitten with the ambition of chieftainship,⁶ and plotted a rebellion against the Sultan, who however was warned⁷ of this design by one of his loyal adherents and gave orders for the immediate execution of Malik Asadu d Din. He also sent orders that twenty of the relations of 210 Yaghyaresh Khān who were aware of this conspiracy⁸ some of whom were children, should be executed, and when he reached Jhain he sent Shādī Kath⁹ his chief captain to Gwalhar to bring the family and relations of the murdered Khwār Khān and Shādī Khān with the remainder of the haram of 'Alāu d Din to Dihli, after having

¹ MS (A) inserts *اورا*

² MS A *برکرد*. The textual reading is preferable

³ The Sultan ordered him to be slayed and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogar.

⁴ MS (A) omits *که*

⁵ Called Ghat i-Sakin by Barni

⁶ MS (A) reads *سری*.

⁷ MS (A) *حدر دار گوداید*

⁸ There is a direct opposition here between the printed text and the MS. The latter MS (A) writes *که از این واقعه حدر داشتند*, and this is adopted as it seems more reasonable than that entirely innocent persons should have been put to death though the statement that some were children is in keeping with the reading of the text. This latter is moreover supported by the statement of Barni. They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but were all seized and slaughtered like sheep.

⁹ MS (A) reads *شادی کده* Shādī Kath and this is the name given also in Barni's history. Neither the text nor the alternative reading given in its footnote is correct.

killed Sultān Shihābn-d-Dīn, which he carried out. Sultān Qutb-d-Dīn was led by the fact that Khizr Khān had been a disciple of the Sultān-i-Maḥmūd Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya, to regard that holy Shaikh with suspicion and distrust, and in opposition to the wishes of the holy Shaikh, sent for Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn from Multān, and honoured Shaikhzada-i-Jām, who was one of the opponents of Shaikh (Nizāmu-d-Dīn) with special distinction.

Verse.

When God ¹ desires to openly disgrace any man
 He leads him to abuse those of holy and pure nature;
 And if God desires to hide the sins of any man
 He leads him to talk little about the sins of other sinners.

His habits also underwent great change, and his heart emboldened him to walk in the valley of bloodshed as his father had done, so that rivers of blood began to flow, and he put to death without any cause Zafar Khān Wali of Gujerāt.

In the mean while Yaklakhi had prepared a rebellion in Deogir, and had arranged to assume the insignia of royalty. At last when Khusrū Khān reached Deogir, the men of the army who had been sent to Deogir seized Yaklakhi and made him over to Khusrū Khān, who sent him bound to Dihli where he was executed. The Sultān ² also put to death Malik Shāhin who was known by the title of Wafā Malik, without any reason save the representations of some intriguers.

211.

In these days the Sultān used generally to array himself in women's garments, and adorning himself like them with gold and jewels, used to give public audience. Moreover he openly indulged in drinking and other forms of vice, inter marem feminamque discrimen nullomodo facere solebat.

Verse.

Statura cujusvis ut littera *Alif* erecta, idem quod litteræ
Dāl et *Nūn* incurvescebat, adeo *Alif* in rimam omnium
 inserebat.

¹ MS. (A) omits the word خدا in error.

² MS. (A) omits the word سلطان but it appears to be required.

He used to command buffoons and jesters to insult with jest and witticisms his most trusted and eminent Amirs, as for instance 'Ainul Mulk Multani and Qarabeg who held fourteen appointments, and summoning them for that purpose to the roof of the Hazar Sutun palace, they used to perform low buffooneries, et nudifaci, gestu turpi et obsceno, in vestes nobilium honoratorum mingeabant. Thus he prepared everything that was necessary for the downfall of the kingdom.

Verse

There was the rose, the leaf adorned it too

And the kingdom seemed to say —

Oh ! King what can come to pass from wine bibbers

What too can come to pass from unrestrained lust

The king maddened by lust, the empire ruined, the enemy
before and behind

It is only too plain in such a case, what must come to pass And after the murder of Zafar Khan, he raised Husamu d Din who was half brother¹ to Khusrû Khan to succeed to the position 212 enjoyed by Zafar Khan and nominated him to proceed to Gujrat Husamu d Din collected together the Barawar² crew from all parts of that country and nursed a scheme of rebellion in his brain. The Amirs of Zafar Khan's party³ however seized him and sent him to Dihli. The Sultan led by the feelings he entertained towards Khusrû Khan took no steps to punish him but had him set at liberty on the instant and gave him extraordinary privileges. Then he appointed Malik Wahidu d Din⁴ Quraishi, to Gujrat in place of Husamu d Din. He it was who was the

¹ Barni calls him برادر مادر which the translator renders maternal uncle. But if our text is correct it would appear that he was not برادر مادر but برادر مادری that is to say half brother by the same mother, but by a different father. This is the meaning of the word برادر اخیانی here used, and would further account for Barni later on calling him baseborn.

² MS (A) برارو

³ MS (A) امرای طغرحان

⁴ Thus the printed text. Barni also calls him Wahidu d Din so I have adopted this reading. MS (A) reads وحید الدین Wahidu d Din.

cause of the arrest of Yaklakhi.¹ Khusrū Khān having arrived on the frontier of Telinga, and having blockaded the Rāi of that country in one of his fortresses, accepted several head of elephants² with treasure and valuables beyond all power of computation as a present from him, and moved his camp towards the Maithili country,³ and having gained possession of nine hundred and twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dirams, came into the country of Ma'bar, and relying on that⁴ wealth entertained the idea of disobedience and rebellion, and obtaining permission to remain there, put to death several Amīrs whom he had with him. Malik Talbīgha Yaghda⁵ and Malik Talbīgha Nāgorī and Malik Hājī Nāib, with certain other Amīrs of the Sultān's party, becoming aware of his secret intentions threw him by force into a litter, and, marching with all haste by forced marches, conveyed him from Deogīr to Dihlī in seven days and acquainted the Sultān with his nefarious designs. Khusrū Khān however in the private apartment of the palace where he enjoyed the special companionship of the Sultān, gained him over by artful and specious representations, and fully persuaded the Sultān of the villainy of the Amīrs.⁶ The Sultān took his words as Gospel, so greatly was he influenced and controlled by him, and was incensed against the Amīrs, censured them⁷ severely and subjected them to many indignities, and although they brought forward many veracious witnesses in support of their allegations it was all of no use, and the wretched witnesses were severely punished.

213.

The story of Farazdaq the poet fits in with this, namely when he accompanied by his wife, appealed to the Khalifah of Baghdād, he got Ja'far the Barmecide, to plead for him, and used his wife Zubeida Khātūn as an intermediary. Hārūn the Khalifah was

1 The printed text has simply لکھی but MS. (A) reads یکلکھی Yaklakhi. Yakalakhi it will be remembered, had been appointed Governor of Deogīr after Harpāl Deo had been taken and put to death. According to Barnī, Yaklakhi was "an old servant of 'Alān-d-Dīn, who for many years was nāib of the barīds" (couriers). Yaklakhi now revolted and was arrested by Wahīdu-d-Dīn.

2 MS. (A) omits.

3 MS. (A) جرکت نمود و

4 MS. (A) بقوت آن اموال.

5 MS. (A) reads thus. Barnī calls him Malik Talbagha Yaghda.

6 MS. (A) omits خاطر نشان سلطان after.

7 MS. (A) omits با ایشان.

favourably disposed towards Zubeida, and passed orders in accordance with the petition of the wife of Farazdaq¹ He accordingly wrote these lines —

An advocate who appears before thee clothed
Is not like one who comes before thee naked²

That is to say an intercessor who comes near thee wearing drawers will not be so influential as she who comes naked From that day this became a proverbial saying among the Arabs

As soon as Khusiū Khan became quite assured in all ways of his predominant influence over the Sultān, he gave orders for the assembly of all his tribe from Gujrāt and began to introduce them into the service of the Sultān The Sultān reposed entire confidence both in him³ and in his family, and gave up the reins of Government absolutely into his hands,⁴ abandoning himself to rioting and debauchery⁵

¹ Abu Firās Hammam or Humaim the son of Ghālib surnamed Abul Akhtal was a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamim He was commonly known as Al Farazdaq because of his stern and forbidding countenance The meaning of Farazdaq is said to be a lump of dough which has been kneaded (Freitag *Hamasah* II 585) It was a nick name given him according to Ibn Kutaiba on account of his ugly face He further states however that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature which made him be compared to the crust (farazdaq) with which women polish their teeth But the first explanation is best, because the poet caught the small pox and when he recovered his face remained deformed and wrinkled (Ibn Khall do Slane III 623)

² Read مستورا for متزرا which appears to be intended for متزرا The occasion on which these lines were spoken was, according to Ibn Khalliqān, when Nawār the granddaughter of Dabūs wished to marry one of the Quraysh tribe, and asked Al Farazdaq to act as her legal guardian because he was the son of her uncle He however availed himself of a formal promise given by her to abide by his decision as to her affairs to say he would marry her himself Nawar was very angry at this and went to 'Abdullah ibn az Zubair sovereign of Hijaz and 'Irāq to obtain redress Al-Farazdaq set out also They stopped at different houses Al Nawar stayed with al Khaula wife of Abdullah ibn az Zubair, and Al Farazdaq with Hamza their son Al Khaula interceded for al Nawar, and her intercession prevailed over that of Hamza whereupon Farazdaq spoke as above (Ibn Khall do Slane) III 624)

³ MS (١) اعتمد تمام بر او وقبيلة او لمود و

⁴ MS (A) omits لار

⁵ MS (١) مشغول شد

Verse.

214. Casting aside the Qur‘ān and the sword
Taking instead to the cup and flagon.

The attendants who were loyal to the state were struck dumb and were compelled by the necessity for time-serving to throw themselves upon the protection of Khusrū Khān,

Verse.

If the times give the reins of authority to a wolf,
You must save yourself by saying, God save you Sir !

And the family of Barāwar¹ gained entire control of the Court of the Sultān, and used to assemble by day and by night at the house of Khusrū Khān to plot sedition and rebellion against the Sultān, and when Qāzī Zīāu-d-Dīn, who was known as Qāzī Khān, made these facts known, the Sultān who was the slave of his lust immediately summoned Khusrū Khān in private,² and informed him of what had been said, whereupon Khusrū Khān said, the people see the great kindness which the Sultān shews me and regard it as excessive, and from motives of jealousy falsely accuse me. The Sultān believed him and³ made over to him the keys of the royal treasury and of all the other store-houses as well : Khusrū Khān⁴ regarded this as a proof of his complete ascendancy deduced from it a favourable omen for his future :—

Verse.

When he saw his affairs so prosperous
He considered that omen as a proof of victory ;
From that favourable omen the heart of Khusrū Khān,
Like a strong mountain, became firmly established.

Eventually, one night the Sultān was holding a drinking party in the company of Khusrū Khān, and the Amīrs of the guards withdrew from their posts. Qāzī Khān came down from the roof of the Hazār Sutūn palace and was engaged in examining if the doors were safe, and the guards posted.

1 MS. (A) الواس براو.

2 MS. (A) adds در خلوت.

3 MS. (A) تصدیق او کرد و سپرد.

4 MS. (A).

In the meantime one Randhol¹ the uncle of Khusrū Khān 215.
 with a body of the Barāwas, having daggers concealed under
 their arms came upon Qāzī Khān, and kept him engaged in
 talk on one way and another, till, taking him off his guard,
 they stabbed him and despatched him as a martyr to his abode
 in Paradise. There was a great uproar,² and the Sultān, who
 at that moment had no other companion than Khusrū Khān,
 enquired what was the tumult. Khusrū Khān rose from beside
 him and went out to instigate his followers to murder the
 Sultān, then returned and said that some of the horses of the
 stud had broken loose, and were fighting among themselves.
 At this moment Jāhiriyyā the uncle of Khusrū Khān approached
 the Hazār Satūn with a party of his men, and having assassina-
 ted Ibrāhim and Ishāq who were on guard at the palace, made
 for the Sultān. The Sultān rising,³ half intoxicated as he was,
 ran towards the ḥaram, Khusrū Khān caught him from behind
 by the hair of his head, and as the Sultān was begging him
 to aid his escape Jāhiriyyā arrived, aimed a blow at the Sultān
 wounding him in the side, then with his sword cutting off the
 Sultān's head⁴ threw it down below from the roof of the palace.

Verse.

The bed of that dear one was one of thorns
 For his brocaded bed led to his ruin.

When the populace saw what had occurred, every one of them
 went into hiding and there was dismay in all quarters. Putting
 to death some of the Amīrs at the door of the palace, the
 Barāwas entered the Sultān's ḥaram and tore Farid Khān and
 Mangū Khān, the two infant sons of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, from
 their mother's arms and cut off their heads, and committed every
 kind of violence they wished, and in one moment scattered to the
 four winds all the honour and glory of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and
 'Qutbu-d-Dīn.

Verse.

In one hour, in one moment, in one instant⁵
 The whole course of the world becomes changed.

216.

¹ MS. (A). زندشول.

² MS. (A) omits بلند.

³ MS. (A). بوخاسته.

⁴ MS. (A). سرسلطان را.

⁵ MS. (A) has بیکی لیسظه بیکی ساعت بیکی دم.

And when they had glutted themselves with murder and rapine, they sent for certain of the Amirs namely 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī, and Malik Fakhr-u-d-Din Jūnā, by whom is meant Sultān Muḥammad ibn Tughlāq Shāh, and Malik Wahīdu-d-Din Quraishī with the two sons of Qarābeg and other notable Amirs, and kept them all that night till morning upon the roof of the Hazār Sutān; and when it was day they made all the 'Ulamā and chief men of the city swear allegiance to Khusrū Khān, and read the *Khuṭbah* in his name. By craft they got the upper hand of a certain party whom they suspected of being opposed to them, and sent them to the world of non-existence, and made over the family of Qāzī Zīāu-d-Din Qāzī Khān,¹ all except his wife who fled,² to the aforesaid Randhol.³

Husāmu-d-Din, the brother by the mother's side of Khusrū Khān, was given the title of Khān-i-Khānān and Randhol⁴ became Rāi-i-Rāiyān, and the *ḥarams* of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Din and the other princes and relatives they divided among themselves. Khusrū Khān took to himself⁵ in marriage the chief wife of the Sultān. These events happened in the year 720, H. (1320 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Din was four⁶ years and some months.

Verse.

Since the world began so it has been, and so will always be,
To everyone the end of all things will be as this.

NĀSIRU-D-DIN KHUSRŪ KHĀN

217. Whose name at the first was Ḥasan Barwabacha, in the aforesaid year sat upon the throne of 'Alāu-d-Din and Quṭbu-d-Din, by the co-operation of his own tribe; and the Amirs who have already been mentioned, whether they would or no, were constrained to give in their allegiance to him, and addressed him by this title. The rites and ceremonies of Islām tended towards neglect while Hindu customs and heathen observances obtained currency.⁷ Idolatry and devastation of mosques became wide-

1 MS. (A) omits و.

2 MS. (A) رندهول.

3 MS. (A) omits در.

4 MS. (A) رواج گرفت.

2 MS. (A) که گریخت.

4 MS. (A) رندهول.

6 MS. (A) reads چهار.

spread, and although Khusrū Khān, to conciliate the people scattered gold and lavished presents on all sides so that in a short time he squandered the greater part of the treasure of Alāu-d-Dīn and the wealth which Qutbu-d-Dīn had amassed,

Verse.

Who was it had acquired the wealth,
Who was it squandered it ?

still the hearts of great and small were not so attuned to this disloyalty and irreligion of his that he could bring them into harmony with his own.

And in the year 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.) Khusrū Khān put out the eyes of certain of the offspring of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, for instance Abūbakr Khān, and 'Ali Khān, and Bahādur Khān,¹ and gained over² certain of the Amīrs, such as 'Ainul Mulk and some others.

The Hindūs gained ground and increased their influence in most of the provinces, and a torrent of destruction swept suddenly upon the followers of Islām and destroyed their wealth and property, giving their families to the wind of extinction.

The affair of the Ghuzz which had happened in the time of Sultān Sinjar³ was forgotten, and the state of mankind was expressed by this verse—

Verse.

You will never see your fellowmen happy save at the door
of death,
You will never find a virgin save in the womb of earth.

Khusrū Khān⁴ issued *firmāns* to all the outlying districts and invited the people to side with him, he also bestowed upon Yūsuf 218. Ṣūfī Azlbacha⁵ the title of Sūfī Khān while Ikhtiyārū-d-Dīn Sanbal was styled Hātim Khān. He also made Kamālū-d-Dīn Sūfī Wakīldar, and the son of Qurra Qumār 'Arīzu-l-Mulk; Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn Jūnā the son of Ghāzī Malik he appointed Ākhur Beg, and was especially desirous of gaining his good will, with the object of using his influence to induce Ghāzī Malik also, who

¹ MS. (A).

² MS. (A) منفق ساخت.

³ MS (A) سنجر.

⁴ MS. (A) omits و.

⁵ MS. (A) The text reads بروراجه.

was one of the notable Amīrs of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and was posted to oppose the Mughuls, to leave the frontiers of Dipālpur and fall into his trap. At that time he put into effect every means he could devise and gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī for a time the title of 'Ālam Khān. At last having gained over Ghāzī Malik, he wrote a letter¹ expressing his sincerity of purpose, and desiring him when the day of battle should arrive to flee from Dihli to his own country, that is Mālwa, and return when the danger had passed.²

And of the Amīrs, some sided with Khusrū Khān out of lust for place and property, but some others were rebellious. When Ghāzī Malik heard this startling news his zeal for Islām and for the preservation of the honour of his benefactor was stirred, so that he girded up his loins for vengeance, and sending despatches to the Maliks of the various districts sought their aid in extirpating that ungrateful wretch. Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn sent secretly a letter to his father conveying his intention to fly from Dihli and asking for post-horses,³ which in the Hindī tongue are called *ḍāk chaukī*, and for the posting of cavalry escorts at several places along the route.

219. At last one night by the assistance of the Son of Bahrām Ībā⁴ the governor of Multān and Uchh⁵ he fled from Dihli with a party of horsemen and made his way by forced marches towards Dipālpur.

Verse.

Seated upon that fleet Burāq⁶
He hastened steadfastly with unity of purpose.

¹ MS. (A) مکتوبی نوشت مشتمل بر.

² I read here بعد از قرار گرفتن مرأب although MS. (A) is the same as the text مذأب.

³ اولاق *Ulāq* or اولاغ *Ulāgh* travail sans salaire—cheval—courrier—petit bateau. (Pavet de Courteille).

⁴ MS. (A) and text footnote.

⁵ The text has a misprint آچه here.

⁶ The animal upon which Muḥammad was mounted during his ascent to heaven known as the معراج (mi'rāj) Qur'ān XVII. i.

In the *Mishkātū-l-Maṣābiḥ* it is thus described, "After this a white animal was brought for me to ride upon. Its size was between that of a

And Ghāzi Malik himself previously to this had sent two hundred cavalry into the fort of Sarsuti. When Khusrū Khān awoke from his slumber of neglect he recognized that the departure of Malik Fakhru d Din Jūnā was a strong proof of the decline of his own power¹ accordingly he despatched the son of Qurra Qumār, whom he had appointed 'Arīz-i-Mamālik,² in pursuit of him. He proceeded as far as the town of Sarsuti, but on his arrival there was obliged to retrace his steps without finding an opportunity of accomplishing his object, and conveyed to Khusrū Khān tidings regarding the real state of affairs.

Ghāzi Malik, after the arrival of his son, was demonstrative³ in his expressions of satisfaction, and gave effect to the aspirations of the Malik, further by issuing orders for the commencement of the *jihād*⁴ he made amends for the previous delay, and gave full satisfaction to the demands of bravery by marching in the direction of Dihli.

Khusrū Khān having bestowed upon his brother Khān i Khānān the canopy and staff of office, despatched Sāfi Khān with the other Amīrs of this *canaille* against Ghāzi Malik who for many years had done yeoman's service in the various wars with the Mughuls, and had everywhere returned victorious and triumphant. But on the other hand Malik Bahrām Iba, the Governor of Multān and Uchh, arrived to reinforce Ghāzi Malik. The two armies selected as their field of battle a spot near the reservoir of Thānesar⁵. At the first onset the breeze of victory blew favourably for the armies of Islām, the standards of the infidels

mule and an ass and it stretched as far as the eye could see. The name of the animal was Buraq' (*Mishkātul Maṣābiḥ*, Matthews II 651). The word Buraq signifies brilliant like lightning, or swift as lightning.

¹ MS (A) reads *نور زوال دولت حود* ² Mastermaster General See p. 291

³ MS (A) *سود و*

⁴ Holy war undertaken in defence of the religion of Islam

⁵ *حوض تها نسو* This is the lake with which one of the alleged derivations of the name *Sthāneswara* is connected viz *Sthanu* (a name of Maladeo) and *Sar* a lake. See Hunter Imp Gaz XIII 260

This holy lake is situated (says Cunningham) to the South of the town it is called by various names. It is the centre of attraction for most pilgrims. It was in full repute in A.D. 500, but in the Pauranic legends is given an antiquity long anterior even to the Pandus themselves, the sacred pool is at least as old as the Rg Veda itself (Cunningham, A.G. India, pp. 335-336)

220. were overthrown, and the adherents of Khusrū Khān abandoning their elephants and horses, and ammunition and standards fled precipitately to Dihlī. Ghāzi Malik with all speed pursued and scattered these ungrateful wretches¹ and reached Dihlī in one long march.² Khusrū Khān having rallied his scattered and panic stricken forces, opened the doors of the treasury and gave his army three and four years' pay together with large rewards and promises of appointments and governorships; and things being as they were, he brought out from confinement in the *ḥaram* the remainder of the princes of the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn whom he had blinded, and put them to death; then, led by hostile Fate, he marched on from the city in great force and proceeded to the Ḥauz-i-Khāss³ where he encamped, his camp extending in one line of tents from the Ḥauz-i-Khāss to Indrapath,⁴ while Ghāzi Malik encamped in the vicinity of the tomb⁵ of Sultān Razziya. In the meanwhile 'Ainu-l-Mulk, in accordance with agreement, having deserted the unsuccessful army of Khusrū Khān fled with haste towards Dhār and Ujjain;⁶ his defection was a cause of great despondency to the followers of Khusrū Khān. On the following day the array of battle was drawn up and the followers of the truth engaged in close conflict with the partisans of infidelity, and utterly vanquished the impious horde.

At the outset the army of Khusrū Khān obtained the mastery, and the army of Ghāzi Malik suffered a repulse, but Ghāzi Malik planting firmly the foot of resolution like another Rustum came to the rescue, and with three hundred cavalry, men of tried

¹ MS. (A) کافر نعمت‌های.

² The distance traversed in this march was about 90 miles as the crow flies, a long march but perfectly feasible for cavalry.

³ Barnī says the Ḥauz-i-'Alāi. The royal lake constructed by 'Alāu-d-Dīn.

⁴ Indrapath. MS. (A) اندر پته. Barnī tells us that Ghāzi Malik's force lay encamped at Indrapath so that the two camps were face to face. It lies just outside Dihlī. Its etymology, Indraprastha, points it out as the probable place where Indra slew the Vritras with his thunderbolt formed of the head of the horse-headed Dadhyanch (see also Cunningham 335).

⁵ I read here حظيرة not خطيرة as in the text and MS. The burial place of Sultān Razziya is not apparently mentioned in any of the histories, but as she was taken prisoner at Kaithal and put to death there (638. H.) it is not unlikely that she was buried near Indrapath.

⁶ MS. (A) شتافت.

valour, whom he had kept in concealment in an ambush, utterly discomfited the infidel hordes¹ and Malik Talbagha² Nāgor, and the son of Qurra Qumār³ with the other nobles of that ignoble kingdom, in that battle became food for the sword,⁴ as such hypocritical knaves should. Khusrū Khān brought to bear all temerity and manliness in spite of his unmanly character, and fought bravely till the close of the day, but⁵ at last finding he was unable to withstand these lionhearted warriors, he turned 221. his back in flight, and made for Talpath, his canopy and standards and borrowed⁶ retinue fell into the hands of Ghāzi Malik.

Khusrū Khān returning from Talpath came to the tomb of Malik Shādī⁷ who was an old patron of his, alone and distraught, and hid himself there in despair, but the following day they laid hands upon him, treating him with all possible indignity, and brought him to Ghāzi Malik,⁸ so that he reaped the reward of his infamous and abominable deeds.

Verse.

The tree thou didst nurture has borne its fruit,
Dost thou not see even now its fruit in its bosom,
If it has borne thorns it is thou who didst plant them,
If it has brought thee silk attire it is of thy own spinning.

And the following day Ghāzi Malik left Indrapath⁹ and alighted at Kūshk Sabzi¹⁰ Great and small came out to welcome his coming, and gave vent to expressions of congratulation. The day following he went on to the city of Dilī, where tidings was

¹ MS (A) جمعیت کاتوانرا

² Text تلبنه MS (A) تلبنه.

³ Shāyista Khān

⁴ MS. (A) omits بی دروغ

⁵ MS (A) inserts و.

⁶ عاریتی

⁷ MS (A) آمد

⁸ MS (A) omits ملک

⁹ MS A اندپته. The text reads تلبنه But the real reading should be اندرپته, Indrapath, as is shown by what has gone before, and also by Barnī

¹⁰ گوشک سبزی "the Green palace" but although this is the reading of the text and both MSS, I think we should read for گوشک سبزی undoubtedly گوشک سبزی kushk, Sibi, the palace of Sibi This is the reading of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi.

brought to him that the rascal Khān-i-Khānān had crept into the corner of a garden,¹ where he was lying concealed.

Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn proceeded by order of Ghāzī Malik, and having mutilated and disgraced him² paraded him about the city where he met with condign punishment. This event took place in the year 720 A.H. (1321. A. D). The duration of Khusrū Khān's rule was four months and a few days.

Verse.

That which thou doest they will shew thee again,
That which thou givest, they will return thee the like.

SULTĀN³ GHĪYĀṢU-D-DĪN TUḠHLAQ SHĀH³

222.

Who is the same as Ghāzī Malik, ascended the throne in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.) by the consent of the Amirs and nobles and was styled by this title. In the space of one week he ordered and regulated the important affairs of the state with a perfection unattainable to others in the course of years.⁴

He appointed his own relations to various posts and showing many favours to the Amirs of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and to some of the Maliks of Qutbū-d-Dīn gave them districts. Then he directed his ambition to the rebuilding of the fortress of Tughlaqābād and all the lofty edifices, and set about it (without delay)⁵ and Badr Shā'ir Shāshī⁶ invented as a chronogram for the date of building

¹ MS. (A) omits و.

² مثله ساختن *Muṣṭa Sākhtan* is the term applied to a form of punishment which consisted of cutting off the nose, ears and lips. The literal meaning is "making a public example."

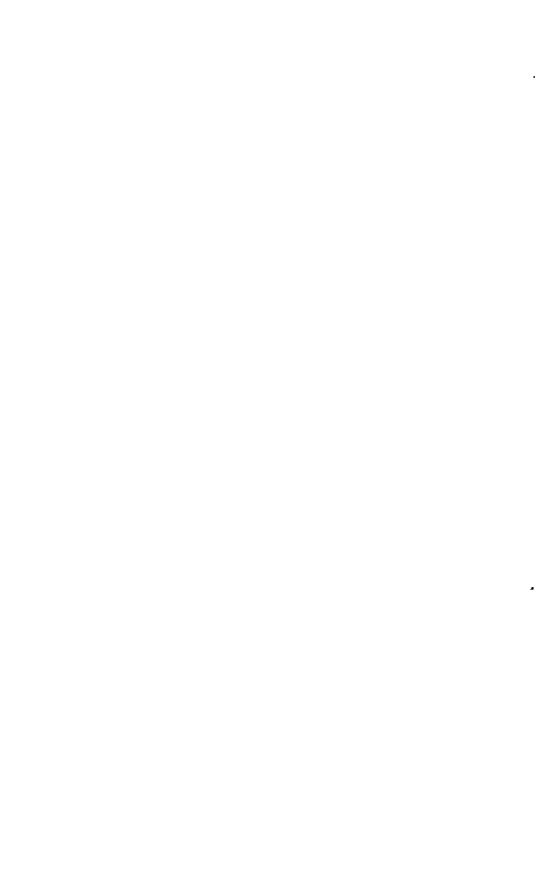
³ MS. (A). The text omits the prefix سلطان —

Barnī gives an account of the mode in which Ghāzī Malik succeeded to the throne, not as an usurper but as the rightful successor in the absence of any scion of the house of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Qutbu-d-Dīn. (See Elliott, III. 228-229).

⁴ MS. (A) omits the words توانند داد and the words are so foreign to the style of the author that they must be regarded as an interpolation. The Editor of the text supplies them from one copy. See footnote to Text.

⁵ There is a difference here. The printed text reads مسرته دران نمود Showed great alacrity therein, but MS. (A) reads simply شروع دران نمود set about it. This seems the preferable reading.

⁶ Badrū-d-Dīn Chāchī, "was a native of Chāch in Turkestan. He was a man of great repute as a scholar who passed a large portion of his life in



meantime¹ ‘Ubaid Rākātī² the poet, a turbulent fellow, the notorious³ opponent of Mir Khusrū (on whom be mercy) who rascal that he was wrote the following famous verses :

223.

Khusrū’s own verse was very raw, so by mistake he took Nizāmi’s⁴ saucepan by mistake, his flummery⁵ to cook.

(Mir Khusrū in many of his compositions complains bitterly against him and Sa’d Falsafi) joining with Shaiḵhzāda Dimishqī on the occasion of the late arrival of the stage from Dihlī, spread a false report that the Sultān Tughlaq was no more, where-upon great dismay spread through the Muslims. ‘Ubaid also terrified the Amīrs by his account of Ulugh Khān, and infidels springing up put to death many of the soldiers of the army;⁶ Malik Tigīn and other revolutionary Amīrs planned an insurrection against Ulugh Khān who with fifty sowārs came by rapid marches to the metropolis, whereupon the Amīrs took themselves off, each to his own district ; and Malik Tigīn who had gone to the country between Multān and Jaisalmīr⁷ was taken prisoner with his family, and Tāju-d-Dīn Ṭālaqānī, the son-in-law of Malik Tigīn who had escaped from prison, was captured⁸ on the banks of the river Sarū, and Ubaid (the poet)⁹ also was captured in the same way in a wretched

¹ MS. (A) reads درین میان.

² ‘Ubaid. MS. (A) adds راکاتی *Rākātī*. See Beale, O. B. D., p. 275.

³ MS. (A) reads معارض مشهور.

⁴ Shaiḵh Nizāmī Ganjawī whose full name is Abū Muḥammad Nizāmī-d-Dīn Aḥmad Iliās ibn Abī Yūsuf ibn Mursaiyyidal Muṭarrazī, a celebrated poet, author of the *Sikandar-Nāma*, also of other well-known works. His *Khamsa* (pentad) consists of *Khusrū* and *Shirīn*, *Haft Paikar Lailī-o-Majnūn*, *Makhzanul-Asrār* and *Sikandar Nāma*.

His death is said by Beale to have occurred in 597 A. H. but according to the *Majma’ul Fuṣṣaḥā* (I. 637) he died in the reign of Tughlul ibn Arslān the Saljūq, 576 A. H.

⁵ سبکا is a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar. The word ‘flummery’ suggests itself from its etymological signification of raw, crude, harsh, W. *Ulymruud*, (so named from its sourness). (*vide* Skeat. s. v.)

⁶ We should here read مردم لشکر MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) Lat. 26°. 55’ N. Long. 70°. 57’ E. in Rājputāna, C. I.

⁸ MS. (A) گرفتار گشت.

⁹ MS. (A) omits شاعر. Barnī says that he was impaled alive. Firighita says that he was buried alive. (See Elliott, III, 231-233).

plight All this party with their families and friends, they cast under the feet of elephants, and those who escaped this fate met their death wherever they went

And in the year 723 A H (1323 A D) Ulugh Khan for the second time marched towards Tilang, and Rāi Ladar Mahadeo again shut himself up in the fort.

Ulugh Khan gained possession of both the outer and inner citadels¹ by force of arms, and took the Rāi prisoner together with his family and followers, and leaving commissioners there drew off his army to Jājnagar² and Bidar,³ and having taken as spoil many elephants and other property with jewels and valuables without number [sent them] to Dihli [and despatched Rāi Ladar also to the capital and having given to Arankal the name of Sultanpur] returned to Dihli⁴

And in the year 724 A H (1324 A D), Sultān Ghīyas d-224
Dīn Tughlaq Shah, upon the occasion of the tyranny of the governors of Bengal, left Ulugh Khan as his viceroy in the capital Tughlaqabad which had been built in the space of three years and a fraction, entrusting to his sound judgment the whole civil administration, and left for Lakhnauti with a firm intention of setting things straight, Sultān Nasir d Dīn the ruler of Lakhnauti, with the notable princes of those districts hastened to meet the Sultan and placed their necks under his yoke, Sultan Tughlaq Shah conferred upon Sultan Nasir d Dīn the canopy and staff of office and all other insignia of royalty, entrusted Lakhnauti once more to his control and sent a despatch announcing his success to Dihli, then he sent on in advance Tatar Khān his adopted son, the Governor of Zafarabad who brought Bahadur Shah otherwise known as Tuda (? Nuda) the Governor of Sunar Ganw who was boasting his independence, with a chain around

¹ MS (A) حصار درونی و بیرونی

² Or Jajpur the former capital of Orissa (See *Hunter's Gazetteer*, Vol VII and *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol XVIII for a full account of this place)

³ Bidar (or Bedar) Town in the Nizam's dominions Haidarabad Deccan, 75 miles N W of Haidarabad town Lat 17° 53' N Long 77° 34' E (See *Hunter's Gazetteer*, Vol II, 419)

⁴ The words enclosed in square brackets are by a copyist's error omitted in MS (A) the word Dihli occurring twice has misled the copyist The printed text is correct

his neck, and accompanied by all his elephants into the royal presence at the Court.

Sultān Tughlaq Shāh taking Bahādur Shāh with him, victorious and triumphant returned to Dihli, and proceeding by double stages made forced marches. Ulugh Khān upon hearing this news gave immediate orders for the erection of a lofty and noble palace near Afghānpur which is at a distance of three *krohs* from Tughlaqābād. It was completed in three days, so that Sultān Tughlaq Shāh might alight there,¹ and having passed the night in it and having rested might depart thence at an auspicious moment and alight at Tughlaqābād.

225. The Sultān arrived there and Ulugh Khān having gone out to meet him with all the nobles and grandees, spread a banquet of welcome. The Sultān gave orders for the elephants which he had brought with him from Bengal to be raced, and as the foundation of the New Palace was new and unsettled the palace began to shake and totter with the tramp of the elephants. When the people became aware that the Sultān was mounting with all haste, they hurriedly came out from the palace, without even washing their hands. The Sultān Tughlaq Shāh was engaged in washing his hands² and so did not come out. In consequence he washed his hands of life and the palace fell in upon him.³

We should not lose sight of the fact that from having built a palace such as this, which was quite unnecessary, there is a suspicion that Ulugh Khān may have built the palace⁴ without

¹ These words are repeated twice in MS. (A).

² The text has *بِقَرِيبِ دَسْتِ نَاشِسْتَنِ* but MS. (A) reads *شَسْتَنِ* the latter is correct. MS. (A) also omits the words *اَز اِن خانِه* (line 2 of the printed text).

³ Barnī gives a different version, attributing the fall of the palace to a thunderbolt which descended from the sky. (Elliott, III. 235). Firishṭa gives a somewhat similar account to Badāonī; without specifically stating the cause, he alludes to the suspicion which attached to Ulugh Khān of being designedly close by the author of the catastrophe, but discredits it. He further tells us that according to Šadr Jahān Gujarātī, Ulugh Khān had raised the palace by magic, and the magical art being withdrawn it fell; he proceeds "Hājī Muḥammad Qandahārī says that it was struck by lightning and this does not seem at all improbable" (*Firishṭa* Briggs, I. 408).

⁴ MS. (A) *قصورا* *qaṣr rā*. The text has *قصدًا* *qaṣḍan* purposely.

foundations¹ as was currently rumoured, but the author of the *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhi* makes no mention of this although this may possibly be due to a desire to flatter Firoz Shāh and out of regard for him.

This event took place in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sultān Ghiyāsu d Dīn Tughlaq Shāh was four years and some months.

Verse

If thou placest the world beneath thy feet
Thou wilt not sleep at last in thine own place

It is currently reported among the people of India that Sultān Ghiyāsu d Dīn Tughlaq, on account of the ill will he bore to Sultān al Mashhūkh, sent a message to the Shāikh while on the way to Lakhnauti to this effect, "After my arrival at Dīhli, either the Shāikh will be (ruler) there or I"². The Shāikh replied, "Dīhli is still some way off"³. This saying became proverbial from that day and gained currency.

The *Tughlaq Nāma* of Mir Khusrū which was the latest of his works, was written in verse in honour of the Sultān and in obedience to his order.

The death of the Sultān al Mashhūkh and also of Mir Khusrū occurred in the same year as has already been stated.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD 'ADIL IDN TUGHLAQ SHAH

That is to say Ulugh Khan, by the agreement of the Amirs and

¹ **مخوف** Literally means 'hollow' but in its grammatical sense implies weakness due to want of proper support cf **فعل احو** 'I follow' verb a verb of which the middle letter is weak.

² In accordance with the proverb **دو درویش در گلی می نهند** *du darwish dar gilime nakhuspa id* Two dervises cannot sleep in one blanket; or again the proverb **دو شمشیر در یک نام نهند** *du shamshir dar yak nyam nagunand* Two swords will not go into one scabbard, as we say There cannot be two kings in Brontford.

³ This is a well known proverb and has come from the Persian into common use in Urdu used to express the futility of an incompetent person attempting any task or on an occasion of unnecessary haste 'It is a far cry to Loch Awe' Roebuck in his collection of Oriental proverbs does not give this as a Persian but as an Urdu proverb. Its origin is clear from our author's statement.

226. officers of the Court ascended the royal throne in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.),¹ and after performing the ceremonial mourning for the space of forty days,² went to the treasure house of the kings of former ages, and gave *largesse* such as exceeds all bounds of description, and having distributed appointments and offices among the Amirs, he made Malik Firoz his uncle's son (who is the same person as Sultān Firoz) *Nāibu-l-Mulk*, and advanced the dignity of his near relations in the same manner. Hamīd Lawikī, too, was raised to an exalted position and Malik Sartez obtained the title of *Imādu-l-Mulk*, Malik Khurram that of *Zahīru-l-Juyūsh* (Inspector of the Forces) Malik Pindār Khiljī was given the title of Qadr Khān, and Malik Izzu-d-Din Yahyā that of *Āḡamu-l-Mulk*, the district of Satgānw being also confirmed to him.

And in the year 727 A.H. (1326-1327 A.D.) the Sultān having formed the design of proceeding to Deogīr, posted a chain of *dhāwa*,³ that is to say *pāiks*, or runners, as guards at distances of one *kroh* along the whole road⁴ from Dihlī to Deogīr, built a palace and a monastery at each stage and appointed⁵ a *Shaikh* to each. They used to keep in constant readiness food and drink, betel-leaf⁶ and all provisions for hospitality; and in

1 According to Firishṭa on the third day after the funeral obsequies of his father.

2 The period here mentioned of forty days is the same as that enjoined in olden times to the Israelites: thus we find in Genesis l. 3, speaking of the death of Jacob "the physicians embalmed Israel and forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of these which are embalmed; and the Egyptians mourned for him three score and ten days. But in Numbers xx. 29, we find that the congregation mourned for Aaron thirty days.

The period of three days only is enjoined on Muḥammadans, except in the case of widows who must perform the special ceremony of mourning called *Ihdād* for four months and ten days. Among Hindūs the period of mourning is thirty days. (See Matthew, *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābih* I. 389).

3 The word دهاوا here spelt دهاوة is a Sanskrit word धावकः rt. धाव् to run. پایک *pāyik* its Persian equivalent has a more usual form پیک *paik*.

4 MS. A omits در راه.

5 MS. (A) نصب فرمود.

6 The leaf of *Chavica betle* (Miq.) N.O. Piperaceæ is used in conjunction with lime for mastication as a stomachic. The leaves containing a portion of the nut of *Areca catechu*, known as *Supārī*, some lime (*chūna*) catechu (*kath*) and various aromatics, such as cinnamon, cloves, &c., and rolled together

both¹ (palaces and monasteries) guides were stationed who were ordered to see that travellers suffered no annoyance. The traces of these (rest-houses) remained for many years. He gave Deogir the name of Daulatābād² and considering it as the centre of his dominions³ made it the metropolis, and conveyed Makhdum-i-Jahan his mother, with all his family and relations, the Amirs and Malikhs, the notables of the city, his servants and dependents, and all his treasure to Daulatābād all the *Saiyyids* and *Shaikhhs* and 'Ulamā⁴ also proceeded thither in the following of Makhdum-i-Jahān, and the stipends and emoluments of all of them were doubled, but in accordance with the saying "Exile is the gravest of all calamities and banishment is the sorest of all afflictions" this desolation of Dihli and its desertion was a source of great dis-

into the form of a cone and skewered with a small piece of wood and offered for sale. In this condition they are known as *khili*, کھیلی *bira* بیرا or گُلزری *gulzari*. The distribution of this پان *pan* or betel, forms an important part on all ceremonial occasions, generally as a final act of hospitality before the guests depart. To European palates the *bira* is anything but pleasant, it has a pungent somewhat acrid taste. It is a powerful sialagogue.

The medicinal virtues of the *Chavica* betle are supposed to be great. The leaves smeared with mustard oil and applied hot to the chest in several layers are used as poultices in pulmonary catarrhs, or in painful affections of the liver. They are said also to arrest the secretion of milk when applied to the breasts. A form of cancer known as "betle chewers cancer" has been described by Dr Elliott of Colombo.

The plant is said to be a native of Java whence it has been introduced. It grows best in a hot moist climate such as that of Lower Bengal where it is largely cultivated. (Drury, *Useful Plants of India*.)

1 MS (A) omits the word طری

2 MS (A) نام نهاد و See page 271, note 6, of this volume.

3 MS (A) میانه ولایات omits خود

4 The word *Saiyyid* (سید) is a term used to denote the descendants of Muhammad from his daughter Fatima by 'Alī. The Sultan of Zanzibār also adopts this as his regal title.

Shaikh (شیخ) is a term of honour denoting some considerable reputation in the religious world, a doctor of religion and law, a head or chief of some religious order, a chief of a tribe or a reputed saint.

The two first *Khalifas* Abu Bakr and 'Umar are known as الشَّیْخَان. *Ash Shaikhhan*. The two *Shaikhhs*

The term '*Ulama* (علما) includes all religious teachers as Imams, Muftis, Qazis, Maulavis, (see Hughes Dictionary of Islam, also D'Herbelot)

227. comfort to the inhabitants, large numbers of the feeble and widows, the helpless and indigent perished by the way, while even those who arrived in safety, could not settle there; and towards the end of the above-mentioned year Malik Bahādur Gurshasp the Inspector-General of the Forces, raised a rebellion in Dihli,¹ and Malik Aiyāz, who held the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, fought with Bahādur and defeated him. Bahādur was taken prisoner and brought before the Sultān and met his punishment. After that, Malik Bahrām Ibn the adopted brother of Sultān Tughlaq raised a rebellion in Multān,² and put to death 'Alī Khatāṭī who had been sent from Dihli to summon him thither. The Sultān, in order to put down this rebellion, left Daulatābād for Dihli and thence by uninterrupted marches reached Multān. Bahrām having come out³ against him fought with him, but was defeated and eventually put to death, his head was brought to the Sultān who intended to set the blood of the Multānis flowing like rivers on account of his crime, but when the Shaikh-i-Islām Qutbu-l-'Ālam Shaikh Ruknu-l-Haqq wau-d-Dīn Quraishī,⁴ may God sanctify his holy resting place, having bared his venerable head presented himself at the Court of the Sultān and made intercession, the Sultān pardoned the offences of the people.

Verse.

From the earliest times of Adam till the days of the king.
Great men have shewn mercy⁵ mean men have committed faults.

And the Sultān having bestowed Multān upon Qiwāmu-l-Mulk Maqbūl retraced his steps, but after some little time⁶ having turned

¹ Barnī makes no mention of this occurrence. Firishṭa gives an account of it, but calls the rebel Bahāu-d-dīn and states that he was governor of Sāgur. The year assigned by him to this revolt in which Bahāu-d-dīn Gurshasp was defeated is 739 A.H. twelve years later than Badāoni's date, according to Briggs (I. 418). A reference to the original text, however, shews that the date given by Firishṭa is the same as Badāoni's date. *Firishṭa* Bo. Text I. 241.

² MS. (A) باغي شد.

³ MS. (A) بمقابله آمده و مقاتله نموده.

⁴ *Āin-i-Akbārī* (Jarrett), III. 365.

⁵ MS. (A) عفو بود و.

⁶ MS. (A) چند گاهی.

against him despatched Belizād to replace him, but Shāhū Lodi the Afghān¹ killed Belizād and broke out into open rebellion. The Sultān on his arrival at Dihlī found that Shāhū had fled into the hill country,² so he turned back.

And in the year 729 A H (1329 A D.) Narmā Shīrīn the Mughal³ the brother of Qutlugh Khwaja the Mughal King of Khurasan who had formerly invaded Hindūstān, having entered the Dihlī territory⁴ with an enormous army, reduced the majority of the forts and proceeded slaughtering and taking captives from Lalor and Samāna and Indara to the borders of Badāon, and when the victorious troops of Islām came up with him, he retreated as they advanced, the Sultān pursued him⁵ as far as the frontier of Kalanor and defeated him, and leaving the destruction of that fort in the hands of Mujirū d Din Abūrijā returned in the direction of Dihlī. At this time the Sultān formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Doab it was advisable to double the taxes levied on that country, he also instituted numbering their cattle and a house census, and other vexations and oppressive measures, which were the cause of the complete ruin and desolation of the country,⁶ the weak were utterly destroyed and the strong laid the foundations of rebellion. The Sultān gave orders for the remainder of the inhabitants of Dihlī and the adjoining towns to start for Daulatabad, caravan by caravan, the houses were to be purchased from their owners, and the price of them to be paid in cash out of the public treasury, in addition to which large rewards were to be offered. By these means Daulatabad was populated, and Dihlī

¹ MS (A) افغان The text reads انغان

² The printed text has در کوه پانه but MS (A) کوهايه The text is correct

³ MS (A) معل The spelling معل adopted throughout the printed text is incorrect but is preserved as it is the commonly accepted form. Mr Ney Elias in his introduction to the translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (p 73 note 1) says that it takes a sharp ear to distinguish the exact pronunciation of the word as spoken by a true Mongol. It sounds as often Mo ghul or Mo ol as Mongol. It has he says always the vowel sound of o and never that of u which is a foreign introduction.

⁴ MS (A) آمد

⁵ MS (A) تعاقب او نمود و

⁶ MS (A) omits آن

became so deserted that there was not left even a dog or a cat in the city. The following verse describes its condition :—

Verse.

There where the heart-ravishing one used to toy with her
friends in the garden,
The wolf and the fox had their home, and the rhinoceros
and vulture their abode.

229. This state of affairs also led to a diminution of the public funds. Among other sources of loss to the treasury was this that the Sultān enacted that the *muhar*¹ of copper should become current on an equal footing with the *muhar* of silver, and any one who shewed reluctance to receive it used to be instantly punished severely. This enactment led to many corrupt practices in the kingdom as a matter of course, and unscrupulous and contumacious rascals used everywhere in their own houses to set up mints and stamp coins,² and taking them into the cities used to purchase with them silver and horses, weapons and fine things, and thus rose to great wealth and dignity. But inasmuch as copper had no value as a currency in places at a distance and one *tanka* of gold rose to the value of fifty or sixty copper coins, the Sultān perceived the worthlessness of the copper coinage, and issued an edict to the effect that every one who had in his house a copper *tanka* should, if he brought them to the public treasury, receive for them golden *tankas* in equal value.³ The people

¹ Firishṭa does not use the word *muhar* مهر and it would appear here to have the meaning of "coin" in its general sense. The round *muhar* in Akbār's time was of the weight of eleven māshas and was worth nine rupees. (*Āin-i-Akbārī* I. 30). Barnī uses it in the same way as Badāonī. See Barnī. Calcutta text, p. 475, line 10 et seqq.

² MS. (A) omits the word مس but it seems probable that this illicit coining was mainly confined to copper. Barnī states that the Hindūs of every province coined krors and laks of copper coins, so also Firishṭa.

³ The Persiān text is : تنکهای زر برابر آن ببرد. This can hardly mean that for every copper *tanka* a golden *tanka* would be given, and yet the wording of the preceding line gives colour to this view. It runs as follows هر کس در خانه باشد "Every one who has in his house a copper *tanka*." Barnī's account is much the same, Firishṭa's is more explicit, but it is not clear whether the coins were exchanged at their relative metal value or their face value. It however is most probable that the copper *tanka* having

profited greatly by this arrangement, till at last copper became copper and silver silver, and those copper *tankas* were lying in heaps in Tughlaqābād as late as the time of Salṭān Mubārak Shāh according to the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, and had no more value than stones. God knows the truth.

And in the year¹ 738 A.H. (1337 A.D.) he despatched a force of eighty thousand² cavalry under eminent commanders to capture the mountain of Himāchal³ which stands between the country of Chin and Hindustān, and which they also call Qirāchal⁴ with orders to leave garrisons in each successive place so that the line of communications for transport and supplies might remain open and the road of return might be easy. After the entry of this army into this country, by reason of the peculiar features of that mountain, on which heavy clouds form and rain pours in torrents at the sound of men's voices and their shouts and the neighing of horses, in consequence also of the narrowness of the

been artificially pronounced equal in value to the silver *tanka*, was repurchased by the treasury at that same value so that the dislocation of the currency and its consequent disasters are easily intelligible. See Elliott III 240, Briggs Firishṭa I 415.

Although Briggs's translation leaves us in doubt as to this, the text of Firishṭa is perfectly clear on the subject and we see that these copper *tankas* were issued as tokens with an artificial value, and it was when the Salṭān found that the copper currency was distrusted by his people who found it was not received in foreign countries that he hit upon the expedient of offering to exchange the copper *tankas* for silver or gold *tankas* hoping thereby, as Firishṭa says, to rehabilitate the copper *tanka*, but the people were too wise for this and threw the whole stock genuine and counterfeit alike upon the Treasury which was thus drained of gold and silver. Firishṭa (Bo Ed p 239).

For a full account of this forced currency See Thomas *Pathan Kings* pp 239 et seqq.

¹ MS (A) در سنه

² Omit و Firishṭa says 100 000

³ Himāchal Snowy mountain. The Calcutta Text of Barni calls this mountain قوراحل misprint probably for قوراحل p 477 line 16, &c

⁴ Rashid ud Din in the *Jam' ul Tawarīkh* (Elliott, I 46) states. Besides these mountains there are others called Kalarchal (called also by the same author or in another passage Lārjal). The editor notes 'The mountains of Sirinor' Reinaud reads the name 'Kelardjek'. Ibn Batūta calls them 'Hātāchil' (Vol III 320). The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit *śchal* mountain. The first part may be the Turki word قرا signifying black; from the intense cold of such a snowy range.

paths and the scarcity of fodder, the patrols were not able to stand to their posts, and the hill tribes getting the upper hand drove back the army, and falling upon the rear of the force killed many of them with poisoned arrows and stone showers, and sending the most of them to the eternal world enabled them to attain martyrdom, taking the rest prisoners.¹ For a long time they wandered helplessly among the mountains, and those who escaped after countless hardships the Sultān visited with condign punishment.² And after this calamity so great an army never gathered round the Sultān and all that money expended in their pay was thrown away.

230.

And in the year 739 A.H. (1338 A.D.) Bahrām Khān Governor of Sunargānw died, and Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn Silāḥdār became rebellious and assumed the title of Sultān, and having fought with Qadr Khān the ruler of Lakhnautī in conjunction with Malik Ḥusamu-d-Dīn Abūrijā the *Mustaufī*, and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Yahyā *A'zamu-l-Mulk*, was defeated, and all his sources of grandeur, his treasure and his retainers fell into the hands of Qadr Khān; and when the rainy season had arrived the horses belonging to Qadr Khān died, and he had collected much money³ and had stored it up in heaps in his own house with the object of presenting it to the Sultān. In spite of all that Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn Aburjā could do to dissuade him from amassing wealth and inducing men to covet it and thus leading to disorder, Qadr Khān would not listen, till eventually the very result predicted by Ḥusamu-d-Dīn ensued; Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn returned, and the soldiery of Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn joined him and killed their own master, and all the money fell to the lot of Fakhrū-d-Dīn. The absolute control of Sunargānw was given him; he appointed one Mukhlis a servant of his, to Lakhnautī, and 'Alī Mubārak Inspector of Troops; Qadr Khān put Mukhlis to death and aspired at independence, writing diplomatic letters to the court of the Sultān. The Sultān appointed Malik Yūsuf, but he died by the way, and the Sultān, having other affairs to attend to, omitted to send any one else to that district.⁴

¹ Barnī states that the Hindūs of Qarājāl seized the passes behind the advancing force, and that of all the force only ten sowars returned. (p. 478). See also Elliott, III. 242.

² According to Firishtā all those who escaped were put to death by order of the Sultān.

³ MS. (A) omits *و مال*.

⁴ MS. (A) کسی دیگر بان جانب.

At this juncture 'Alī Mubarak by reason of the enmity he bore to Fakhru d Dīn, displayed the insignia of royalty, and assumed the title of Sultān 'Alāu d-Dīn, and Malik Ilyas Hājī who was a man of family and retinue, after a few days put 'Alau-d-Dīn to death with the assistance of some of the Amīrs and Malikhs of Lakhnauti, and himself assumed the title of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn

231.

And in the year 741 A.H. (1340 A D) Sultān Muḥammad having left with the object of reducing Sunagāuw, seized Fakhru-d-Dīn and brought him prisoner to Lakhnauti, where he put him to death and returned Shamsu d-Dīn became absolute monarch of that region, and the kingly power and authority over that country descended for a lengthened period in the hands of his sons,¹ and never again returned to the possession of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil.

And in the year 742 A.H. (1341 A D) Saiyyid Hasan Kaithali the father of Malik Ibrāhīm a feoffee of the Sultān, who was generally known as Hasan Kūngū, and who eventually obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan with the title of 'Alāu d Dīn Bahman Shāh, fermented a revolt in Ma'bar on the grounds of the severity of the Sultān's governors, and the innovations introduced in the laws, and the number of executions,² and gained over to his own party nearly all the great men of Dīhli who had been appointed to that district He put to death the leaders of the opposite party The Sultān proceeded from Lakhnauti to Deogir for the purpose of quelling that disturbance and on his arrival at Jilang was taken ill, and was forced to return by uninterrupted marches to Dīhli He left Qutlugh Khān in Daulatabād, thus the rebellion in Ma'bar remained unchecked and Hasan's influence increased rapidly

And in the year 743 (1342 A D) they put to death by treachery Malik Halājan and Kul Chander Khakhar and Malik Tātai Khaid, the Governor of Lāhore,³ and when Khwājā Jahān came up against them,⁴ they came out to do battle with him, but the scoundrels suffered a severe defeat and were sorely punished

¹ MS (A) reads تا مدتی مدید در عهد فرزند او بود

² MS (A) has not the word عام simply قتل او

³ MS (A) has کل چدر and کشته The text has کشتند which seems preferable

⁴ MS (A) omits نامزد شد and reads رقت

232. And in the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.) the Sultān passing through Sanām and Sāmāna gave orders to the Saiyyids and all the Muslims in opposition to the advice of Ḥasan Kānkā, for a general massacre, but he kept the chief men of those districts in their posts, conveyed them to the suburbs of the city, and conferred upon them villages and districts, and bestowing many rich robes of honour, and purses of gold gave them a place of abode there; and when a general famine arose he issued an edict that any one who wished should proceed to the eastern part of Hindustān and spend the days of dearth and scarcity there, without let or hindrance, and in the same way if any person wishing to give up living in Daulatābād should return to Dihlī, no one would molest him. Moreover in that year so many people arrived in Hindustān from the countries of *Khurāsān* and *‘Irāq* and *Samarqand*, in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultān, that hardly any other races were to be seen in that country.

And in this year Ḥājī Sa‘īd Ṣarṣarī¹ arrived from Egypt bearing the diploma of the *Khalifah*² with a banner and a robe of honour, conferring upon the Sultān the title of *Nāṣir-i-Amīr-i-Mū‘minīn* from the *Khalifah* of the *Abbāsides* who were still extant. The Sultān ordered decorations and illuminations in the city, and proceeded with all the *Shaikhs* and Saiyyids and his retainers to give him an honourable reception, then, dismounting, he kissed the feet of Ḥājī Sa‘īd and joined his retinue. He then re-established the Friday prayers and the ‘*Īd*, which all this time he had kept in abeyance waiting for the orders and sanction of the *Khalifah*, he read the *Khutbah* in the name of the *Khalifah*, and struck out the names of those kings who had not received authority from the *Dār-ul-Khilāfah*, with the exception of Sultān Maḥmūd. He then gave largesse³ of money and valuables to such an extent that his treasury became exhausted, he also des-

¹ The printed text reads مصري, but MS. (A) has مصري. So has also Barnī, Cal. text p. 492, l. 10, and 13. (See also Elliott, III. 249).

Barnī gives a good account of the events preceding this mark of favour from the *Khalifah*, a course of fulsome adulation seems to have been then, as in more modern times, the royal road to favour.

² Al Ḥākim bi Amr Illāhi Abūl ‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ul Mustakfi billāhi, who was proclaimed in 741 A.H. For an account of these Egyptian *Khalifahs*, see Thomas’ *Pathan Kings*, pp. 257 and seqq. Also D’Herbelot.

³ MS. (A) نثار.

patched to Egypt a precious jewel, the like of which he had not in his treasury, by the hands of Hajī Barq'āi, with other rarities and presents, and having become, in his own opinion the rightful Khalifah, and keeping constantly placed before him the Qur'ān¹ and the honorary presents and the patent of the Khalifah, would issue commands as though he were the Khalifah, and used to say 233 "The Khalifah says" thus or that. He compelled the people to profess allegiance to the Khalifah, and went to Sarkadawāri which is in the vicinity of Shamsābād, and on two or three occasions² in Barūj and Kanbhāyat also³ he received patents from the Khalifah, and a second time the Mahdūdī Baghdādī⁴ came to visit him, and the Sultān went on foot to Pālam to receive him, and when he saw him from afar off he advanced to meet him, and seated him upon the throne beside himself and made over to him without reservation, the city of Kili⁵ with the garden and the palace and all the buildings.

And in the year 745 A. H. (1344 A. D.) Malik Nizāmu-l-Mulk governor of Karra, raised a rebellion, Shahr-u-llah the brother of 'Ainu l Mulk brought up an army against him from Oudh and took him prisoner, but the rebellion was quelled. Then Shihābu d-dīn Sultan waxed riotous in Bidar, and Qutluḡ Khān was despatched against him, and Shihābu d-dīn coming out with his son to do battle was besieged in the fortress, and Qutluḡ Khān inducing him to come out by promises of quarter, sent him to the royal presence.

And in the year 746 A. H. (1345 A. D.) 'Alī Sher sister's son to Zafar Khān 'Ala'ī gained possession of Gulbarga⁶ in strong force, having put to death the ruler of Bidar, and taking much spoil,

¹ MS (A) reads مصحف مشارق. All MSS read مشارق which has no intelligible meaning. We must read here مشارب in the sense of 'honours,' i.e., the banner and robe of honour sent by the Khalifah to him.

² MS (A) omits دیگر نیز.

³ MS (A) نیز. Broach and Cambay. *Hunter Imp Gaz*, III 101.

⁴ Ghiasu d-dīn Muhammad a son of a great grandson of the Khalif of Baghdad Al Mustanşir billahī (Thomas P. K. D. 257 note 1).

⁵ A full account of this is given by Ibn Batuta (Paris Edn. iii 258 and seq.) who writes إعطاء جميع مدينة سيدي إقطاعاً. He gave him in fief the city of Sirī Barnī (Calcutta text p. 496) says وکوشک سيدي و تمامي محصور درون حصار سيدي.

⁶ MS (A) See *Imp Gaz*, VIII 332.

fought with Qutlugh Khān, but was defeated and obliged to retreat to the fortress of Bīdar where he shut himself up. Qutlugh Khān however took him also prisoner, and sent him to Sarkdawārī which was the camp of the Sultān's army. The Sultān in the first instance sent the captives to Ghaznī in exile, but afterwards recalled them thence and put them all to death.

234.

And in the year 747 A.H. (1346 A.D.) at the time when the Sultān had made Sarkdawārī his camp, 'Ainu-l-Mulk arrived at the Court, bringing from Zafarābād and Oudh much property and rarities of great value as presents; then the Sultān came to the conclusion that it was advisable to recall Qutlugh Khān from the Dakkan, and send 'Ainu-l-Mulk to replace him. 'Ainu-l-Mulk got some idea into his head, and fled by night from Sarkdawārī and crossing the river Ganges made for Oudh, and his brother Shahrullāh laid hands upon certain of the elephants and horses¹ belonging to the king, which had been left behind to graze, and carried them off. The Sultān went in pursuit of them as far as Qanauj, and 'Ainu-l-Mulk, at the instigation of his brothers and a party of the followers of Malik Firoz Nāib Barbak, who had been placed in charge of the elephants and horses, crossed the river Ganges and coming over to this side² attacked the army of the Sultān, and like the thieves and *Gawārs* (of India)³ took to the woods and fought on foot, but not being able to stand against the elephants and archers of the king took to flight,⁴ and Shahrullāh and his other brother together with the majority of the *sirdārs* of 'Ainu-l-Mulk were drowned, and the remainder fell by the swords of the soldiers, and the fugitives were taken prisoners by the *Gawārs*, who having found 'Ainu-l-Mulk alive took him on their shoulders⁵ and brought him bareheaded⁶ to the court and gave him a few days respite,⁷ and the Sultān in consideration of his excellent

¹ MS. (A) omits *را*.

² MS. (A) طرف.

³ MS. (A) omits *هند*.

⁴ MS. (A) نمودند.

⁵ The text reads *برلاشته برداشته* and so does also MS. (A). It seems probable however that this is an erroneous reading due to the repetition of *برداشتنه* in the original copy.

⁶ MS. (A) reads *برهنه* naked.

⁷ Barnī entirely omits all reference to the events here recorded. The *Gawārs* are a race of gypsies in India according to Steingass. I can find no mention of them in Sherring's *Hindu Castes*, nor in Elliott's *Tribes of the N. W.*

services gave him his freedom, and in accordance with his former custom treated him well, and giving him a district sent him back to Dihli, then he recalled Qutluḡ Khān from the Dakkan, but inasmuch as Qutluḡ Khān had reduced that country to excellent order and had gained the good will of the people, his recall was the cause of great discontent (and disaffection)¹ and 'Aziz Khumār² who was one of the *canaille*, proceeding to Mālwa put to death many centurions (or Amirs of a hundred) which is the meaning of the word *Yāzbashī*³ in accordance with the Sultān's orders, and thence arose many insurrections

And in the year 748 A.H (1347 A.D.) the captains of hundreds, stirred up rebellion and sedition in Gujrat against Muqbil the servant of Khwaja Jahān who was *nāib vazir* of Gujrat, and was bringing treasure to the Court, and attacked him by night, getting possession of the treasure and horses and property belonging to the king. The Sultān arrived at Gujrat with the object of quelling this rebellion, and sent some of the trustworthy Amirs as for instance Malik 'Alī Sarjāndar, and Aḥmad Lāchin to Daulatabād to bind the Amirs of hundreds who were there and bring them to Court. As soon as Malik Aḥmad Lāchin arrived at the pass of Manikganj, the Amirs of hundreds in their alarm⁴ came to a common understanding, and put Malik Aḥmad Lāchin to death, Aziz Khumar who had gone from Gujrat to oppose the Amirs of hundreds of Dabhoi⁵ and Baioda, on coming face to face with the insurgents lost his head,⁶ fell from his horse and was taken prisoner. This news had reached the Sultan and had augmented his wrath considerably. And after the defeat of Muqbil and the murder of 'Aziz, the Amirs of hundreds waxed bold, and sent for their families and relations from all directions, and with one consent turned against the Sultan⁷ and having captured the fortress of Daulatabad from the the governors of Malik 'Alam took possession of it, and raising

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¹ MS (A) omits وقصور ² MS (A) عزيز حمار Aziz Hmiar

³ نور باشليغ Commandant de cent hommes (Pavet de Courteille)

⁴ MS (A) omits the words حان حويش

⁵ MS (A) The text is wrong here Dabhoi. See Tieff I 372 also map, Vol III see also Hunter, *Imp Gaz* IV 76, and Bayley, *History of Gujrat*

⁶ دست و پا گم کرده (Lit.) Had lost his hands and feet

⁷ The printed text reads طالبند مير سلطان which is meaningless MS (A) reads از سلطان and this seems the correct reading

the rebel, after the arrival of the Sultān at Gujrāt ventured a second time to fight with him and was again defeated, and giving himself up to brigandage roamed about from place to place, the Sultān however continued to pursue him and followed him wherever he went. And in this expedition the Sultān having sent for Malik Fīroz from Dihli attached him to his Court, and¹ in this year Malik Gir the son of Malik Qibāl Khālifatī, to whom the Sultān had delegated the control of all his important affairs, and on whose behalf he had written a letter expressing submission to the Egyptian Khālifah and had sent it by the hand of Hājī Barq'ī, died, and Ahmād Aiyaz, who is also called Khwāja i-Jahān, and Malik Qabūl Qiwāmu-l-Mulk were carrying on the government in Dihli. Towards the end of the reign of Muhammad, disaffection and rebellion, mischief and sedition became increasingly evident day by day,² so that if he turned his attention to curing one evil, another was not wanting to supply its place,³ and matters were past all remedy,⁴ and the glory⁵ of the kingdom, and prosperity⁶ of the country was entirely subverted. Tyranny supplanted equity, and infidelity flourished in place of Islam. There were many reasons for this, which by their co-operation led to ruin and dissension, and the decline of the kingdom. These causes are given in detail in the original history⁷ the *Fīroz Shāhi*, and also in the *Mubārak Shāhi*. The results are here given in brief arranged under seven heads. *Firstly* — the greater part of the people and inhabitants of the towns and districts were

1 MS (A) تا بدرگاه پیوست و

2 MS (A) omits چندان

3 This is the reading of MS (A) دیگر از دست نبرفت

4 The printed text has اصلاح MS (A) reads correctly صلاح

5 MS (A) ارانی

6 Omit MS (A) آمان و

7 There are two histories known as *Tarikh i Fīroz Shāhi* one by Zian d Dīn Barnī (*Biblioth Indica* 1862) and the other by Shams i Siraj 'Afīf (*Biblioth Indica* 1891) (Elliott III 269)

MS (A) reads (as does the printed text) درتواریخ اصل but the better reading seems to be that given without reference to the authority, in the footnote to the printed text در اصل تاریخ This would distinguish the *Tarikh i Fīroz Shāhi* of Barnī as the original history of that name. The *Tarikh i Mubārak Shāhi* is that of Yafya ibn Ahmād (See Elliott IV, pp 6 and seqq)

ruined by the rapine of Tarma Shirīn, and never again recovered their prosperity. *Secondly*.—The tribute to be paid by the inhabitants of the Doāb, which district comprises some of the chief towns of Hindustān, was increased from ten per cent. to twenty per cent., besides which there was the numbering of the cattle; and the house-census, and other taxes ¹ over and above these, and ² in this way the more needy portion of the people left their property and cattle and attached themselves ³ to the richer folk, while the wealthier subjects plotted rebellion and sedition and took to highway robbery, and pillaged the country in all directions ⁴ so that from all these causes the revenue of the country began to dwindle.⁵ *Thirdly*.—An universal famine, and (consequent) dearness of grain, for it so happened that for seven whole years not a single drop of rain fell from heaven. It should be remembered that this statement has been copied as it stands from the *Mubārakshāhī*, but I cannot say whether the author of that work has been guilty of exaggeration or if in reality the facts were as stated.⁶ *Fourthly*.—the desertion of Dihlī, and the population of Daulatābād, because after Dihlī was laid waste they brought people from the towns and other places into that city and populated it, and then again removed them thence to Daulatābād; so that all their hereditary estates and family holdings, and all the property and effects⁷ they possessed were wasted and dissipated, so that they never saw anything more of them: *Fifthly*.—The massacre of the eighty thousand cavalry in a body in the hills of Himāchal, and the consequent desolation of their families. *Sixthly*.—The daily occurrence of rebellion and mutiny in every place where people were in dread of their lives, some of them fell in battle but the greater number were put to death with their families upon false charges, so that in every way that wretched country was being ruined. *Seventhly*.—The blood thirsti-

¹ The word اخراجات is apparently used here in this unusual sense.

² MS. (A) و باین طریق.

³ MS. (A) می پیوستند.

⁴ تخریب ولایات می کردند و MS. (A).

⁵ بهر حال محصول ولایت کم شدن گرفت و خراب شد MS. (A) inserts

میان دواب and omits ولایت.

⁶ The question of exaggeration admits of no doubt. Barnī a contemporary author lends no countenance to such a statement.

⁷ MS. (A) reads اشیا.

ness of the Sultān, and his system of Government of his people, which made Saiyyids, 'Ulamā, Shaikhs, ragamuffins and scoundrels, artisans,¹ peasants,² and soldiers, all alike in his eyes. Moreover there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his Civil Court a mound of dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were wearied out with their work of dragging (the wretched victims) and putting them to death in crowds. So that³ the people were never tired of rebelling nor the king of punishing (the rebels).⁴ At last the Sultān was at his wit's end what to do, but for all this he did not keep his foot out of the stirrup, nor did his sword rest from punishment, but all to no purpose, till the flood of sedition waxed violent, and the nobles of the kingdom by degrees grew⁵ feeble, at length disease overcame him, and the Sultān was freed from his people and the people from their Sultān.

Verse.

Of all the people of the world, although most of them
Are gone astray, and few of them are in the right path,
Do thou so live that when thou diest thou mayest escape
(punishment),
Not so that when thou diest the people may escape (thy
tyranny).

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They relate an extraordinary story of one of the irregular acts of the Sultān which was that he kept such strict watch over all matters involving punishment, that he used to keep four Muftis⁶ to whom he allotted quarters in the precincts of his own palace, and used to see that they kept to their appointed places,⁷ so that when any one who was arrested upon any charge, he might in the first place argue with the Muftis about his due punishment, so far as he was

¹ Whether we read *متحرفه* or *محترفه* this word is used in a very unusual sense. Its proper meaning is a tax levied upon artisans, but here it must mean the (*اهل حرفه*) artisans themselves.

² This again is not correctly used. It must be read *مزارع* but should be plural.

³ MS. (A) *و نه خلق بزقنه*

⁴ MS (A) *می کردند*.

⁵ MS (A) *خالص یافت*.

⁶ *مفتی* Mufti. The officer who assists the Qāzī or judge by supplying him with *fatuās* or decisions.

⁷ We should read here *جاے دادہ در منازل معین نگاہ داشته بود* MS. (A).

able,¹ and had said, Be very careful that you do not fail in the slightest degree by defect in speaking that which you consider right, because if any one should be put to death wrongfully and the oversight should have been on your side, the blood of that man will be upon your head. Then if after long discussion they convicted (the prisoner), even though it were midnight² he would pass orders for his execution,³ and if he himself found for conviction⁴ he would refer it to another meeting, and would endeavour to find a means of upsetting their arguments,⁵ and would come and make a speech, and when the Muftis were at a loss for a further argument, he would put (the prisoner) to death on the instant or else release him on the spot.

They say⁶ that one day Sultān⁷ Muḥammad wearing his shoes went on foot into the Court of Justice⁸ of Qāḍī Kamālū-d-Dīn Ṣadr-i-Jahān and said, The Shaiḫhzāda-i-Jāmi has called me a tyrant, send for him that he may substantiate his charge of tyranny against me, or, if he fails, that you may pronounce⁹ against him the sentence of such punishment according to law as the case may require. When the Shaiḫhzāda was summoned he confessed (to having said it) and the Sultān enquired (what his grounds were). He replied, every one whom you punish (with death) lawfully or unlawfully, that is your prerogative, but that you should hand over his wife and children to the executioners as you do, to do what they will with them, in what religion and under what sacred law do you find this ? The Sultān was silent and rose up from the Court,¹⁰ and ordered that the Shaiḫhzāda should be bound ; this order was carried out and he was put into an iron cage ; then he had him carried in that very way on the journey to Daulatābād on the back of an elephant. When he returned and arrived at Dihli, he brought him before the same Court,¹¹ and bringing him out of the cage gave orders in obedience to which the poor wretch was cut in two in his presence. From this it is clear that the Sultān was a mixture of opposites, and¹² for this reason his name has been handed

1 MS. (A) حسب مقدور.

2 MS. (A) omits آن متهم.

3 MS. (A) می اندیشید و.

4 MS. (A) omits محمد.

5 MS. (A) نماید.

6 MS. (A) omits قضا.

7 MS. (A) میبود.

8 MS. (A) و اگر خود الزام می یافت.

9 MS. (A) omits حکایت.

10 MS. (A) محکمه قضا.

11 MS. (A) omits قاضی.

12 MS. (A) و.

down in tradition, eye and even in some books also as "the Bloody" not as "the Just." There are many stories bearing upon this which I have heard, but to write or speak of them would lead me too far afield. So "Take example from it ye that are endowed with sight" ¹ In short ² after great havoc had been wrought in the affairs of the state by the excessive tyranny and oppression of the Sultān, which he however regarded as the essence of justice, and great breaches had been which the wise and learned were powerless to repair, ³ by reason of his various toils and his evil designs, the disease of Phthisis ⁴ found its way to his constitution; notwithstanding this he set himself to follow up Taghī, and in the

1 Qur'an, LIX 2 MS (A) مع القصة 3 MS (A) از اصلاح آن عاجز 4 MS (A)

4 یماری دق This name was given to any kind of hectic fever, most usually that arising from phthisical disease of the lung The following definition is from the *Bahrū l Jauhar*

حمى دق هي من تشبث الحرارة الخارجة عن الطبع بالأعضاء إلى صلبه خصوصاً القلب تعني وطوات البدن وإقيل هي حرارة عربية تحدث للبدن بواسطة حذر ثها في إعضائه .

The fever called "Diqq" is when the heat which arises from the constitution seizes upon the chief essential organs, especially the heart, and the moisture of the body disappears Another opinion is that this is an extraneous fever which attacks the body by means of its generation in some of its members.

The *Burhan-i Qat* states that it is called دق because it emaciates the body.

Sadīdī's account is as follows The fever حمى الدق is usually fatal, . . . It is either simple or complicated with putrid fever The signs of this complication are persistence of the fever, with an exacerbation on the day of the paroxysm of the putrid fever, shivering is also present The worst complication of all is (he says) when "diqq" is complicated with one of the fevers which require treatment by purges, because the treatment of "diqq" is the opposite to this

The pulse in uncomplicated "diqq" is hard, frequent, and slender The surface of the body is not very hot at the first feel, but after a few moments it feels scorching, hottest of all over the arteries, the heat increases especially in the face and upper parts of the body

Food should be nourishing Some unskilful physicians withhold food and kill the patient speedily Food should be moist and cooling If the fever passes on to the degree called دنول *danul* the pulse increases in hardness and tenacity, the eyes change and become covered with sordes, the cartilages of all the bones are prominent, the temples sink in, the skin of the forehead tightens, the skin loses its lustre, and has a dusty appearance, the eyelids become heavy, all this is the result of rapid dissolution, and the abundance of dryness and disappearance of the natural moisture There

hope of exterminating him set out for the kingdom of Thatha where ¹ Taghī had fled for safety; and ² in that expedition Qarghan Nāib of the king of Khurāsān sent Altūn Bahādur with five thousand cavalry to assist the Sultān. The Sultān's illness was at that time slightly less urgent ³ and when he arrived at Thatha he fasted on the day of the 'Āshūra,⁴ which was in the very middle of the hot season, and after breaking his fast he ate some fish, whereupon his illness returned, and on the twenty-first of Muḥarram in the year 752 H. (1351 A.D.) he took his way to the next world,⁵ the duration of his reign having been twenty-seven years.

also appears in the urinary excretion, oiliness and a scaly deposit; the nose becomes sharp, the hair grows long, and lice are of frequent occurrence on the body because of the excessive amount of exhalation. The abdomen falls in till it touches the backbone, the skin of the chest is also retracted, and the nails become long (اچذ بت الاظفار) then the diarrhoea recurs, the hair falls out and death occurs.

It will be observed that there is no mention here of any of the lung symptoms of Phthisis, all that we have described is a continued fever of remittent type running a moderately long course as is shewn by the symptoms described. No mention is made of any eruption, nor is diarrhoea apparently more than an intercurrent symptom appearing late in the disease.

This was probably one of the fevers so common in India for which for want of a better name "typho-malarial" has been suggested.

Probably the complication of "diqq" with "putrid fever" of which Sadīdī speaks was more comparable to the "enteric fever" of modern science. Sadīdī speaks elsewhere of three degrees of severity of this fever. The first is called "diqq" the second more severe is called *zabūl* and the most severe of all is called "*ḥashf*."

I have only been able to epitomise Sadīdī's account which will be found at pages 427-428 of his work. (*Al Mughnī fī Sharḥ il Mūjaz*).

۱ اندک روی بصحت نهاده بود MS. (A). ۲ MS. (A) و. ۳ MS. (A) بد آنجا ۱

4 "The 'Āshūra," is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram. It is the only day of Muḥarram observed by the Sunni Muslims, being the day on which it is said God created Adam and Eve heaven and hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, life and death. It is kept by the Sunnis as a fast." (Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 25).

5 On the banks of the Indus at fourteen *kos* from Thatha according to Barnī (Elliott, III. 265), but Badāonī states he had arrived at Thatha. Barnī states that he was taken ill thirty *kos* from Thatha where he had arrived on the 'ashūrā, thence he was carried ill as he was "for the second and third day until he came to within fourteen *kos* of Thatha." There he remained according to Barnī gradually growing worse and died on the 21st of Muḥarram.

When the Empire of justice arose with ease, like the sun.
The land of Hindustān came under his sway like that of 241

Khurāsūn;

A fortress like that of the *Haft Khwān*¹ he built of *Haft Jūsh*² which in loftiness

Would need the *Nasr-i-Tāir*³ to fly to its pinnacle inaccessible
as *Harumān*.⁴

So strong that it registered a vow to last till the Resurrection-day, but by reason of the vicissitudes of time, it became destroyed in many places like the web of a spider.

You will find nothing upon the top of its walls but the voice of the owl.

In its topmost garden you will see nothing by the ill-omened raven.

It befits the duration and pride of Empire that its condition should become in accordance with the words "God most High is far above all that the tyrants of men say of Him."⁵

And among the celebrated poets of the time of Sultān Muḥammad is Badar *Shāshi*⁶ who wrote a *Shāhnāma* in his honour, of some thousand verses⁷ and for the very reason that it is a history in poetry it is a valuable acquisition.

SULTĀN FIROZ SHĀH IBN MALIK RAJAN

Who was the brother's son of Sultān *Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq* and uncle's son of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil, in accordance with the

¹ *هفت خوان* *Haft Khwān*. The capture of the Brazen fortress of Daz was the final stage of the seven great labours of Isfandiyār known by the name of the *Haft-Khwān*. See *Shāh Namah* (Atkinson), pp. 407 to 426, also *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* s. v.

² *هفت جوش* *Haft Jūsh*. These are seven metals which are melted together to form an alloy of special value; the seven are, iron, arsenic (antimony, *Steingass*) lead, gold, tin, copper, and silver. *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*. According to the *Ghiyāsu-l-Iughāt*, it also contains quicksilver and brass.

³ *نسر طائر* *Nasr-i-Tāir*. The constellation called also *عقاب* 'Uqāb. The Eagle.

⁴ *هرمان* *Harumān*, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt. *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*.

⁵ Cf. Qur'ān XXVII. 64.

⁶ See page 296, note 6.

⁷ This looks as though we should read *قريب بیست هزار بیت* nearly twenty thousand verses. Both MSS. however read the same as the printed text which is here followed though it is an uncommon construction.

authority appointing him the heir-apparent of Sultān Muḥammad ascended the throne of sovereignty and state, by the consent of the chiefs of the Shaiḥs and the leading Amīrs and Vazīrs in the aforesaid year, in the vicinity of Thatha. It is said that the Makhdūmzāda-i-Abbāsi of Baghdād, and Shaiḥ Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī *may God sanctify their sacred resting places* were¹ the cause of the allegiance thus sworn to Sultān Fīroz, and it is currently reported that [Makhdūm Shaiḥ Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī *may God sanctify his resting place*]² had secretly made Malik Fīroz King during the absence of Sultān Muḥammad. Some of the Muftis informed the Sultān of this, and his orders were that those two, master and disciple³ were to be taken in confinement from Dihli and brought to the camp. This was carried out,⁴ and Malik Fīroz in some way or other gained over the guards, and made his way, just as he was, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī to Shaiḥ Badru-d-Dīn who was one of the descendants of Shaiḥ Jamālu-d-Dīn of Hānsī⁵ *may God sanctify their resting-places*. That holy man exclaimed "Great God! a man has been made prisoner and taken off to be Sultān, and he wots not of it"! When they arrived⁶ at the camp of the Sultān in the vicinity of Thatha and the tidings of the arrival of these two holy men reached him⁷ he gave orders that they were to be put to death the instant of their arrival, and with that he lapsed into a state of intoxication. A son of his had gone on a hunting expedition, accordingly when the guards saw⁸ this state of affairs, they liberated the holy Shaiḥ and the Sultān;⁹ then Sultān Fīroz by the consent of the nobles raised the banner of sovereignty and got the Sultān's son out of the way by some crafty scheme, and

¹ MS. (A) reads بیعت نمودند for بیعت بودند (Text).

² The words between square brackets are omitted from MS. (A).

³ The reading here is uncertain. The printed text has پیر و مرید را while MS. (A) has مرید و مراد را. The latter has the more genuine ring though it is an uncommon expression.

⁴ MS. (A) بیاورند. The text reads بیاورند.

⁵ MS. (A) که یکی از اولاد شیخ جمال الدین هانسی قدس الله سرهما بود.

⁶ MS. (A) رسیدند اند.

⁷ MS. (A) خبر این دو عزیز باو رسیده.

⁸ MS. (A) دیدند اند.

⁹ MS. (A) گذاشته اند. By Sultān, Fīroz Shāh must be here meant.

after that¹ he had returned to Dihli he made the *pargana* of Chaurasi in the district of Hānsi a present to the monastery and rest house of Shaikh Badru-d Dīn, whom I have mentioned. This is what I have heard—God alone knows the real truth. They also say that Sultān Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh took the reverend Shaikh under his protection, till one day the Shaikh, may God sanctify his resting place, tied a knot upon one of the Sultan's robes and said "Nasīru d-Dīn fastens and God opens" and that very day the Sultān died

Verse

The only kingdom which sorrows not for the affliction of its decline,

Hear my words freely spoken, is the kingdom of the darvesh 243

However this may be, the Sultān Fīroz at the outset of his reign issued this order that the Mughuls who had obtained influence over the soldiery should be brought apart from the camp, and inasmuch as their mutinous conduct had passed all bounds, the Sultān himself saw to their safe custody, and punishing these Mughuls effectually put a stop to their interfering with the discipline of the army

Verse

Far better than giving a Mughul a hint to plunder

Is it that you should rejoice him with a sight of Paradise

Then he brought his army in safety into security, and proceeding by way of Sīwistān made for Dihli by continuous marches, and Ahmad Aiyaz, styled *Khawaja i Jahān*, who in the absence² of the Sultān had urged the claims of an obscure child³ to the

¹ MS (A) بعد از آنکه

² MS (A) در عیادت

³ Shams i Siraj 'Afif gives the "true account of this transaction just as he heard it from Kishwar Khān, son of Kishlu Khan Bahram, one of the servants at the Court"

He asserts the *Khawaja i Jahan* who was on terms of great intimacy with Fīroz Shāh received false tidings that Tatar Khan and the *Amir Hajib* Fīroz Shāh were missing and either dead or prisoners. After the days of mourning were completed, the *Khawaja*, believing this report to be correct, placed a son of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh upon the throne and thus through adverse fate committed a blunder" Elliott III 279-280

throne, and had given him the title of Ghīyāsu-d-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh, appointing himself Vakīl, after considerable argument,¹ and much correspondence, by reason of his helplessness and dejection, by the mediation of Ashraf-ul-Mulk and the other nobles and grandees, came with bared head, casting his turban on his neck, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī, and had an interview with the Sultān, who washed out the writing of his fault with the water of forgiveness, and made him over to the Kotwāl of Hānsī, and as for the party who had been his companions in this faction and opposition, he dispersed them all in different directions. At Sarsutī tidings arrived of the birth of Shāhzāda Fath Khān,² whose son eventually became Tughlaq Shāh, and the news of the death³ of Taghī Tāghī also reached him there from Gujrāt; and on the second of Rajab in the aforesaid year, he graced the throne of Dihlī by his accession and made a fresh distribution of appointments.

4. And in the year 753 H. (1352 A.D.) he went to the Sirmūr hills for the purpose of relaxation and sport, and returned thence, and in the month of Rajab of this year Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muhammad Shāh, was born.

And in the year 754 H. (1353 A.D.) he returned from Kalānōr whither he had gone on a hunting expedition, and built a lofty building on the banks of the river Sarsutī and [gave it to Shāikh Ṣadru-d-Dīn Multānī, *may God sanctify his resting place*, the Shāikh u-l-Islām] and Malik Qubūl ⁴ Nāib Vazīr he made Khān-i-Jahān,⁵ and at the close of this year he went to Lakhnautī with the intention of putting down the rebellion of Hājī Ilyās who had assumed the title of Shamsu-d-Dīn. He accordingly took refuge in the fort of Ikdāla,⁶ which is the strongest of the forts

1 Cf. Elliott, III. 285.

2 MS. (A) که پسرش آخر تغلق شاه بود. Sirāj 'Afif tells us that he founded a town here and called it Fathābād in honour of this event. Elliott, III. 283.

3 MS. (A) قتل طغی.

4 See note 6, page 254.

5 In MS. (A) this sentence precedes the one in square brackets.

6 Ikdāla. Regarding this fortress, see J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 244. See Elliott, III. 294. It was afterwards called Azādpur by Firoz Shāh. (Elliott, III. 297).

of Bangala, and after a desultory¹ defence fought for a very short time, and threw his elephants and his material of war, with his servants and retainers to the winds, and all of them fell into the hands of the Sultān who, having made peace with him because of the rainy season,² retraced his steps

And in the year 755 H (1354 A D) having crossed by the ford of Maukṣpūr he arrived at Dīhli and built Fīrozabad³ on the banks of the Jamna And in the year 756 H (1355 A D) he

¹ This appears to be the meaning MS (A) omits سلطنت and has در آمد
see also Thomas Pathan Kings, p 294 and note

² بـشکال *buṣḥkal* in M Pavet de Courteilles Turki Dictionary this word is given پوشه کال *puṣḥakal* or پوشال *puṣḥal* Saison des pluies He gives three instances of its use from the *Bihernamah*

³ Fīrozabad This must not be confounded with the Fīrozabad which arose from the change of name of Panduah, see Elliott, III 295, and Panduah, *Imp Gaz* Vol XI

This Fīrozabad (see J A S B, 1870) was situated five *kos* (ten miles) from Dīhli, and included according to Shams Sīraj 'Afīf eighteen places, the *qasba* (townships) of Indarpat and others a list of which will be found in Elliott, III 303 At page 298 will also be found an account of the founding of the city of Hissar (Hīṣar Fīrozah) and of the construction of two canals leading to it one from the Sutlej and the other from the Jumna The modern representation of the latter canal which was called Rajiwā is found in the Western Jumna Canal passing through Karnal (see *Hunter's Imp Gaz*, Vol VII 258 for an account of this canal) The canal leading from the Sutlej was called Alagh Khānī (Ulugh Khānī) In modern maps there is a trace of this canal but it is called the Jureah canal which is probably the word Rajiwā converted and applied in error to this canal Rennell's map (Tieff Vol III) shews the supposed canal of Fīroz Shāh, and it is evident from our author's statement that this canal was commenced not from the Hissar end but from Dīpalpur which lay at the junction of the Bias and Sutlej on the banks of the Bias and passed south east near Fatlabad if not actually through it to join the river Jahjar, which in Rennell's map is called the Jidjer its nearest point measured from Dīpalpur being exactly 100 miles (forty eight *kroh*) on this map, whereas the town of Jhajar Lat 28° 16' N Long 77° 42 15" E is 200 miles (*Hunter's Imp Gaz*, Vol VII 195) (The river Jahjar flowed south-east through Fatehpur joining the Jumna near Etawah) For this reason it appears likely that the canal was led not to Jhajar but into the river Jahjar as above stated (See Bo Firishtah Text I 263)

Shams Sīraj 'Afīf makes no mention of Dīpalpur in connection with any canal and there is one difficulty in his account as he says that both the canals, the Rajiwah and Ulugh Khānī, were conducted through the vicinity of

went to Dīpālpūr and bringing a canal from the river Satlaj¹ led it as far as the Jahjar which is forty-eight *kroh* from there.

In the year 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) he conducted a stream from the river Jamna from the vicinity of Mandūi (Mandilī) and
245. Sarūr,² and having led seven other canals into it took it to Hānsī

Karnāl. If this was so the "supposed canal of Fīroz Shāh" in Rennell's map cannot be the Ulugh Khānī. His words are as follows:—

دهانه این هردو جوی از اتصال کرنال بیرون آورده میدان هشتاد کروه کروه
در شهر حصار فیروزه برده -

Dahāna-i īn har do jū az ittisāl i karnāl bīrūn āwarda miyān i hashtād kroh kroh dar shahr i Hīṣar Fīrūza burda.

It is not to be supposed that Fīroz Shāh would take his canal from Dīpālpūr to Karnāl when his objective was Hissār; we have also Badāoni's clear statement that a canal was brought from the Sutlej and led as far as the Jahjar, this canal would coincide with the line of that shewn in Rennell's map, but not with that of Shams-i-Sirāj.

The canal mentioned in the next paragraph is evidently the one to which Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif refers (Elliott, III. 299-300), although it is not very evident what the exact course of this canal was: I can find no trace of any places named Mandūi (Mandilī) or Surūr anywhere in the maps, while Rās mentioned here by Badāoni must be what 'Afif calls Great Larās, as he states that it was in the neighbourhood of Great Larās that Sulṭān Fīroz built the city of Hīṣar Fīroza. (Elliott, p. 299). Rennell (memoir p. 72, quoting from Dow I. 327 has Beraisen, which is a mistaken reading of bi Rāsain in the original, that is to say the two Rāses, Great Larās and Little Larās.

It would seem that there were in all three canals to Hīṣar Fīroza, one from Dīpālpūr to Hissār and on to the Jahjar, this was brought from the Sutlej. A second from the Jumna as far as Karnāl (Rajīwah). A third from the Sutlej as far as Karnāl (Ulugh Khānī). At Karnāl according to 'Afif's account these two last joined. The only way this can have been possible is by the courses of the Sutlej and Jumna being very different from their present courses or even from the beds of these rivers in 1782 when Rennell made his map.

By bringing the Sutlej further south-east near to the course of the Ghaggar say near to Thanesar, we should have a point from which we can understand that it would have been advantageous to bring water from both the Sutlej and Jumna viā Karnāl.

See Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, 1833, p. 105 and 1840, p. 688.

See also Thomas' Pathān Kings, 294 and notes.

¹ MS. (A) ستلج.

² I cannot identify these places. Firīshṭa (Bo. Text I. 262) says Mandawī and Sirmūr, MS. (A) reads Mandilī and Sardar.

and thence to Rās¹ where he built a fortress which he called Hīsar Fīroza, and dug² a spacious reservoir beneath the palace which was in that fortress, and filled it with water from the canal, he also led another stream from the canal of the Ghaghar underneath the fortress of Sarsuti, and from thence to Birni Khēra,³ and in the space between them he built a fortress⁴ and named it Fīrozābad⁵. At the end of this year on the occasion of the 'Īda z Zahā a robe of honour arrived for the Sultān from the Khalīfah Al-Hakīm bi amrillāhi Abūl Fath Abū Bakr ibn Abīl Rabī' Suleimān⁶ from the Darul Khilafat of Egypt, with a patent conferring upon him the whole of Hindustān and⁷ in this same year messengers from Hājī Ilyas the ruler of Lakhnauti, having arrived bearing splendid presents and offerings, were distinguished with countless favours and kindnesses, after which they returned, and it was ordered that in return for these presents (handsome) elephants⁸ should be sent. The whole of Hindustān was now in possession of Sultan Fīroz with the exception of Lakhnauti which was held by Hājī Ilyas,⁹ who had come to terms with the Sultan,¹⁰ and with the exception also of the Deccan, which, after the death of Sultan Muhammad, had come into the possession of Hasan Kangu.

¹ See page 326 continuation of page 325, note 3 Briggs. Firishṭa calls it Raseen I should be Rasain, the two Rases, i.e. Great Larās and Little Laras, Elliott, III 298

² MS (A) کاوت

³ MS (A) the text reads شرعی کھرا Sarsuti is shown in Rennell's map (Tieff III) as lying southeast of Karnal Birni Khēra I cannot trace Firishṭa Bo Text I p 263 reads نہر سر کھترہ ba nahr : Sarkhatra Compare Rennell's memoir, pp 72 73

⁴ MS (A) بنا فرمودہ

⁵ دروز آباد نام کرد At the village of Gawin on the banks of the Jamnā, Elliott, III 302

⁶ According to the list of Egyptian Khalīfahs given in Thomas' *Pathan Kings of Dīhlī* the Khalīfah in 757 A H was Abul Fath Al Mu tazid billahī Abu Bakr ibn ul Mustakfi billahī. He was the sixth of the Egyptian Khalīfahs. Al Mustakfi billāhi Abul Rabī' Suleimān ibn ul Hakīm bi amrillāhi was the third of this line

⁷ MS (A) adds و

⁸ MS (A) omits خوب

⁹ MS (A) reads کہ حاحی الیاس داشت

¹⁰ MS (A) مصالحہ کرد

246.

And in the year 759 H. (1358 A.D.) having gone to Samān, he appointed Malik Qabūl *Sarhardadār*¹ to proceed against² the Mughuls who had arrived on the frontier of Dipālpūr. The Mughuls upon hearing particulars of the Sultān's army turned back and went to their own country, and the Sultān returned to Dihli;³ and in this year the Sultān despatched some Arabian horses and foreign fruits⁴ with all kinds of choice presents by the hands of the messengers of Sultān *Shamsu-d-Din* of Lakhnauti who had arrived at his Court bearing many presents,⁵ and at Bihār they heard that the Sultān *Shamsu-d-Din* had died, and Sultān Sikandar his son had ascended the throne in the room of his father, so they sent the horses in accordance with orders to the Court at Bihār and conducted the messengers back to Kara.

247.

⁶ And in the year 760 H., the Sultān having formed the design of attacking Lakhnauti with a vast army, left *Khān-i-Jahān* in Dehli, and after deputing *Tātār Khān*, that is to say Malik *Tātār*, to proceed from *Ghaznīn* to Multān, set out and passed the rainy season in *Zafarābād*, and at this place, *A'zam* Malik *Shaiikhzāda-i-Bustāmī*⁷ who had become intimate during his absence with Malik *Ahmad Aiyāz*, and by the orders of the Sultān had been banished, brought from the *Dārul Khilāfat* of Egypt a robe of honour for the Sultān and received the title of *A'zam Khān*. *Saiyyid Rusūldār* was sent with the messengers of Lakhnauti⁸ to the Sultān Sikandar at Lakhnauti, and Sikandar despatched five fine elephants with other costly presents and offerings to the Court. The Sultān when the rains were over leaving *Zafarābād* shaped his course for Lakhnauti, and while on the way set apart the requirements of kingship, and elephants and a store of rubies which at that time were held in great estimation, for the *Shāhzāda Fath Khān*, they also struck coins in his name. When they arrived at the confines

¹ MS. (A) *Sirāj 'Afif* calls him *Torābānd*. Elliott, III. 311.

² MS. (A) *برسر مغل*.

³ MS. (A) *مراجعت نمود*.

⁴ MS. (A) *میوه*.

⁵ MS. (A) *هداء*.

⁶ The events preceding this are related by *'Afif*, showing how friendship was established between Sultān *Fīroz* and Sultān *Sikandar*. *Badāonī*'s account gives no idea of the circumstances. (See Elliott, III. 305-312.)

⁷ MS. (A) omits *ک*.

⁸ A footnote to the text states that in two MSS. the words *بود یافته* follow the word *لکهنوتی*.

of Panduah, Sultān Sikandar shut himself up in the castle of Ikdala¹ whither his father had been in the habit of going for refuge, and after the Sultān had laid siege to that fortress Sultān Sikandar asked for quarter, and sent thirty-seven elephants with other costly presents as his humble service.

And in the year 761 H (1359 60 A D) the Sultān proceeded by continuous marches by way of Pandūah² to Jaunpūr where he spent the rains, and at the close of this year he marched with a lightly equipped force³ by way of Behār towards Jāunagar, and sent his elephants and baggage to Kāffa, and by uninterrupted marches arrived at Satgarh⁴ the Rai of which place⁵ withdrew, and thence he came to Baranasi⁶ which was the abode of the Chief Rāi, and crossed the river Mahandūī,⁷ and the Rāi of Baranasi having taken to flight made with all haste for Tilang. The Sultān pursued him part of the way turned back to hunt,⁸ and arrived at the country of Rai Parihān Dev⁹ who sent a present of thirty-two¹⁰ elephants and other costly offerings. From thence the Sultān coming to Padmanati and Parām Palāo¹¹ which was the haunt of elephants of enormous size, engaged in hunting them and killed two [and they took the other three alive]¹² and Malik Ziaul-Mulk¹³ wrote a quatrain upon this

¹ See 'Afif's account of this (Elliott III 308) Siraj 'Afif calls this place 'the islands of Ikdala' see note 6 page 324

² 'Afif says by way of 'Qinauj and Oudh'—Jaunpur was so called by Sultān Firoz Shah after Sultān Muhammad Shah son of Tuglāq Shah, whose name was Jaunān, so he called the place Jaunpur. He stayed there six months during which period the city was built on the banks of the Kowah (Gumti)

³ 'Afif says حضرت شاه بگذا در کتفه گدشت the Shah left his heavy baggage in Kāffa Text p 163 (Calc Edu Bibl Ind) see Elliott, III 312, note 2

⁴ MS (A) سنگره

⁵ Named Adicar (Afif) or Rao Sidhan (Firishhta)

⁶ 'Afif says Banarasi the ancient residence of the independent Rais of Jajnagar

⁷ MS (A) مهندوی

⁸ 'Afif tells us (Text pp 166 67) that the Sultān turned aside from the pursuit to hunt some wild elephants (see Elliott III 312 313)

⁹ The Raja of Beerbhoom (Briggs Firishhta)

¹⁰ MS (A) reads سه three

¹¹ MS (A)

¹² Not in MS (A)

¹³ MS (A) صبا اقدس

Verse.

The Shāh who of right¹ assumed a lasting kingdom
 Seized the ends of the earth like the glorious Sun
 To hunt elephants he came to Jājūnagar,
 Two he killed and thirty-three² he took alive.

And thence by way of Karra he returned with all possible haste.³

248. And in the year 762 H. (1360-61 A.D.) victorious and triumphant he came to Delhi, and after a short time he gave orders for an expedition to the river Salīma,⁴ which is a river issuing from a large mound of sand and falling into the river Sutlej which they also call Satlaz.⁵ The Salīma is also called the Sarsuti,⁶ and this river consists of two large streams which are always flowing, and situated between these two streams there is a high mound or dyke, and if this were dug through the water of the Sarsuti would flow into this stream, and it flows through Silhrind and Mansūrpūr and Sāmāna.⁷

The Sultān gave orders for fifty thousand men with spades to be collected and to occupy themselves in digging through that barrier. Out of it they obtained many bones of elephants and human beings. Every bone belonging to the arm of a man was three *gaz*⁸ (in length). They were partly converted into

¹ MS. (A) بحق.

² There is a footnote in the text which says that "in one MS. this same number occurs and it is probably correct," but on the other hand there is 'Afif's statement that there were only eight elephants, seven males and one female to begin with (Text, p. 167.) However 'Afif, Text 172, says he took with him 73 elephants alive.

³ MS. (A) بسوقت تمام. نهر سليمة نام. ستلذ.

⁴ Compare with this Firishṭa's account, with which Badāoni's is almost identical. *Firishṭa*, Bomb. Edn. p. 265.

⁵ Firishṭa says سنام see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* XII. 261, for the Sarsuti or Saraswati. See also J. R. A. S. Jan. 1893, pp. 49-76. The Salīma seems to answer in position to the Markanda which runs near Shāhābād S. of Ambālā.

⁶ *Gaz*. See *Ain Akbari* (Jarrett), II. 58 *et seq.* Throughout Hindustān there were three kinds of *gaz*—long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts each of which was called *ḡassūj*.

Presumably it is the short *gaz* which is here meant but even this would be about 26 inches, and taking the author's meaning to be the bones of the forearm, an ulna measuring 26 inches is hardly likely to have been human.

stone and had partly remained bone just as they were. That stream however could not be diverted,¹ and² in the meantime he made Sirhind and for ten *krohs* beyond into one district, which he put under the control of Maul Mulk Shamsu d Din Abu Rija, and ordered them to build a fort there and called it Firūzpur which is in fact Sirhind,³ and the Sultan from thence, went to Nagarkot whose Rija after a siege and some fighting came in and submitted and met with royal treatment.⁴ The Sultan gave to Nagarkot the name of Muhammādabad after the deceased Sultān Muḥammad, and when they brought the Sultan ice on that mountain fort he said,⁵ "when Sultān Muḥammad who is now dead and whom I regarded as a god, arrived in this place they brought him a *sharbat* mixed with ice, but he had⁶ no inclination for that beverage because I was not with him." Accordingly they made an iced *sharbat* with several elephant and camel loads of cane sugar which was carried with Sultan Firūz, and he ordered them to read the whole of the Qur'an for the soul of Sultan Muḥammad and distribute the *sharbat* among the entire army. Under these circumstances they informed the Sultān⁷ that from the time when Sultan Sikandar Zul Qarnain arrived at this place the people of that city have preserved an image of Noshaba⁸ and keep it in a room, where they worship it. There are one thousand three hundred books of the Brahmins of olden time in that idol temple which is commonly known as Jalamukhi,⁹ a flame of fire rises from it towards heaven and is not to be extinguished, No, not by thousands of *maslks*¹⁰ of water. The Sultan having sum

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¹ I take this to be the meaning. The Persian is *آن حوی کند نشد*

² MS (A) inserts *و*

³ See *Imp Gaz* (Sirhind) XII 552, and Kāngra VII 411

⁴ See Elliot III 318 319

⁵ MS (A) *ک*

⁶ MS (A) *اراد*

⁷ MS (A) adds the word *سلطان*

⁸ Firāšta's words are *صورت نریشانه را صاحب*

⁹ Firāšta says *جلاموکی*

¹⁰ *مشک* *maskh*. The goatskin bag for carrying water

Briggs in his translation adds the words 'the wife of Alexander the Great' but upon what authority does not appear. The wives of Alexander were Roxana the daughter of Oxyartes whom he married in 327 B.C. and

moned the Brahmanns, ordered some of his translators to translate some of those books¹ into Persian. Among those translators 'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālīd Khānī,² who was one of the poets and *mūnḡhīs* of the time of Firūz wrote in verse a translation of a book on the risings and settlings of the seven planets, and their good and evil import, and of auguries and omens. Its name is called up to the present day³ *Dalā'il-i-Firūzī*, and the author of this *Muntakhab* read it in Lāhor in the year 1000 H. (1591-92 A.D.) from beginning to end. It is moderately good, neither free from beauties nor defects; and I saw some other books before that also which were translated in the name of Sultān Firūz, some of them on the Science of "*Pingal*"⁴ that is to say on Music, and the kinds of *Akhārā*⁵ which they call *Pātur bāzī*, and some on other subjects. I found most of them to be profitless, and their paucity of interest is for the most part due to the triviality of their subject matter, and the difficulty of explaining it, as is evident.

The Sultān leaving there proceeded to Thatha, and the Jām,⁶ by which title the ruler of Thatha is called, entrenched himself so that the Sultān was induced by the vehemence of the rainy season, and the amount of water which was out, as well as by the dearth of

(2ndly) at Susa, 324 B.C., Barsine or Stateira the eldest daughter of Darius III, while according to some accounts (Arrian) he also took as his wife Parysatis the daughter of Ochus, at Susa, B.C. 325. Arrian is the only author who mentions this last wife. (Smith, D. G. R. Biography).

It نوشابه represents in reality either of the wives of Alexander it must be the first named whose name might have been written روشانه *Rushāna* and by copyist errors perverted to نوشانه *Nūshāba*.

Firishta's original however gives no countenance to the statement in Briggs' translation.

¹ MS. (A) omits بعضی but writes بعد.

² MS. (A) reads خالی Beale (O. B. D.) calls him 'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālīd Khānī and mentions him as the author of the *Dalā'il-i-Firūz Shāhī*, probably on the authority of this passage.

³ MS. A مانند.

⁴ So called from Pingala or Pingalanūga, the inventor of the art of prosody. See Albirūnī, India I. 137, also Colebrooke Essays, II. 57.

⁵ The *Akhārā* is an entertainment held at night and consists of singing and dancing by females. See Āin-i-Akbārī (Jarrett), III. 258. The word *Pātur* signifies in Hindī a prostitute or dancing-girl.

⁶ 'Afīf tells us that Jām the brother of Rāi Unar, and Bānkhāna (بانجهنه) his brother's son were in possession of Thatha.

gram, to abandon the siege and make with all haste for Gujrāt,¹ which country he placed under the control of Zafar Khān, then having deposed Nizāmu-l Mulk² and appointed him Naib Wazir of Dihli, he returned to Thatha, and on this occasion the Jām asking for quarter³ had an interview with the Sultan, and with all the *Zamīndārs* accompanied him to Dihli, and from there took his leave after being kindly treated and confirmed on his former footing as ruler of Thatha⁴. In the year 772 H (1370 A D) *Khan-i-jahān* the *Vazir*, died, and his son Jūna Shah obtained that title,⁵ and the book *Chandaban*⁶ which is a *Masnawī* in the Hindi language relating the loves of Lulūk and Chandā, a lover and his mistress, a very graphic work, was put into verse in his honour by Maulānā Da'ūd. There is no need for me to praise it because of its great fame in that country, and *Malhūdūn Shūlūh*⁷ Taqī d Dīn Wazīr Rabbānī used to read some occasional poems of his from the pulpit,⁸ and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them, and⁹ when certain learned men of that time asked the *Shūlūh*¹⁰ saying, what is the reason for this Hindi *Masnawī* being selected? he answered, the whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the Āyats of the Qur'ān, and the sweet singers of Hindustan. Moreover by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive.

In the year 773 H (1371-72 A D) Zafar Khān died and the control of that province was confirmed to his son¹¹.

¹ Encountering great difficulties on the march, so much so that for some months the impression in Dihli was that the army had been lost ('Afif Text, p 211)

² Amir Husain son of the late Amir Miran (Elliott III 326)

³ Famine appeared and his troops were starved out (Elliott III 334)

⁴ 'Afif says the son of the Jām and Tamachi brother of Bānhbana were appointed to rule over Thatha.

⁵ See Elliott III 371

⁶ MS (A) reads *حدایں* *Hadayan* without dots, and also reads *حددا* *Handa*. I have failed to obtain any information regarding this work.

⁷ MS (A) omits *شیخ* ⁸ MS (A) *دوسرے صوفیوں*

⁹ MS (A) reads *و مردم را از اجتماع آن حالات عربده روی میداد و*

¹⁰ MS (A) *پرسیده اند*

¹¹ According to Firshṭa, Zafar Khān died in 775 H and was succeeded by his elder son Darya Khān

Rais and Governors and Commissioners, arrived at the capital summoning Malik sh Sharq Marwān i Daulat, who held the post of Nusrat Khan,¹ from the district of Karra and Mahoba, pointed him to the Multan district,² with a view to close the door to Mughul intrigues. He then confirmed Karra and Mahoba together with all their dependencies upon the son of Malik sh Shamsu d Din Salemān the son of Malik Marwan, whose adopted son was Sayyid Khizr Khān, the grandfather of Sultan 'Alau d Din Badaoni who eventually succeeded to the kingdom of Dihli.

And in the year 782 H (1380 A D) he raised the standard for an expedition with the intention of taking vengeance on the Khukhr Chief of Kaithar³, who had invited and put to death by treachery both Sayyid Muhammad and Sayyid 'Alau d Din his father,⁴ who were Governors of Badaon. The rebellious Khukhr⁵ marched towards the hills of Kumaon, accordingly after laying waste and undermning the whole of his country, he left Malik Khitab the Afghan in the country of Sambhal⁶ to deal with the rebellion of Khukhr, and turned back after having made over Badaon to Malik Jabul, Qabulpura which at present is a quarter of Badaon lying outside the fort is called after his name, also he used to come every year for the purpose of sport and lay utterly waste the Kaithar⁷ country.

And in the year 787 H he built a fortified town in a place called Babuli⁸ which is seven *crohs* from Badaon and is better

¹ MS (A)

طوق

² MS (A)

³ Firish_{ta} calls him ملک شمس الدین سلیمان Malik Shamsu d Din Sulaiman

⁴ MS (A) reads رای کهو کهر معدم کنهه Firish_{ta} reads موسم کهو کهو معدم کنهه The chief of Kaithar called Kharaku

⁵ Firish_{ta} says Sayyid Muhammad governor of Badaon with his brothers Sayyid 'Alau d Din and Sayyid Mahmud

⁶ کهو کهو Kharku (Firish_{ta})

⁷ Firish_{ta} سندل MS (A) مسندل Firish_{ta} calls him ملک داود افغان Malik Daud Afghan

⁸ MS (A) کنهه Kaithar Firish_{ta} states he had given Malik Daud orders to ravage the country year by year

⁹ Possibly from the abundance there of the *Acacia Arabica* known as Babul or Khar. However Firish_{ta} calls it بسولی Basuli

side¹ the Firūz Amīrs and the mass of the people, in the month of Rājab 789 H (1387 A D) he started with a strong force to attack Khān i Jahān, and having wounded him plundered his house and family. Khān i Jahān fled² with a few followers towards Miwāt, and took refuge there with one Kūkā a Zamīndār,³ and the Shāhzāda destroyed certain of the Amīrs who had been well disposed to Khān i Jahān. Subsequently to this the Shāhzāda became Vazīr with full uncontrolled powers, and the Sultān having given him all the apparatus of royalty, elephants and horses, servants and insignia, and conferring upon him the title of Nāziru d Dīn wa-ud Dunyā Muḥammad Shāh, in the month of Sha'bān of the above mentioned year raised him to the throne, and betook himself to devotion and worship of the Most High, so that in the Friday *Khutbah* the names of both kings used to be mentioned,⁴ Sultān Muḥammad ordered upon a new scale the appointments and salaries of the Amīrs, and confirmed the distribution of districts, and having given Malīk Ya'qūb the title⁵ of Sikandar Khān appointed him to attack Khān i Jahān in Miwāt; Kūkā Ohāhān a Zamīndār of Miwāt⁶ bound Khān i Jahān and sent him to Sikandar Khān, who put him to death,⁷ and having sent his head as a present to the Court of Muḥammad Shāh set out⁸ for Gujrat.

And in the year 790 H (1388 A D) Muḥammad Shāh arrived on a hunting expedition at the Sirmur hills, and Malīk Mufarrīḡ who was in Gujrat, in unison with the Amīrs of hundreds put Sikandar Khān to death, and the whole of his army being utterly despoiled

¹ MS (A) متفق گردیدہ

² Having first put to death Zafar Khān (Firīḡhta)

³ Firīḡhta calls him Kūkā Ohāhān

⁴ See Thomas' *Pathan Kings*, pp 237 and 305

⁵ The word خطاب must be inserted here though no copy has it

⁶ MS (A) omits the words زمیندار میروات

⁷ MS (A) قبل رسایده The first Khān i Jahān was according to 'Afīf originally a Hindu. He was a native of Telīngana and a man of high position in favour with the Rai of that country. His name was Katla, but on becoming a Muslim he was named Maqbūl. 'Afīf states that he died in 707 A H and when he died all Dīlī went into mourning. This Khān i Jahān was his son Junan Khān.

⁸ MS (A) روان شد

came with the *Sipahsālār* to Dihli; Muḥammad Shāh, returning from the hill country, with the great carelessness which characterises youth took no thought for avenging Sikandar Khān, but spent his time in enjoyment and luxury, so that the affairs of the kingdom fell into great disorder; and the Sultān's soldiery by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Samāu-d-Dīn and Kamālu-d-Dīn, who were the *protégés* of Muḥammad Shāh, set themselves up in opposition to them, and assembled in a spacious plain, and stoned and wounded Malik Zahiru-d-Dīn Lāhorī whom the Shāhzāda had sent to admonish them. He came in that state before Muḥammad Shāh and informed him of what had happened, whereupon the Shāhzāda having collected forces set out to do battle with that party. The army of the Shāhzāda was victorious at first, and bore back the army of the Sultān, so that they took refuge with the Sultān Firūz. The battle raged fiercely for two days and when the Sultān's body servants found themselves in straits, they bore the Sultān, who was little more than a puppet, to the field of battle and displayed him there, and when the troops of Muḥammad Shāh and his elephant drivers set eyes upon Sultān Firūz they left fighting and came over to the Sultān. Muḥammad Shāh with the small following which remained to him, went towards the Sirmūr hills, and the army of the Sultān, which was near a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, fell upon the camp of Muḥammad Shāh, and entering his private apartments sacked them and swept them away. The Sultān at the instigation of some interested persons, unwillingly deposed Muḥammad Shāh from his position as heir apparent, and conferring upon Tughlaq Khān¹ the son of Fath Khān, his grandson, the title of Tughlaq Shāh raised him to the position of heir-apparent. Tughlaq Shāh beheaded Mir Hasan the son-in-law of the Sultān, who was a special favourite of Muḥammad Shāh, and having exiled Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, sent him to the country of Bihār. On the sixteenth of Ramazān in the year 790 H. Sultān Firūz attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence, and was buried on the borders of the

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¹ So Firishta. Briggs says here, p. 461, "placed his grandson Gheias-ood-Deen upon the throne." The text is تغلق شاه ولد شاهرزاده فتح خان. Tughlaq Shāh the son of the Shāhzāda Fath Khān. This was Ghīāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II.

Haun-i-Khān, over his tomb a lofty dome was erected which is well known. They devised two chronograms for the date of his death *Wafat-i-Firuz* and *Naql-i-Firuz Shāh*, the second of these is deficient by one unit.¹ The duration of his reign was thirty-eight years and some months.²

All good fortune is till death and no longer,
In the dust one man is no better than another
When a drop is thrown into the river
It cannot again be recognized
The name of the Heavens is to overthrow,
It is of no use to oppose the decree of Fate
Who knows with the blood of what herits
This stirred up dust has been mixed.³
Every rood, if the wise man is not blinded,
Is the hide of the elk, and shagreen from the wild ass.⁴

Among the poets of the reign of *Firuz Shāh* and his boon companions, is *Malik Ahmad*, the son of *Amir Khusrū*, *may God have mercy upon him*, and although there is no famous anthology of his, still there are some imitations of the writings of the earlier poets which are entered in the writings of some of the learned men, and are well-known. Among them is an imitation of this poem of *Zahir*.⁵

زهی روده ز رفعت کلاه گوشه تو
کلاه گوشه گردد ز روی عیاری⁶

Hail! thou whose cap of empire snatched in its exaltation the
cap of empire of the heaven, by craftiness.

And it is said that in the first hemistich we should read

[زهی طیانچہ قهر تو از طریق بغداد]

Hail to thee! the blow of whose wrath, in thy supreme power

¹ *Wafat* : *Firuz* . *Wafat* : *Firuz* . These words give the value 790 while *Naql* : *Firuz Shāh* *Naql* : *Firuz Shāh* give 789

² *Firzhta* says nearly forty years p. 271, Bo text

³ That is to say, it is not really dust but the remains of living animals

⁴ *Zahir* d *Din Tahir* ibn Muhammad, a contemporary of *Jamāl* d *Din Isfahani* and *Hakim Khagani Shirwani* was a native of *Faryāb*

He died in the year 598 H. and is buried at *Surkhāb* of *Tabriz* which has been called 'the Sepulchre of the Poets'. His poetry was held in great estimation (*Majna'ul Fusaha* I 330) see also Beale O. B. D., p. 286

⁵ MS (A) reads *حباری* for *عیاری* see also footnote to text.

and in place of *ربوده* (snatched) in the last hemistich we should read *فگنده* (thrown)] ;¹ and another is this verse

این سهل سهل بود که گوگرد مرخ خواست
گروان خواجه خواستی آن را چه کردمی

This was extremely easy, that he asked for red sulphur :²
If he had asked bread from the *Khwāja*, what could I have done ?

which was thus written,

این سهل سهل بود که آب حیات خواست

This would have been very easy had he asked for the water of life.

Another is in this verse,

گرمشک خواند خاک درت را فلک مرنج
نرخ گم—ر بطعن خریدار نشکند

If the sky calls the dust of your door musk, do not grieve,
For the jewel's worth is not affected by the abuse of the purchaser.

The poet had written,

گر لعل خواند سنگ درت مشتري مرنج

257. If Jupiter calls the gravel at your door rubies, do not grieve.
And some of his poems also I have seen, but I remember none of them, and since Malik Aḥmad was the real son of Amīr *Khusrū*, and reminded them of his father, the King and his companions and the learned men of the age were greatly pleased with these imitations and thought them very valuable.

¹ The portion between brackets is not found in MS. (A).

The verse would then read as follows :

زهی طپانچه قهرتو از طریق نفاذ کلاه گوشه گودون فگنده ز عیاری

گوگرد احمر *Gūgird-i-Aḥmar* (Sulphur). The red *Gūgird* is said to be a mineral of exceeding rarity which is only found in a mine in the Valley of the Ants; the ants of that region are the size of goats. It is said that at night a light is emitted from the mine which may be seen for many leagues, but when the mineral is taken out of the mine it does not possess this luminous property. It is an important ingredient in *Al-Iksir* (Elixir of life) and just as Quicksilver is called *Abūl-arwāḥ* (Father of spirits), they call this *Abūl-ajsād* (Father of bodies).

It has various beneficial qualities (*Burhān-i-qāṭi'*).

Another poet was Maulāna Maẓhar Karra,¹ whose descendants are still living in the city of Lakhnautī and have been highly thought of and respected from generations back. There is an anthology of his consisting of fifteen or sixteen thousand verses, but inasmuch as he was more of a Mulla than a poet, his poetry is not so highly esteemed by the learned, although were they to search, they would bring to light many a good thing in the way of rarity (of expression).

Another (poet) is Qāzī 'Ābid² who wrote this poem—

My friends say, 'Ābid with this fine nature of yours
How is it that you have not written more poems and odes ?
To whom shall I address poems and odes, since in our time
No suitable lover and no generous patron has arisen.

This is a translation of the following poem in Arabic—

They say, thou hast given up writing poems, I reply, yes !
perforce ;
The door of claims and causes is closed.
The land is empty—there is no benefactor from whom to
hope for favours, nor is there any beauty to love.
And the strange thing is that though no one will buy poetry
Still in spite of this they appropriate and steal it.

SULTĀN TUḠHLAQ SHĀH IBN FATH KHĀN IBN SULTĀN FIRŪZ

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and power by the consent of the Amirs in the year 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) in accordance with the will of his grandfather, assuming the title of Ghiyaṣu-d-Dīn Tuḡhlaq Shāh, and despatched several famous Amirs to oppose Muḥammad Shāh towards the foot of the hills (of Sirmūr). Muḥammad Shāh after fighting for a little betook himself to Nagar Kot, and the army of Tuḡhlaq Shāh on account of the difficulty³ of the way turned back (to Dihli) and Abu Bakr Khān son of Zafar Khān and grandson of Fath Khān, who was his brother's son, being panic-stricken and terrified, went to his father,⁴ and Malik Ruknu-

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¹ In the *Majma'ul Fuṣṣalā* he is called Maẓhar-i-Hindī Qāzī of Agra (? Karra) the panegyrist of Firūz Shāh, but no particulars are given. The *Atash Kādā*, i. *Aḡur* merely mentions his name as Maẓharī.

² Neither the *Majma'ul Fuṣṣalā* nor *Atash Kādā*-i-*Aḡur* mention this poet.

³ MS. (A) معب.

⁴ MS. (A) بچانی پدر رفت و.

d-Dīn Chanda Wazīr, in concert with other Amīrs, made friends with Abu Bakr Khān, and killed Malik (Mubārak) Kabīr¹ in Fīrūzābād at the door of the rest house of Tugḥlaq Shāh, and having pursued Tugḥlaq Shāh and Khān-i-Jahān the Wazīr² when they fled, put them to death and hung up their heads³ over the gate of the city; this event occurred in the month of Šafar⁴ in the year 791 II. (1389 A.D.); the duration of the reign of Tugḥlaq Shāh, was five months and eighteen days.⁵

Verse.

[He laid low in the dust that rose of kingdom which the garden
of the king
Had cherished in its breast with endless care.]⁶

ABU BAKR SHĀH IBN ZAFAR KHĀN [IBN FAṬH KHĀN?]
IBN FĪRŪZ SHĀH.

259. After the martyrdom of Tugḥlaq Shāh, by the ill-judged agreement of the Amīrs assumed the Government under the above title, and at the commencement of his reign distributed appointments among the Amīrs, and raised Ruknu-d-Dīn Chanda to the dignity of Wazīr, and eventually, when he heard that Ruknu-d-Dīn in concert with certain of the Amīrs, was plotting sedition, and entertained ambitious designs upon the kingdom, got rid of him together with his following, taking possession of his elephants and treasure, obtained complete hold over Dihlī and increased in power daily. In the meantime the Amīrs of hundreds of Sāmāna cut to pieces Malik Sultān Shāh Khushdil, the Amīr of Sāmāna, who had been sent against the Sultān Muḥammad Shāh to the country at the foot of the hills, at the head of the reservoir of Sāmāna and sacked his house, and sending his head to the Shāhzāda Muḥammad Shāh at Nagarkot invited him to come; Muḥammad Shāh accordingly left Nagarkot, and came to Sāmāna by way of Jalandhar by continuous marches, and having gathered together the

1 MS. (A) omits مبارک. Firishṭa calls him Amīru-l-Umaā.

2 Firishṭa tells us that this was Malik Fīrūz 'Alī son of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn.

3 MS. (A) inserts ل.

4 MS. (A) در صفر سنه. Firishṭa says 21st of Šafar.

5 MS. (A) writes پنجاه بود و هزده روز.

6 Not in MS. (A).

7 The words in square brackets are not in MS. (A).

paraphernalia of royal magnificence for the second time raised the standard of royalty in the month of Rabi ul Awwal in the year 791 H (1389 A D) and in the following month of Rabi ul Thani of the same year, set out to capture Dihli with a force of 70000 and alighted at the palace of Jahan Numa where he bestowed upon the Amirs suitable appointments among others¹ he conferred upon the Governor of Multan the title of Khizi Khan and Abu Bakr Shah having raised an army for the assistance of Bahadur Nuhur Khan Zada of Miwat, on the (2nd) of Jumadi ul Awwal² of the aforesaid year engaged in battle on the plains of Lūzabud with Muhammad Shah and gained the day. Muhammad Shah, with two thousand cavalry, crossed the river Jamna and entered the Doab, and sent Humayun Khan his younger son to Samana and having obtained thence a great following and the requirements of sovereignty, and taking with him certain Amirs of Hindustan with fifty thousand cavalry, a second time marched his standards towards Dihli. As it chanced he became engaged in battle with Abu Bakr Shah and was again defeated, and Abu Bakr Shah pursued him part of the way, but considered it an excellent opportunity to return. Muhammad Shah arrived at Chaptar,³ which is a town on the banks of the Ganges and giving over his following to destruction once more attempted to fight. And in the month of Muharram of the year 792 H (1389-90 A D) Shahzada Humayun Khan having called together many Amirs from the frontier of Samana to reinforce him laid waste the country round Dihli engaged in battle in the neighbourhood⁴ of Panipath with 'Imadu l Mulk who had been sent by Abu Bakr (Shah)⁵ with four thousand cavalry to oppose him and being defeated retreated towards Samana. And in the month of Jamadi ul Awwal of the aforesaid year Abu Bakr Shah marched for Chaptar (Chitar) with a strong force with the object of opposing Muhammad Shah, and had encamped at a distance of twenty *roh* from Dihli, when Muhammad Shah with

¹ MS (A) ار اسماء

² The text and MS (A) both read تاريخ حید الاول

³ MS (A) چنپر The text reads چنر Ol tar Fir shta says 4
Jalesar Bo text p 275

⁴ MS (A) در نواحی

⁵ MS (A) omits the word شاه

four thousand men,¹ passing unobserved round his right flank,² reached Dihlī by another route and entered the palace of Humāyūn, where the populace both great and small declared in favour of him; Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him and arrived at Dihlī, and having put to death Malik Bahāu-d-Dīn Jangī whom Muḥammad Shāh had left to guard the gates, without hesitation made for the palace of Humāyūn, and Muḥammad Shāh, being taken off his guard, was not able to oppose him and leaving by way of the door of the *Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ* fled again with all haste to Chaptar (Chitar) his original abode and asylum.³ Many of his noted Amīrs and of his body servants were put to death, and although Sultān Muḥammad Shāh was no longer able to stand against Abū Bakr Shāh, still⁴ the soldiery and people were very ill-disposed towards Abū Bakr Shāh, and in the month of Ramaẓān in the aforesaid year, Mubashīr Chap and some of the slaves of Firūz Shāh's party who had been promoted to the rank of Amīr, and for one reason or another bore a grudge against Abū Bakr Shāh, opened a secret correspondence⁵ with Muḥammad Shāh, and invited him; ⁶ Abū Bakr Shāh when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of asking assistance from Bahādur Nāhir set his face to go to *Kotila*⁷ of Mīwāt, and set out leaving Malik Shāhīn and 'Imādu-l-Mulk and Malik Bahri and Safdar Khān in Dihlī; then Muḥammad Shāh in obedience to the invitation of the Amīrs entered Dihlī for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Firūzābād with great ceremony; and Mubashīr Chap,

¹ Firishta says with 4,000 chosen Cavalry.

² چپ غلط کرده. Firishta says,

و بعد از آنکه نزدیک گشت راه چپ کرده

³ MS. (A) جانب دهلی ایلغار فرمود که مقر و مقر اصلی او بود.

⁴ MS. (A) adds here چون.

⁵ MS. (A) خطهای.

⁶ MS. (A) استدعا نمودند.

⁷ کوتکه *kotla*. Hindī कोटला *koṭlā*, a small fortress. Bahādur Nāhir was ruler of Mīwāt, see Firishta Briggs, 471. This word Kotla seems to have been made use of by Firūz Shāh to designate certain of his hunting palaces. See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 292, note 3, and references there given.

By this Kotila however, Kotila of Mīwāt, we may understand probably Hardwār or a town in its vicinity, which appears in Rennell's map G. n. as "Coupele" see Elliott, III 455. n. and 458.

having received the title of Islām Khan, was promoted to the rank of Vazīr, and after some time he left Firuzabad and went to the palace of Humāyūn, Jahan (Numā),¹ and gave orders for the slaves of the Firuzi party who had been a source of disturbance in the days of tumult and not to be put to death without distinction, and many of the free men also, who came from the eastern quarters of Hindustan were taken for slaves by reason of the imperfection of their pronunciation,² and were put to the sword. (Abu Bakr Shah after this misfortune could not recover himself, and remained at the *Kotlu* (of Miwāt) just as he was till Muḥammad Shah³ by continuous marches came against him, and Bahadur Nahr Miwātī and Abu Baki Shah who had taken refuge with him, after fighting for a long time begged for quarter and had an interview with Sultān Muḥammad Shah. Bahadur Nahr received a robe of honour and other marks of favour, but they imprisoned Abu Bakr Shah in the fort of Mirāth. In that self-same prison he escaped from the prison house of the world. This event took place in the year 793 H (1390-91 A D)⁴ the duration of the reign of Abū Bakr Shah was a year and a half

¹ MS (A) omits *نما*.

² This passage is not intelligible in itself but Firishṭa's account explains it fully. He tells us that many of these slaves claimed to be natives of the country and not foreigners, whereupon Muhammad Shah imposed upon them the pronunciation of certain words, and those who failed in their pronunciation of this 'Shabboleth' were treated as foreigners and put to death. He writes,

ناصر الدین محمد شاه فرمود که هر که از شما کهرا کهری گوید اذیل است
و چون بطوریکه پادشاه میخواست تلفظ نمیتوانستند نمود و براین مردم پور و
وندگاله ادا میکردند کشته میشدند - Firishṭa Bo text p 267

Muḥammad Shah said "whoever among you instead of Kharā says Khari, is a native of the country," and since (as the King in fact desired) they were not able to pronounce these words but followed the pronunciation of people of the East and of Bengal they were put to death.

The word *Khari* signified brackish as applied to water. natives of Eastern Bengal however use the word *Khar* in place of *Khari*, using the word as if it were an adjective agreeing with the masculine word *pani*, water.

³ محمد شاه MS (A) not in the text.

⁴ There is an error in MS (A) here which writes, در سده ثانی و خمیس, در سده ثانی و سیمایه 753 H see Thomas, *Pathan Kings*, p 303

Verso.

He reckoned certain days and then he came to nothing
The time smiled to think that he too had passed away.

Verso.

262. This world is like a corpse upon which there are
thousands of vultures
[One continually tears another with its talons,
The other rends it constantly with its beak]¹
At last, they all take to flight and
All that remains of them all is the corpse.

SULTĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH IBN FĪRŌZ SHĀH.

After the death of his brother's son Abū Bakr, this monarch ascended the throne of Dihlī in the abovementioned year by the consent of the grandees and nobles of the State,² and assumed absolute power there being now no one left to oppose him in the kingdom. And in this same year Mufarriḥ Sultānī governor of Gujrāt revolted, and Zafar Khān ibn Wajihu-l-Mulk was ordered to proceed thither.

In the year 794 H. (1391-92 A.D.) the *zamīndārs* (land-holders) of the Doāb³ breaking out into rebellion attacked the town of Balārām, and Islām Khān being appointed to proceed against Harsingrāi⁴ defeated him, while the Sultān went as far as Qanauj and Itāwa, and after punishing the infidels of that district and laying waste Itāwa, returned to Chitrā⁵ which was a favourite resort of his, and there built the city of Muḥammadābād.

In the year 795 H. (1392-93 A.D.) he appointed Malik Muqarrabu-l-Mulk to proceed against the mutineers in the district of

¹ Not in MS. (A.)

² MS. (A) reads:—

سلطان محمد شاه بن فیروز شاه بعد از فوت برادرزاده خود ابوبکر
در سنه مذکور باتفاق اعیان دولت و ارکان سلطنت بر سربر دهلی دم
از استقلال زد.

³ MS. (A) omits مواس.

⁴ Rājā of Itāwa.

⁵ See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 307 n. 1.

This place appears to be the same as Jalesar judging from Firishṭa's account.

For Jalesar see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, VII, 103.

Itāwa, who by promises and engagements¹ induced the rebels to come in, and took them to Qānauj, where he put them to death and returned to Muḥammadābād. And in the month of Shawwāl in this year, the Sultān was attacked by illness, taking advantage 26 of this Bahādur Nūr made an inroad upon some of the towns around Dīlī. The Sultān notwithstanding his weakness proceeded to Kotla; Bahādur gave battle once and then fled, and the Sultan victorious and triumphant returned to Muḥammadābād, and was engaged in superintending the building of the city when his illness returned.

In the year 796 H (1393-94 A D) he appointed Shāhrazāda Humayūn Khān to oppose Shāikh Khukhar who had rebelled and gained possession of Lahore, but the Shāhrazāda was still in the city when the Sultān² took his departure from the populous city of existence to the deserted regions of annihilation, and was buried in the mausoleum of his father on the banks of the Hauz-i Khāss³. The duration of his reign was six years and seven months.

Masnawi

What is the world, but a wayside abode of trouble and evil?
A house of labour and toil, a mansion of pain and affliction?
Here is no truth and no faithfulness, here are no friends and
no friendship,
Hundreds of times have I seen this, and proved it by frequent
experience.⁴

SULTAN 'ALAU D DIN SIKANDAR SHĀH IBN I-MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN I- IROZ SHĀH,

Who bore the name of Humayūn Khān, ascended the imperial throne in virtue of his being heir apparent, on the nineteenth of

¹ MS (A) قول و قرار داد

² He died according to Lirishita's account on the 17th of Rabi'ul Awwal, and was buried beside his father on the banks of the Hauz-i Khāss. Text, p 278

³ The Hauz-i Khāss was a reservoir constructed by Firuz Shāh, one of his many public works. It is said in the Zafarnama of Yazdi to be 'so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other. It is filled by rain in the rainy season and the people of Dīlī obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Firuz Shāh is by its side. Elliott, III, 411-501

See also Thomas Pakenham's Kings 310 note 1

⁴ MS (A) and footnote to Text read دید و از مورد صدبار

Rabi'ul-Awwal in the year 795 H. (1393 A.D.) and after one month and sixteen days he bid farewell to this hired rest-house, and removed his effects to the permanent mansion.¹

So long as the world has been, thus has it been, and thus will it ever be.

264. The issue of affairs will be at last the same for all.

[And during the time that he was Shāhzāda, a learned man wrote and composed in his honour an imitation of the Maqāmātī Ḥarīrī I have seen a Maqāmāh from this work].²

SULTĀN MAḤMŪD SHĀH IBN-I-MUḤAMMAD SHĀH,

Who was his youngest son,³ ascended the throne⁴ on the twentieth of Jumādīu-l-Awwal⁵ in the aforesaid year relying upon the allegiance of the Amīrs,⁶ with the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, and having bestowed upon Muqarrabu-l-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Khān, he made him his heir apparent,⁷ and confirmed to the Amīrs their appointments⁸ districts and titles; and with a view to restoring order in the important affairs of State, which had suffered in consequence of the dominance of the perverse infidels, he bestowed the title of Sultānu-sh-Shirq⁹ upon Khwāja-i-Jahān, and transferred him from Qanauj to Bihār with full powers and uncontrolled authority, and despatched him thither. He proceeded as far as Jājnagar¹⁰ and took possession of it,

¹ And was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Hanṣ-i-Khāṣṣ. He reigned one month and fifteen days (Firishta).

² The portion in square brackets is not found in MS. (A).

³ Firishta also says کوچکترین پسران. the youngest of his sons. Briggs translates this "a youth, the son of."

⁴ MS. (A) omits سلطنت.

⁵ Text reads جمادی الاولى.

⁶ The text reads here بر حکم تبیعت, but this is I venture to think wrong.

MS. (A) reads سعت and taking this together with Firishta's reading, we should, I think read بر حکم بیعت "relying upon the allegiance."

Firishta reads: جمله اکابر و امرا باوی بیعت کرده سردر رفته فرمان آوردند.

⁷ Firishta says became Vakīlu-s-Saltanat and Amīra-l-Umarā.

⁸ MS. (A) ولایات و خطابات.

⁹ So also Firishta. Briggs however converts this into "Mullik-oos-Shark," p. 478.

¹⁰ Firishta says Jaunpūr جونپور.

acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the king of Lakhnauti began to send elephants annually as presents to Dilli.

He also rebuilt¹ the greater number of the forts which the infidels had destroyed, in the districts of Karna, Oudh, Sandila, Malūta,² Bahraich and Tirhut, and despatched Sārang Khān to the district of Dibālphūr to quell the rising of Shrahī Khukhar. And in the month of Zā Q'adah of the same year Shrahī Khukhar³ fought a sharp engagement with Sārang Khān, at a place called Samethala⁴ which is twelve *loahs* from Lahore, but was defeated and retired to the hill country of Jamūn, Sārang Khān thereupon left Lahore in charge of his brother⁵ Adil Khān,⁶ and returned towards Dibālphūr.

And in the month of Sha'bān of this year Sultān⁷ Mahmūd leaving Muqarrab Khān as his Viceroy in Dilli, and taking with him Sa'ādāt Khān, who was commonly known⁸ as 'Abū-r-Rashīd Sultānī, marched in the direction of Bihār and Gwālīar. In obedience to the order of the Sultān a spacious chief mosque⁹ built of stone was erected in the town of Bāiwar, and is standing at the present time, and when¹⁰ the Sultān arrived near Gwālīar, Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn Dhār-wāl, and Malloo Khān¹¹ the brother of Sārang Khān, and Mubārak Khān son of Malik Rājā¹² conspired against Sa'ādāt Khān, but he, becoming aware of their design, arrested Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Mubārak Khān and had them put to death.¹³

¹ MS. (A) تعمیر فرمود و

² MS. (A) دلمور (A) Dalmur

³ MS. (A) supplies کہوگر Firishṭa says "advancing from Ajodha"

⁴ Firishṭa does not give the name of the place

⁵ MS. (A) reads لا ورا برادر خوش عادل خان

⁶ MS. (A) repeats the words

محمود مغرب خان را بہ بیان در شہر گذاشتہ و سعادت خان را کہ بعد الرشید سلطانی —

⁷ MS. (A.) شہنشاہ داشت.

⁸ MS. (A) omits و

⁹ MS. (A) omits چون.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits خان. Firishṭa calls this man Malloo Khān

¹¹ So also Firishṭa

¹² Firishṭa writes بکشت. Bāloni apparently always uses سیاست in the sense of capital punishment

Malloo Khān fled to Muqarrab Khān in Dihli. The Sultān having returned to the Capital, encamped at some distance from the city, and Muqarrab Khān fearing his displeasure because he had given asylum to Malloo Khān,¹ entrenched himself and prepared to fight² and remained in his fortified position three months, and war arose between Muqarrab Khān and Sa'adat Khān.³

And in the month of Muḥarram in the year 797 H. (Nov. 1394 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd was induced by the deceitfulness of certain friends of Muqarrab Khān to leave Sa'adat Khān, to enter the fort and come to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who thus obtained the assistance he needed. The following day Muqarrab Khān and Sa'adat Khān met on the field of battle, and Muqarrab Khān being defeated again entered the fort. Sa'adat Khān went to Firūz-ābād,⁴ and acting in concert with some of the Amīrs summoned Nuṣrat Khān son of Faṭḥ Khān and grandson of Sultān Firūz Shāh⁵ from Miwāt, and set him upon the throne in the month of Rabi'u-l-Awwal of the aforesaid year, with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh. Nuṣrat Shāh was nothing more than a puppet, for Sa'adat Khān assumed the whole of the authority in state matters, and some slaves of the Firūzī party and some elephant drivers joined with Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh, and by some clever artifice placed him upon an elephant, and without warning fell upon Sa'adat Khān unawares in full force; Sa'adat Khān was paralysed and helpless, and⁶ of necessity took to flight and came

¹ MS. (A) omits خان.

² MS. (A) شدة.

³ This account is unsatisfactory as it throws no light upon the real course of events. Firishṭa writes as follows:—Muqarrab Khān came out to receive the Sultān and to pay his respects, but becoming alarmed at the splendour and array of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Malloo Khān, fled to the city where he fortified a position and began to fight. The quarrel lasted for some three months, with frequent engagements between the besiegers and the besieged, when recognizing that this was all due to Sa'adat Khān Bārbak, Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh at the instigation of his intimates entered the city upon a favourable opportunity in the month of Muḥarram 797 H. and came to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who on the following day started from Dihli to fight against Sa'adat Khān, but was defeated and forced to return to the city." (Firishṭa, Bo. text p. 279). Cf. Briggs, p. 480.

⁴ Being compelled by the onset of the rains to decamp (Firishṭa).

⁵ The text reads نصرت خان بن فتح خان بن سلطان فيروز شاه. The above translation is to avoid the ambiguity which a literal rendering involves.

⁶ MS. (A) و.

to Dihli, where he sought the protection of Muqarrab Khān, and was treacherously¹ put to death by him then the Amīrs of Nusrat Shāh's faction such as Muḥammad Muẓaffar Vazīr and Shihāb Nāhir and Malīk Faẓlullāh Ballihī,² and the slaves of Firūz Shāh's party one and all³ renewed their declaration of allegiance to Sultan Nusrat Shāh and divided the appointments afresh.

Sultan Maḥmūd was known as King in Dihli, while in Firuzabad Nusrat Shāh enjoyed that title,⁴ and Muqarrab Khān placed the citadel of old Dihli under the command of Bahādur Nāhir Miwātī, and bestowed upon Malloo Khān⁵ the title of Iqbāl Khān,⁶ and day by day battles were fought between these two kings,⁷ who were like the two kings in the game of chess.⁸ Sultān Nusrat Shāh retained possession of the country of the Doab, and Sambhal, Panipath, Rohtak, and Jahaj,⁹ while a few old ruined forts such as Dihli and Siri and the rest, remained in the hands of Sultan Maḥmūd, and from that time forward this proverb became a common expression. The rule of the Lord of the world (Khudāwānd 1 'Ālam) is from Dihli to Palam.¹⁰ And all over Hindustan there arose various parties each with its own Malīk.¹¹

Verse

Say, either you rule in the city, or let me rule
For the affairs of the state go to ruin between two rulers

The affairs of the kingdom continued in this state for a space of three years, at one time the Dihli party got the better of the Firuzabad¹² party and at another time the positions were reversed.

¹ MS (A) omits بعد

² المعاطب بعلجان (Firishṭa)

³ MS (A) omits تمام

⁴ See Thomas *Pathan Kings*, 312 note 1, and 318 note 1

⁵ MS (A) omits خان

⁶ Firishṭa states that these two joined neither king waiting to see how affairs would turn out

⁷ For a space of three years (Firishṭa)

⁸ That is to say could neither win nor be removed from the encounter

⁹ Cf Thomas *Pathan Kings* 313, notes 1 2

¹⁰ Hakm 1 Khudāwānd 1 Ālam az Dihli ta Palam

¹¹ See Thomas *Pathan Kings* p 315 n 1

¹² MS (A) فروربان

Verse.

267. Like the kite which is six months female and six months male.¹

And in the year 798 H. (1395 A.D.) many battles took place between the *Musnad-i-‘Alī*,² Khizr Khān, the Amīr of Multān, and Sārang Khān the ruler of Dipālpūr, and, eventually, owing to the treachery of certain of the slaves of Malik Marwān; who was the tutor of Malik Suleimān the father of Khizr Khān, and in consequence of their throwing in their lot with Sārang Khān the governor of Dipālpūr,³ Multān passed from the possession of Khizr Khān to that of Sārang Khān, and his party began to grow weaker and weaker every day.

And in the year 799 H. (1396 A.D.) Sārang Khān having overcome⁴ Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, and Tātār Khān the Wālī of Pānīpath, gained possession of the country as far as the outskirts of Dihlī.⁵ Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh sent Malik Ilyās⁶ a slave of the Fīrūz Shāhī party with elephants and an army to reinforce Tātār Khān. He accordingly drove Sārang Khān out of Sāmāna and delivered it to Ghālib Khān.⁷

And in the month of Muḥarram 800 H. (1397 A.D.) a severe engagement took place between the two parties in the neighbourhood of the village of Kotla; Sārang Khān was defeated⁸ and fled towards Multān, and Tātār Khān proceeded to the frontier of Tilaundī, and sending Kamāla-d-Dīn Mubīn in pursuit of Sārang Khān, returned. And in the month of Rabi‘u-l-Awwal in the year already mentioned,⁹ Mirzā Pīr Muḥammad, grandson¹⁰ of the

¹ The *Burhān-i-Qāṭi’*.

او شش ماه نر و شش ماه ماده میباشد و بعضی گویند یکسال نر و یکسال ماده است

It is a male for six months and a female for six months, some say one year male and one year female

The *Haiyātu-l-Haiwān* says nothing about this (art. عقاب and حداد) but mentions a statement that the عقاب ‘uqāb eagle or kite has no male, but the females are impregnated by the fox. See also I. K. (Slane) iii, 305.

² See Thomas’ *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, n. 1.

³ MS. (A) omits the words حاکم دیپالپور.

⁴ MS. (A) omits و.

⁵ MS. (A) omits و.

⁶ MS. (A) ایلیس also Firishṭa.

⁷ In the beginning of Muḥarram 800 H. (Firishṭa).

⁸ MS. (A) reads و سمت ملتان.

⁹ MS. (A) reads سنه مذکور.

¹⁰ MS. (A) نبسته Firishṭa writes نیره.

great Amīr Timūi Gūrgān¹ King of Khurāsān and Māwarā an-Nahr, had crossed the river Indus,² and was besieging the fortress of Uchh³ 'Alī Malīk, Sārang Khān's lieutenant fought and held the fort for a month, and when Malīk Tāju d-Dīn Bahktiyār arrived at the fort of Uchh with a thousand cavalry given him by Sārang Khān, Mirzā Pīr Muhammad left Uchh, and taking Malīk Tāju d-Dīn Bahktiyār and his thousand sowārs⁴ unawares in their position on the banks of the river Biāh, attacked them. The greater number of Malīk Tāju d-Dīn's force fell by the sword, while those who escaped the sword were drowned in the floods of destruction,⁵ and Mirzā Pīr Muhammad⁶ after gaining this victory pursued them with all speed,⁷ and invested the fortress of Multān⁸ Sārang Khān held out against him for six months engaging him frequently, but at last begged for quarter, and had an interview with the Mirza,⁹ who took up his station in Multān pending the arrival of the great Timur.

¹ MS (A) گورگانی. *Gurgāni*. The exact meaning of this title has been much discussed, the most recent opinion is that of Dr Erdmann, according to whom "Kurkan or Gurgan stands for 'son in law' or for a prince who is allied by marriage with some "mighty monarch" In this way, its Mongol sense, it is used he tells us by Rashīdī d-Dīn. He also tells us that Kurkan or Gargan represents the Chinese expression *Fu ma* and that the Amīr Timur was called *Timur Fu ma* by the Chinese, because he married the daughter of Chun ti, the ninth and last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty. *Fu ma* in fact means "son in law" in Chinese, when applied to princes, and thus is a translation of the Mongol word."

For fuller particulars see note, page 278 of the *Tarikh-i Rashīdī* by Elias and Ross, from which the above is extracted. In M Pavet de Courteille's *Turki Dictionary* we find "گورگان prince de la race de Timour qui épouse une fille de la race de Djenghiz Khān prince de race royale qui épouse une fille de roi prince ne de parents issus de Khāns qui épouse la fille d'un Khakan surnom de Timour, savant, beau poli" see also *Āin-i Akbarī* (B) I 464 n

² By a bridge of boats (*Firishta*)

³ ارچه (*Firishta*)

⁴ MS (A) omits the words بختيار هزار سوار

⁵ *Firishta* says

چنانچه اکثر آن مردم در وقت گریز بقتل رسیدند و بعضی در آب عرق گشتند
Most of them were put to death as they fled, and some were drowned in the river

⁶ MS (A) omits پیر محمد

⁷ MS (A) omits تمام

⁸ *Firishta* tells us that Malīk Tāju d-Dīn escaped with a few men and fled to Multān

⁹ Being compelled by famine (*Firishta*)

And in the month of Shawwāl in the aforesaid year Iqbāl Khān, who is better known as Malloo, swore many oaths of allegiance to Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh, whom he deported to the fortress of Jahānumā,¹ taking him away with elephants and an armed force; and Sultān Maḥmūd and Muqarrab Khān and Bahādur Nāhir shut themselves up in old Dihli. On the third day from this Iqbāl Khān made a sudden attack in strong force upon Nuṣrat Shāh hoping to take him by surprise; Nuṣrat Shāh fled from Jahānumā and came to Firūzābād,² and leaving there crossed the Jamna and went to join Tātār Khān his Vazīr at Pānīpath. The whole³ of the army and elephants of Nuṣrat Shāh fell into the hands of the astute Iqbāl Khān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khān and Iqbāl Khān, until by the intervention of certain Amīrs peace was established between these two leaders; but after a few days⁴ Iqbāl Khān proceeded against Muqarrab Khān,⁵ and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him; and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and getting Sultān Maḥmūd into his power made a puppet of him and took the management of the state into his own hands. Then in the month of Zū Qa'dah of the aforesaid⁶ year Iqbāl Khān wrested Pānīpath by force from the followers of Tātār Khān, and seized all his baggage and his elephants and army. Tātār Khān previously to this expedition of Iqbāl Khān, had left Pānīpath with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihli but found himself quite unequal to the task, and throwing his country⁷ to the winds left Dihli and went to Gujrāt with a large following to join his father.⁸ Iqbāl Khān coming to Dihli bestowed upon Malik Naṣīru-l-Mulk, a relation of Tātār Khān who had joined him, the title of 'Ādil Khān, and placed under his control the district of the Doāb.

And in the month of Ṣafar of the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.) Amīr

1 MS. (A) reads جهان پناه but Firishta reads جهان نما as in the text.

2 MS. (A) آمد و.

3 MS. (A) تمامی.

4 MS. (A) روز.

5 Firishta says "from motives of worldly wisdom broke his faith."

6 MS. (A) سنده مذکور.

7 اولکه Aulaka or اولکا aulakā. A Turkī word, signifying "province, ville, pays, fief" according to M. Pavet de Courteille.

8 His father Zafar Khān (Firishta).

Timūr the Great attacked the town of Tulumba,¹ and taking Multān, put to the sword² the whole of the prisoners of the army of Sāring Khān whom Mirzā Pir Muḥammad had kept in confinement, proceeding thence by continuous marches he also took the fort of Bhat,³ and having taken prisoner Rāi Jaljū + Bhatī put him to death together with the garrison and inhabitants of the fort.

Leaving there⁴ and taking Sāmān, he put to death crowds of fugitives from Dipālpūr and Ajudhan and Sarauti,⁵ who were helplessly fleeing in all directions in terror of their lives, and taking large numbers of them prisoners he took them along with him, and covering great distances he crossed the river Jamnā, and entered the Doāb,⁷ and sweeping the greater part of the country

¹ Text تلیہ MS (A) فیریتا تلہ Tulumba (see Hunter *Imp Gaz*, XIII 163) is shown in Rennell's map at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenāb, Langanā being at the junction of the Chinab and Ravi (Elliott III)

Firishṭa says "Arrived at a place where the river of Jamnā and the Chenāb meet where there was a strong fortress called Lalambha" Briggs says "to the conflux of the Chunaab with the Ravi"

From Tulumba Firishṭa tells us Timur marched to Shāhnawaz where they took all the grain they required and burned the remainder. From thence he went to Ajdhan and Bhatnir. Shāhnawaz is shown in Rennell's map on the Eastern bank of the Ravi, Long 72°1' Lat 30°5' N. Ajdhan is Pak Pattan, and is about 80 miles S-W of Shāhnawaz. Here is the tomb of Shāikh Farīd d Din Ganjī Shākhī which was visited by Timur. From Ajdhan to Bhatnir is about 90 miles. Firishṭa says from Khiljīkol to Bhatnir is fifty Kroh. See Elliott III 115 et seqq for the description of this campaign translated from the *Malfuzat-i Timuri*. Timur calls Khiljīkol, Khiljī Kotah, and says it is ten kos from Ajdhan and fifty from Bhatnir.

² MS (A) کدراید

³ MS (A) بہت پر Bhatpar. This should be بہت Bhatnir see note 1 above. Firishṭa says that Timur's force accomplished the distance between Ajdhan (Khiljīkol) and Bhatnir in one day. This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.

⁴ The Bombay text of Firishṭa has راز خلیسی Rao Khiljī see also Briggs Firishṭa p. 488 footnote. Both MSS agree with the text in giving Rāi Jaljū as the name of the governor of the fort. The *Malfuzat-i Timuri* calls him Rāo Dul Chāin, see Elliott III 422-123.

⁵ On the 3rd of Rabi'ul Awwal

⁶ 5th of Rabi'ul Awwal, see Elliott III 126-128

⁷ MS (A) میرہ کردہ عیال دو آب در آمدہ

with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage, camped on the banks of the river Jamna opposite the town of Lūnī¹ not far from Dihli;² and at this camp he put to the sword about fifty thousand prisoners who had fallen³ into the hands of his soldiery before reaching the river Ganges; and some of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his army also, who had not the slightest acquaintance with the sword, taking all these Hindustānī Muslims for Hindūs, in their desire for the reward of holy war⁴ sent many of them with their own hands into the next world.

270. Then in the month of Jamaidu-l-Awwal 801 H. the great Timūr crossed the Jamna and encamped at Firūzābād⁵ and the next day encamped above the Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ. Iqbāl Khān having got ready a force of men and elephants, came out against him and engaged his troops, but was defeated in the first engagement, and in spite of all their efforts they were not able to withdraw even a portion of the elephants into the city,⁶ so complete was the rout. And in this defeat⁷ many were killed, and when the glittering soldiers of the army of the night had routed the troops of the day, Iqbāl Khān and Sultān Maḥmūd leaving their families and friends

¹ Lūnī, seven miles N. N.-W. of Dihlī. Tieff. I. 136. *Lounī* ville autre fois peuplée et munie d'un fort. Timūr arrived there on the 27th Rabi'ū-l-Awwal. Lūnī was situated on a Doāb between the Jamna and the Halīn.

² MS. (A) نزدیکي.

³ MS. (A) اوقتاده بود.

⁴ The reward of the غازی "Ghāzī" or one who fights in the cause of Islām is thus defined "God is sponsor for him who goes forth to fight in the road of God, for his satisfaction and for that of his Prophet." He shall if he be not killed, return to his home with plunder and rewards. And if he die, his reward is Paradise (*Mishkāt*, XVII, 1).

The جهاد *jihād* or holy war is a duty enjoined in several passages in the Qur'ān and the Traditions, and its rewards are those of Paradise. (See Hughes Dict. of Islām, Art. *Jihād*).

⁵ Firishṭa states that he dug a deep trench and fastened a number of cows and buffaloes together with raw hide, stationing sharpshooters behind them, and when Iqbāl Khān came out against him with his troops and 120 elephants defeated him with great slaughter and advanced to the Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ; and see Elliott, III, 438, *et seqq.*

The date given by Badāouī is apparently wrong, as the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūrī* says that Timūr crossed the Jamna on the 5th Rabi'ū-l-Ākhir. See Elliott, III. 443 and note 1.

⁶ MS. (A) omits درون and writes بشهر.

⁷ Not in MS. (A) which reads و خلقي عظيم.

in the bonds of shame and disgrace, took flight¹ Sultān Maḥmūd fled straight to Gujāt, and Iqbāl Khān crossing the Jamna escaped to the town of Baran. On the following day the Great Timūr gave quarter to the inhabitants of Dihli, receiving from them much valuable property and many presents as the price of quarter. In the meantime however, the people of the city killed some of the soldiers, accordingly on the fourth day he ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners,² and took them all off towards Transoxiāna, eventually Shaiḥ Ahmad Kathū³ whose tomb is well known at Sar Khez⁴ in Gujarāt near to Ahmadābad, went along with the army and had an interview with the Great Timūr, and made apparent to him his condition as a Darvesh, and his surpassing knowledge, moreover he argued with and confuted over and over again⁵ the learned doctors who were with the

¹ On the 7th Rabī'ū l Ākhir

² Firāshita حکم بغارت واسر اهل دهلي فرمود See Elliott, III 447

³ MS (A) کتو

Shaiḥ Ahmad Khatṭa was born at Dihli A H 737 (A D 1336) of a noble family of that city. His name was Nasir u Din. He was a disciple of Baba Ishaq Maghribi and came to Gujarāt in the reign of Sultān Ahmad Gujarātī (A D 1411-13). He was buried in Sarkhej near Ahmadābad, (Āin i Akbarī [Jarrett] III 371)

Shaiḥ Ahmad Khatṭa surnamed Ganjbaksh was surnamed from Khatṭa a village near Nagor, the residence of his spiritual guide Baba Ishaq Maghribi. After his return from a pilgrimage to the holy places he came back to Gujarāt and settled first at Sarkhej and afterwards at Ahmadābad, in the building of which he was associated with Sultān Ahmad A H 813-20.

He died at Sarkhej in 849 A H, aged 111 years and his mausoleum with the buildings attached are said to have been begun by Muḥammad Shah I, the son of Ahmad Shah, and to have been completed by his son and successor Qutb u Din Shah. See Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, pp 90 91, notes.

⁴ The text reads سرکھج احمد آباد See Āin i Akbarī (Blochmann), Text, II 220

The text of Badāoni reads سرخیز MS (A) reads سرکھج.

Tieffenthaler, I 377 speaks of it as follows — "A trois milles de Guzarate se trouve Sarkés, village où est le mausolee construit à grands frais par Gaus Ahmad Roi du Guzarate" again at page 375 we find 'Gaus Ahmad, dont le magnifique tombeau porte par des arcades voutees, a rendu fameux le village de Sarkes distant de 3 milles de la ville'.

Sarkhej was three miles South East from Asawal in the vicinity of which Ahmadābad was built by Sultān Ahmad, 820 A H (1417 A D)

⁵ MS (A) لحنهای الرامی کرده

Transoxiāna force, and begged for the prisoners' lives. The Great Timūr conceived such a strong liking for him that he acceded¹ to his request and liberated all the prisoners.

271. This signal service of the Shaikh remained ever as a debt upon the people of Hindustān; and a full detail of this circumstance is given at length in the *Maqāmāt* of the Shaikh. A few days after this victory Khizr Khān and Bahādur Nāhir Miwātī,² who had taken alarm and fled to the hill country of Miwāt, came in and, paid their respects to the Great Timūr;³ orders were issued to make all of their party prisoners, with the exception of Khizr Khān, who had apparently done some former good service which saved him. After this he raised the banner of return and seized the country at the foot of the Siwālik hills,⁴ and greatly shook that hill country as it were with an earthquake, ere he reached Lāhor.

For the date of this victory they assigned the two words رَا (Rakhā, affluence, prosperity) and خَار (Khār,⁵ a thorn); and Shaikhā Khūkhar⁶ also, who had formerly served the Amīr and had taken Lāhor by fraud from Sārang Khān, fell into his hands. He accordingly imprisoned him together with his wife and family, and gave orders to sack Lāhor and take the inhabitants prisoners. Then having made over Dipālpūr and Multān to Khizr Khān he

1 MS. (A) قبول فرموده.

2 On Friday the 24th of Rabī'u-l-Ākhir according to the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri*, which gives a different account of the treatment accorded to them.

3 Badāonī omits to mention the capture of Mīrat (29th Rabī'u-l-Ākhir) and the victories on the Ganges (Jumādīu-l-Awwal 1st to 15th).

4 According to the account in the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri* this was in response to an embassy sent to Bahādur Nāhir by Timūr at Kūtila.

5 Both of these words give the date. رَا = 200 + 600 + 1 = 801

خَار = 600 + 1 + 200 = 801.

6 Timūr captured seven forts in the Siwālik hills, fighting twenty battles in thirty-two days with invariable success. The eighth fort belonged to Shaikhā Khūkhar and was taken about the 15th of Jamādīu-l-Awwal (Elliott III. 467). Malik Shaikhā Khūkhar was brother of Nuṣrat Khūkhar who was formerly governor of Lāhor on behalf of Sultān Maḥmūd ōf Dihlī. He was taken prisoner by Prince Pīr Maḥammad and Rustam and Amīr Jahān Shāh, who had been sent by Timūr with an army to Lāhor for that purpose and to levy a ransom from the city of Lāhor. The *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri* states that Timūr proceeded straight to Jammū whence his route was by Jābhān, Sambast, Barūja to Attock where he crossed the Indus. This was during the days between the 24th of Jumādīu-l-Ākhir and the 3rd of Rajab. See Elliott III. 474-477; see also *Zafar Nāma* of Yazdī, Elliott III. 520-52.

said to him 'I have taken Dihli and have made a present of it to you' Leaving Lohor he proceeded by uninterrupted marches by way of Kabul to his capital Samarqand while Khizr Khan went to his own territory (*jagir*)

At this time such a famine and pestilence fell upon Dihli that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Dihli. In this interval Sultān Nusrat Shah, who after his defeat by Iqbal Khan had gone into the Doab, seeing that he had an open field, went first to Mirath and thence to Firuzabād, and fortified the city of Dihli. 'Adil Khan and the other folk who had escaped from the hands of the Mughuls coming out of the various holes and corners where they had been hiding, gathered round him, when he had got together this company he nominated Shihab Khan to proceed to Baran against Iqbal Khan. Whilst he was on the way, a body of Hindus attacked Shihab Khan suddenly by night, and raised him to the dignity of martyrdom. Iqbal Khan with great energy and promptitude obtained possession of his elephants and army, so that from day to day his power increased, while the affairs of Nusrat Shah, became more and more entangled. Iqbal Khan leaving Baran started in the direction of Dihli, and Nusrat Shah leaving Firuzabad made for Miwat where he died, and the four quarters of Hindustan came under the dominion of Malikis of the various tribes²

272

Then in the year 802 H (1399 A D) Iqbal Khan marched against Shams Khan Anḥadī³ the ruler of Baiana, and the hostile forces met in the vicinity of Nuh and Patal, fortune favoured Iqbal Khan and Shams Khan proceeded to Baiana. Iqbal Khan led his army towards Kaithar and exacted contributions of money and services from Rai Harsingh⁴. And in this same year Khawaja Jahan was received into the mercy of God in Jaunpūr

¹ MS (A) reads here *حواله بودا نوربان صورت*

² Firishta tells us the names of these various independent rulers. See Briggs I 498

³ According to Firishta this was in 803 H

⁴ MS (A) *رای هر سنگه* Rai Harsing was Rai of Itawa. By Kaithar or Katchar is meant Rohilkhan. See Thomas Pathan Kings p 325 note 2

Quatrain.

How long wilt thou say "Who has drunk the cup of pleasure?"
 How long wilt thou say "Who has gained the palm of fortune?"
 What avail all these idle tales, for we must depart,
 What profit in all these empty stories, since death must come.

And Malik Mubārak Qaranqal,¹ having assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh, took his place.

273. And in Jamāidu-l-Awwal² in the year 803 H. (1400 A.D.) Shams Khān of Baiāna and Mubārak Khān son of Bahādur Nāhir had an interview with Iqbāl Khān, who taking them with him fought a battle near Baitālī on the banks of the Blackwater, which is known as the Kālāpānī, with Rāi Sir³ the ruler of that district, and overcame him, and pursued the infidels as far as the confines of Itāwa; and on his arrival at Qanauj, Sultānu-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh came up from Jaunpūr and sat down over against him on the other bank of the river Ganges, but inasmuch as neither of them could effect a crossing, they each returned⁴ to their own country without doing anything. As he returned, Iqbāl Khān treacherously put to death Shams Khān and Mubārak Khān.⁵ In this same year Turkbacha Sultānī, the son-in-law of Ghālīb Khān of Sāmāna, collected a large army, and on the ninth of Rajab of this year fought a battle with Khizr Khān near Ajūdhan, and being defeated went to the town of Bhūhar, where Ghālīb Khān in concert with the other Amirs put him to death.

¹ His adopted son Malik Wāṣil.

² All MSS. write this constantly جمادى الاول instead of جمادى الاول.

³ Firishṭa (Bo. text) says.

و چون بقصبه بیتالی که کنار نهر گنگ است رسید رای سنیر بمقابلہ آمد

Whence he arrived at the township of Baitālī on the banks of the Ganges Rāi Sanīr ... came out to oppose him.

Briggs says:—"When he reached the village of Puttyaly on the Ganges the Ray of Serinagar ... opposed him."

The Kālāpānī is the Kālī Naddī or Kālīnī (see Hunter *Imp. Gazett.* VII. 327) lying between the Jumna and Ganges. Tīmūr calls it the Karāsū (Black water), Elliott, III. 452.

⁴ The text here is wrong; for باز کشید read باز گشتند MS. (A).

⁵ MS (A) only says Shams Khān, but Firishṭa's account includes Mubārak Khān so that the text is probably correct.

And in the year 801 H (1401 A D) Sultān Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Shāh arrived at Dihli from Dhar, and although Iqbāl Khān went out to receive him, and caused him to alight at the Jahan Numā¹ palace with all expressions of service and manifestations of respect, still, since Iqbāl Khān was in possession of all the paraphernalia of royalty, Sultān Mahmud became very jealous of him and took him with him towards Qanauj. And in this year Mīlikāsh Shāh Mubarak Shāh died, and his younger brother Sultān Ibrahim succeeded him, and came out to fight with Sultān Mahmud and Iqbāl Khān. Sultān Mahmud before engaging in conflict left the army of Iqbāl Khān under pretence of a hunting expedition, and had an interview with Sultān Ibrahim who treated him with scant ceremony, Sultān Mahmud accordingly removed Shāhzada Faṭḥ Khān of Heiāt, who was holding Qanauj on behalf of Mubarak Shāh, and took that fortress under his own control. The populace of Qanauj both people and soldiery, joined Sultan Mahmud, and Sultān Ibrahim returned to Jannpur, while Iqbāl Khān retraced his steps towards Dihli, so that Sultan Mahmud was left in undisputed and contented possession of Qanauj.

And in the year 805 H (1402 A D) Iqbāl Khān made an attack upon the country round the fortress of Gwalior, which Rai Harsingh² had taken by treachery from the Muslims during the invasion of Timur, and wresting it from the possession of Bairam Dev the son of Harsingh,³ took it into his own control. 27

And in the year 806 H (1403 A D) Tatar Khān the son of Zafar Khān, forgetting his filial duty took his father prisoner by treachery and sent him to Asawal, assuming to himself the title of Sultan Nāsur ad Din Muḥammad Shāh, and set out at the head of a large army with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihli. While he was on the way his uncle Shams Khān administered poison to him and removed him, then he released Zafar Khān and the whole army joined him.

¹ MS (A) reads جہان پناہ *Jahanpanah*. This was the name given to the central portion of the triple citadel of Dihli connecting old Dihli with Siri. It was situated in the midst of the inhabited city and had thirteen gates of the other two Siri had seven gates and old Dihli ten gates. See Elliott III 448. The palace was called *Jahan Numa* as in the text.

² Firishta calls him نرسلک *Narsingh*.

³ Both MSS and text read هرسنگ *Harsingh*.

Verse.

A parricide is not fitted to be a king,
And even if he is fitted he will not last for more than six
months.

And in the year 807 H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Gwālīār and Itāwa, the Rāis of which districts all took refuge within the fortress of Itāwa, and stood siege for four months; at last they made overtures for peace, sending four elephants and other presents of suitable nature. Iqbāl Khān leaving there came to Qanauj, and fought with Sultān Mahmūd, but was unable to effect his purpose owing to the strength of the fortifications, so returned to Dihli without accomplishing his object.

And in the Muḥarram of the year 808 H. (1405 A.D.) he marched for Sāmāna, and from thence came to Rūpar,¹ and by stratagem laid hands upon Babrām Khān Turkbacha, who had been an antagonist of Sārang Khān, and flayed his head. Leaving Rūpar he proceeded towards Multān, intending to fight with Khizr Khān, and at Talaundi taking with him Rāi Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn and the other *Zamīndārs*, on the nineteenth of the month of Jamādīn-l-Awwal in the abovementioned year, he engaged in battle with Khizr Khān in the neighbourhood of 275. Ajūdhan,² on the banks of a tributary (of the Satlaj);³ and since

¹ In the Umballa district, 43 miles North of Ambāla city, Lat. 20° 57' N. Long. 76° 33' E. on the south bank of the Satlej, (Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 82).

² Ajūdhan the ancient name of Pākpattan. Lat. 30° 20' 40" N. Long. 73° 25' 50" E. It is known as Pākpattan, or Ferry of the Pure, from Shaiḫ Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj Shakkar who is buried there. The saint was called Ganj Shakkar as he was reputed to have the miraculous power of turning into sugar whatever he put into his mouth, even earth and stones. Pilgrims from all parts of India, Afghanistān, and Central Asia flock to this shrine, and during the *Muḥarram* festival as many as 60,000 persons have been present. During the afternoon and night of the last day the crowds vie with one another in attempting to gain access to a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine known as the "Gate of Paradise." Whoever can force his way through this opening during the prescribed hours is assured of an entrance into Paradise. For this reason the crush is excessive and many are injured.

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* X. 532-533, also Cunningham (A. G. I.) 214-219.

³ In the text and MSS. we read *اجودھن در کنار دھندہ*. *Ajūdhan dar kinār i-dihinda*, which at first sight seems difficult to understand, until the old maps are consulted. We see in Rennell's map (A.D. 1782) that Ajūdhan was situated (G. g) upon an island surrounded by the Satlaj to the north, and a

ill fortune attended Iqbal Khān,¹ he was defeated in the very first engagement, and his horse being wounded could not bear him off the field, so that the soldiers of Khizr Khān pursued him, and cutting off his head sent it to Pathpur, one of the dependencies of Multān. And in the month of Jumada-ul-Ākhir of this year Sultān Maḥmūd came from Qanauj at the invitation of the Amirs of Dihli, and once more sat upon the throne of Dihli, and conferred appointments upon the Amirs, and sent the family of Mubārak Khān to Kol. And in the month of Jumada-ul-Awwal of the year 809 H (1406 A D) Sultān Maḥmūd marched with a force towards Qanauj, and Sultan Ibrahim came out thence and crossed the Ganges, but they both turned back without fighting.²

Sultān Ibrahim went towards Jaunpur, and Sultan Mahmud towards Dihli, but seeing that the Amirs of Sultan Maḥmūd's army one after the other left for their own districts as they came to them in the march, Sultān Ibrahim turned back and besieged Qanauj, Malik Maḥmud Tarmatī, who was holding Qanauj for Sultan Mahmud, kept Sultān Ibrahim engaged in fighting for four months, but when he saw that no reinforcements were arriving from any quarter he was forced to sue for peace, and surrendered Qanauj to Sultan Ibrahim.³ Sultan Ibrahim passed the rainy season at Qanauj, and then having made over that district to Ikhṭiyār Khān the grandson of Malik Daulat Yar of Kanpūr, started to reduce Dihli.

tributary stream which left the main river to the eastward of Ajudhan, and flowing south west joined it again some 35 miles lower down. This explains Blixson's statement. The town of Ajudhan is generally said to have stood upon the bank of the Satlaj itself. Cunningham (i G of India 214) says "The ancient town of Ajudhan is situated on the high bank of the old Sutlej 28 miles to the south west of Depulpur and 10 miles from the present course of the river" (1871 A D). But from Blixson's statement it is clear that Ajudhan stood, not on the banks of the Satlaj itself, but on a southern loop or tributary stream. It is the modern Pakpattan see note 2.

¹ There is a play on the words اقبال Iqbal good fortune and اقبال Idbar, bad fortune.

² According to Firūz Shāh Ibrahim Shāh was induced to return to Jaunpur by the intelligence that Murāffar Shāh of Gujrat had taken prisoner Alp Khān commonly called Sulṭān Moḥṣin and was now marching on Jaunpur.

³ MS (A)

The text has the words *وہی کردہ* which seem to be superfluous. They are not in MS (A).

And in the year 810 H. (1407 A.D.) Nusrat Khān Karkandāz,¹ and Tātār Khān the son of Sārang Khān, and Malik Marhabā the slave of Iqbāl Khān, turned against Sultān Maḥmūd and joined Sultān Ibrāhīm, and Asad Khān Lodi fortified himself in Sambhal. The following day Sultān Ibrāhīm reduced the fortress of Sambhal and gave it to Tātār Khān: then crossing the Gauges he encamped on the banks of the Jamnā near the fort of Kicha in the vicinity of Dihli, where he learned that Zafar Khān had taken the district of Dhār² and was making his way to Jaunpūr;³ accordingly leaving Malik Marhabā in Baran, he reached Jaunpūr by continuous marches; Sultān Maḥmūd pursued him and having killed Malik Marhabā in battle, and taking Sambhal⁴ without a fight, left there Bāsad Khān after his usual custom. Tātār Khān marched to Qanauj and the Sultān came to Dihli. And in this year Khizr Khān came with a large force and drove Daulat Khān out of Sāmāna.⁵ The Amirs of that district all sought an interview with him, and the whole country as far as to the outskirts of Dihli fell into his hands; only Rohtak and the Doāb remained in the possession of Sultān Maḥmūd.

And in the year 811 H. (1408 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd proceeding to Hissār Firūz took it⁶ from Qiwām Khān to whom Khizr Khān had given it, and having taken possession of it, on arriving at the village of Rata⁷ turned back towards Dihli: Khizr Khān then

¹ Or probably Gurgandāz "the wolf-slayer" MS. (A) reads كنجہ. (?) *kinja*, which means a huge elephant.

² In Central India. Lat. 23° 36' N. Long. 75° 4' E. see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* IV. 248.

³ In Central India, between Lat. 25° 23' 45" and 26° 12' N. Long. 82° 10' and 83° 7' 45" E.

Sultān Ibrāhīm built at Jaunpūr the Atala Masjid, using for this purpose the stones of a Hindū temple the votive offering of Jai Chand which he destroyed. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* VII 152.

⁴ In Rohilkund Lat. 28° 35' 5" N. Long. 78° 36' 45" E., 23 miles S. W. of Moradābād and four miles W. of the Sot River. See Rennell's map. Tieff. III. where he places it 45 miles N. E. of Bareilly. The Sambalaka of Ptolemy. See McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 133. See also Hunter XII. 187.

⁵ Tieff. I. 133, about 25 miles S. W. of Hānsi and 100 miles to the eastward of Dihli.

⁶ MS. (A) reads ان حصار را Firishta call the fortress فیروزہ Firūza.

⁷ Or رنا Rana MS. (A).

came by way of Rohtak with a large army from Fathābād to oppose Sultān Maḥmūd,¹ and laid siege to Dillī, but was not able to maintain the siege by reason of the severe famine which prevailed in Dillī, then having taken possession of the Doāb he returned to Fathpūr.²

And in the year 812 H. (1409 A.D.)³ Bairām Khān Turkbachā,⁴ who after the death of Bahram Khān Turkbachā had become master of Sāmāna, and had been defeated in a battle with Daulat Khān, and again revolting against Khizr Khān had had a second interview with Daulat Khān, now offered his services to Khizr Khān, and received a confirmation of the grant of the districts formerly held by him in lieu. And in the year 813 H. (1410 A.D.) Khizr Khān besieged the fortress of Rohtak⁵ for six months, and after reducing it proceeded to Fathpūr.⁶ In this year Sultān Maḥmūd made an expedition to Kaitha,⁷ and at the capital Dillī.⁸

In the year 814 H. (1411 A.D.) Khizr Khān came to Narnūl⁹ and Miwāt¹⁰ and ravaged that country, and blockading Sultān

¹ MS. (A) reads here *از فتح آباد بر آمد و متک به جنگ سلطان آمد*
دھلی را محاصره کرد

² For some inscrutable reason Briggs passes over the events of two years here. cf. *Firishta*, Bo. text, p. 292, and Briggs, pp. 503-504.

³ The text says 712 H. MS. (A) gives 812 H.

The editor of the text gives a footnote to say that all three MSS. give 712 H.

⁴ MS. (A) inserts *به* before *بیرام خان* and omits *را* after *سامانہ*.

Firishta says that *Ikhṭiyār Khān* joined *Khizr Khān* seeing he was the stronger.

⁵ Held according to *Firishta* by Malik Idris on behalf of Maḥmūd Shāh.

⁶ By way of Sāmāna (*Firishta*).

⁷ Which was held by Iqlīm Khān and Bahādur Khān (*Firishta*).

⁸ *Mincūt*. For an account of this Province see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. IX, pp. 418 and seq. from which the substance of this note is taken :

The Meos, a tribe which gave their name to this province were of obscure origin claiming to be Rājputs, but probably a combination from various stocks and sources and nearly allied to the Minas. The original Meos probably became converts to Islam at the time of Maḥmūd of Ghazna; their customs are a mixture of Hindū and Musulmān observances.

The province of Miwāt lay south of Dillī and in Mughal times formed part of the *Shūbah* of Agra. Its most famous towns were Narnaul, Ulwur,

Maḥmūd in the fortress of Sīrī, which is part of Dihlī,¹ and Ikhtiyār Khān in Fīrozābād, and fighting several fierce battles, was prevented from maintaining the siege² by reason of the dearth of grain, and returned to Faṭḥpūr by way of Pānīpath.³

And in the year 815 H. (1412 A.D.)⁴ Sultān Maḥmūd departed from this world, and the kingdom passed from the family of Fīrūz Shāh. The duration of his reign, full as it was of turmoil and vicissitudes, was twenty years⁵ and two months, during which Sultān Maḥmūd had had only the name of sovereignty.

Verse.

Who is there in this long-enduring world
Who can say "Mine is the kingdom" save the Almighty?

Verse.

A head within this year exalt to a lofty position
They later entangle its neck in a noose.

Tijāra and Rewārī. Bahādur Nāhir (who is frequently mentioned in the text) was the founder of the Khānzāda race, long the rulers of Mīwāt.

The province of Mīwāt included part of the British districts of Muttra, Gurgāon, a considerable portion of Ulwar, and some of Bhartpūr.

See Tieffenthaler. Vol. III. Map. where the province is marked.

¹ In the *Malʿūzāt-i-Tīmūrī* we read that Tīmūr plundered "all the three cities of Dihlī, by name Sīrī, Jahānpauāh and old Dihlī."

See Elliott, III. p. 447, also Thomas *Pathān Kings*, p. 313, note 3.

² MS. (A) omits قرار.

³ *Pānīpath*. A town of great antiquity. Lat. 29° 23' N. Long. 77° 1' 10" E. 53 miles N. of Dihlī. It was the scene of decisive battles on three occasions in historical times. The famous surgeons, father and son, Shaiḫ Hasan and Shaiḫ Bīnā were natives of Pānīpat, see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 543, note to No. 94.

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* XI. 44.

⁴ In the month of Zū Quʿda (Firishta). Firishta does not state the year though taken in connection with what has gone before he appears to mean 814 H. but see n 2: Badāonī however agrees, with the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*. On this point see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 317, note i.

⁵ MS. (A) reads here,

و مدت ملک بان همه تزلزل و انقلاب نوزده سال و دو ماه بود

Firishta has almost the same words but says بیست سال twenty years as in the text. So also the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*.

Firishta's statement is not very clear as to the year in which Maḥmūd died, but as he goes on to say that after his death the Amīrs gave in their

Save the blood of kings there is nought in this bowl,
 Save ¹ the dust of lovers there is nought in this desert

Of the poets of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd is Qāzī Zahir Dihlavi ² who has left a *Diwān* (anthology) full of *qasidas* in eulogy (of Mahmud) of which this is one.

Heir to the mighty monarchy, Sultān Maḥmūd,
 Who succeeded his father and grandfather in the sovereignty 278
 of the world,

He removed Dabaran ³ from the sky to serve as his signet,
 While Taurus complained saying I have but this one eye
 left ⁴

By the first strain of his bow string he has awakened the Lion,
 And after that he has stretched him out in sleep with the
 deep piercing arrow.

The whole world boasts of full satiation at the board of thy
 favour,

Save only the lute which complains that its belly is empty ⁵
 Oh thou whose world conquering sword flashes in the dark-
 ness of infidelity like to the lightning flashing through the
 darkness of night,

Although the heaven has made thine enemies intoxicated
 like the eyes of the beloved idols for some time, still at last
 it has overthrown them

allegiance to Daulat Khan Lodi, who struck the coinage, &c, in Maḥarram of 816 H it is tolerably clear that he means Zu l Qa'da 815 H as the date of Maḥmud's death, and not 814 H as Briggs would have it.

¹ Misprint in the text MS (A) reads سحر

² Qāzī Zahir Dihlavi I can find no mention of this poet

³ الدبران The *Hyades* one of the two clusters of stars included within the constellation *Taurus* the other being the *Pleiades*

Ancient astronomers were not agreed as to the number of stars included in the *Hyades* Thales reckoned two only (α and ε) the two eyes of the Bull (Smith Dict Greek and Rom Antiq 150 a)

⁴ The constellation *Taurus* is here spoken of as having lost one of his two eyes by which must be meant the two clusters of stars above mentioned, and not α and ε of *Taurus* as reckoned by Thales.

⁵ The رباب *rubab* or lute is a stringed instrument like a gu tar but having the body shaped like a hollowed gourd somewhat resembling the body of the mandolin

It is envy of thy generous hand which throws the ocean into tumult, for if it be not so, the ocean is never so disturbed by the winds of heaven.

The following is also by the same author :

Thou art a monarch before whom the heavens bow in adoration,
Thou art a King in whose reign time itself exults.

Qiblah ¹ of the nation, and mainstay of kingdoms and religion, Maḥmūd

Whom the assemblies of Sultān have chosen as their Imām.²

The Qāzī of the heavens³ comes out on foot to receive him

279. When the Governor of his unerring judgment sends the summons.

He keeps constant watch⁴ lest sedition should make a night assault,

Thy vigilance stands with a drawn sword in its hand while the people sleep (in safety).

In order that thy enemy may not enjoy the sweet breezes of the garden of thy favour

The heavens have afflicted him with fever and headache in addition to catarrh.⁵

¹ This line should read as in MS. (A).

قِبْلَةُ خَلْقٍ وَ قِيَامِ دَوْلِ دِينَ مُحَمَّدٍ

A foot-note to the Calcutta text states that the reading there given is the same in all three MSS. of Badāonī and that probably the word **شِه** has dropped out after the word **دِينَ**. This is a quite unnecessary supposition. The reading above given fulfils all requirements. MS. (B) corresponds save that for **دَوْل** it reads **دَوْل** an evident copyist's error.

قِبْلَةُ *Qiblah*. This is the direction in which Muslims are bound to turn during prayer: This is laid down in the Qur'ān, Sura II. "We see thee often turn thy face about in the heavens, but we will surely turn thee to a qiblah thou shalt like. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque, wherever ye be turn your faces towards it" (v. 139). From the Hijra, Muḥammad at first directed his followers to turn towards the temple at Jerusalem, but in the second year of the Hijra the Ka'bah at Mekka was fixed as the qiblah. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, s. v. *Qiblah*.

² **إِمَام** *Imām*. In this passage the word is used in the sense of *Khalifah*.

³ **قَاضِي چَرخ** *Qāzī-i-Charḥ*. The planet Jupiter.

⁴ MS. (A) reads incorrectly **هیددار پاس**.

⁵ This couplet is inevitably ridiculous to English ears: the meaning is that in order to deprive him of the pleasures of the perfumed breezes, he has been afflicted with the anosmia which results from a cold in the head.

The heavens have apportioned every arrow of thine to one
of the various families,
It were not possible to allot the arrows¹ in any better way
than this

The following is also his

My love has gone outside, do thou my life also go outside,
For if thou art not outside with my love, thou wilt be outside
the pale of love

Specially that now, in order to uproot the infidels and rebels,²
The royal standards have gone out clothed in good fortune.
Shāh Mahmūd, he who when he sallied forth against the
infidels,

Thou would'st say 'Isa has come forth to slay Dujāl³

Thy reign has cast sedition into the bondage of annihilation.

I said to the heavens, Beware! this is a prisoner⁴ of the
Sultān, free him not!

¹ سهام *Sihām*, called also قِدَاح *qidaḥ*. These are the arrows used by the
ancient Arabs for gambling in the manner called الميسر *Al maisar* (for-
bidden in the Qur'ān, II 216 v 92, 93) In this game a camel was bought
and slaughtered, and divided into twenty eight portions which were drawn for
with ten arrows called أُولَام *azlam*. The numbers after the names of the
arrows indicate the value of the share drawn, فَذ *fazz* (1), تَوَام *tau'am* (2),
رَقِيب *raqib* (3), نَافِس *nafis* (4), حِلْس *hils* (5), مُسْبِل *musbal* (6), مَعَالِي *mualliq* (7)

The remaining three arrows were blanks and gained no share. Their
names were سَفِيح *safih*, مَنِيح *manih*, وَعْد *waghd*. The name of each
arrow was written upon it and they were all put into a bag called رِبَابَة
ribabah, and given into the charge of a trustworthy man known as الْمُجِيل
al mujil or الْمُفِيض *al mufiz* whose duty was to shake the arrows up and draw
out one for each in turn. Whoever drew a blank had to pay the cost of
the camel, while those who drew a winning arrow received a proportionate
share according to the value of the arrow. See *Majma'u l Bahrain, Maqamah*,
XIII p 99

² The complets are here given in the order in which they occur in both
MSS (A) (B)

³ دَجَال *Dajjal*. See page 278 n 4 "A name given in the Hadīṡ to certain
religious impostors who shall appear in the world, a term equivalent to our
use of the word Antichrist. Muhammad is related to have said there would
be about thirty." Hughes' *Dict of Islam* 64. See also Albiruni *Chronology of
Ancient Nations* pp 195 196

⁴ MS (A) بَدِي MS (B) بَدِي

This is also his :

The month of Dai¹ has arrived, and the air has in consequence become so cold²

That nothing save the icy breeze can move from its place.

The earth is cold and frost bound,³ the air is even colder than the earth,

In very truth the air is chill with the weariness of age.

In the garden the fire of the tulip and Gulnär have died down,

280. From the cold the (graceful) trees of the garden have become mere sticks.

The water is hard frozen from the cold, and says with petulance,

I will break if anyone places his foot upon my head.

No single bud comes out from its resting place in the heart of the tree, although it wears upon its cypress-like body a cap and mantle.

The bird has ceased its song when it saw the havoc wrought by autumn,

When a general pillage is going on, lamentation is futile.

Seek not for leaves and seed-bearing fruit in the garden, for to-day

The leaves have been scattered by the wind, the seeds remain hidden beneath the earth.

The morning breeze draws every breath like a deep drawn sigh, Seeing that it has cast to the winds so beauteous a being as the rose.

So far has the rose gone that should you search the East and the West,

You will not find it save in the assembly of the King of the World.

Shāh Maḥmūd from the splendour of whose assemblies, there is eternal spring in the month of Dai, and the world is like Paradise.

¹ دی The tenth month of the Persian Shamsī year when the Sun is in Capricorn, corresponding to the commencement of winter.

² MS. (A) omits شد.

³ MS. (A) reads گشت از برف in place of گشت آئین. Text and MS. (B).

He who when he draws up his array, and orders it for battle,
The lines of the enemies at the very sight of him pale with
terror.¹

His heart is the rising place of sacred knowledge,² and he has
knowledge,

Because³ he fathoms the secrets of Fate with a glance.

Oh thou who in the rules of Government art an example to
vazirs,

The vazirs have issued no order save on the authority of thy
judgment.

If it be not the intention of the wind to write a memorial
of thy virtues⁴

Why does it scatter the leaves of the rose in the garden,
The sun in comparison with thy (brilliant) judgment looks
like Suhā⁵

281.

Although Suhā cannot be seen in the bright light of the Sun.
Thou slayest thine enemies, and Time confesses thy excellence;
Thou art the refuge of the people, and the evil doers take
shelter under thy wing

The cupbearer of thy feast bears a cup of joy in his hand,
The herald of thy fame has the whole world beneath his feet.
The banquet of Truth cannot be spread save in praise of thee
Although the whole feast terminates with the distribution of
sweetmeats.

Hail *Khusrū*! even should I remain excluded from attendance
upon thee

I shall not take one moment's rest from praising and eulogis-
ing thee

My duty is thy service, since were I to refrain from that
I have no other occupation save singing thy praises

¹ An adequate translation of these lines seems impossible. There is a
تجنیس لفظی *tajnīs i-lafzi* or play upon words here which cannot be pre-
served in English. The words *آرد صفرā* *avad Sufra*, have two meanings, 1st,
draws up its lines, and 2nd, grows pale, according as *صفرā* is taken as two
words or as one

² MS. (A) and (B) write دل از مشرق عیب است و قوفی دارد

³ MS (A) write گر Text and MS (B) که.

⁴ MS (A) reads incorrectly خواهیم نوشت

⁵ *Suhā* is the name of a dim star in Ursa Major. See Lane s v السها

Thou hast led thine army against thy enemies, and I follow thee

Sending early and late the army of benediction to thy assistance.

As long as the nights of the month of Dai are longer than its days,

And until the season of Naurus comes round unpreceded by winter,

May the garden of thy enjoyment blossom like the season of spring.

May the life of thy enemies be shorter than the days of winter.

This is another of his compositions.

The scent of the rose has arisen, haste my companion to the rose-garden,

Seek for the old wine, and re-call that old love of thine.

282.

The branch of the rose, like the date-palm of 'Isā, refreshes the soul in the garden

Because the breeze gently shakes it continually like Mariam.¹

Although the tender branch inclines with the wind, from one side to the other

Yet a stream flows, *Praise be to God*, up to the *Şirāt-i-mustaqīm*.²

The branch is full of leaves, why does the nightingale complain in its song?

How is it possible that Moses should have patience when he has *Khizr* for companion?³

¹ "So she conceived him and she retired with him into a remote place. And the labour pains came upon her at the trunk of a palm-tree and she said, 'O that I had died before this, and been forgotten out of mind!' and he called to her from beneath her, 'Grieve not, for thy Lord has placed a stream beneath thy feet; and shake towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree, it will drop upon thee fresh dates fit to gather; so eat and drink and cheer thine eye.'" Qur'ān. Palmer's translation. See Qur'ān. Sura XIX. vv. 20-28.

² *Şirāt-i-mustaqīm*. The hair-like bridge over the midst of Hell over which the righteous will pass like lightning.

Qur'ān, I. 5, Hughes *art* *Şirāt*. It is also interpreted to mean the religion of Islām. Qur'ān, III. 44. See also Lane, s. v.

³ This refers to the legend told by Muhammadan commentators on certain verses of the Qur'ān, that when *Khizr* had disappeared in search of the water of immortality, Moses was inspired to search for him and was told that he

The wind draws lines across the stream like the scribe as
he drives his pen,

The eye of the narcissus points to the sky like the eye of the
astronomer as he prepares his tables.

The parrots flaunt in green attire, the ringdove wears white
garments,

The crow is devoid of any such honourable vestments, wear-
ing as it does a black blanket.¹

You would say² that the narcissus has produced a transcript
of these people (*umam*) who sleep below the dust Look!
it has for each *alif* two *mims*³

The sumbul and narcissus are copies of the locks and eyes
of the fair ones,

Of those two, one falls prostrate stricken with blackness,
the other comes intoxicated (with love).⁴

would meet him by a rock where two seas met, and where he should lose a
fish which he was directed to take with him The companion spoken of is
said to have been Joshua, and the servant who guided them (v 61) was no
less than *Khizr* himself, and when Moses asked if he should follow him said,
"Verily thou canst never have patience with me How canst thou be patient
in what thou comprehendest no knowledge of" *Khizr* upon being assured
by Moses that he would be patient bade him to follow but not to ask about
anything he might see They embarked in a ship which *Khizr* scuttled, where-
upon Moses naturally asked the reason and was rebuked Further on they
met a boy whom *Khizr* killed and again roused Moses' impatience, again
they found a wall which *Khizr* prevented from falling without exacting any
reward for his services, and again Moses became impatient whereupon *Khizr*
said, "This is the parting between me and thee" and explained to Moses the
reason for his action in each case See Qur'an XVIII 61 and following verses

¹ The couplets are arranged in the order in which they come in the MSS

² The text reads *گوئی* with a foot note variant *بیلی* MSS (A) (B)
agree with text

³ *نرجس* or *نرگس* *Nargis* The poet's narcissus *Narcissus poeticus* N O.
Amurillidaceæ This natural order has a single style with three stigmas,
and six stamens of which the anthers burst inwards The poet here likens the
three divisions of the style to three *alifs* (ا) and the stamens to six *mims*
(م) the anthers forming the head of the letter, and the curved filament its
downward stroke Thus the single *alif* (ا) and two *mims* (م) form he says
the word *أمم* *umam* the plural of *أمة* *ummatun* meaning the followers of
a prophet, or a people of one religion, hence generically a generation of men
as in the saying *قد مضت أمت* *generations of men have passed away*

⁴ *سندبل* *Sumbul* *Nardostachys Jatamansi* N O. Valerianaceæ See note 6.

The rose-bud has blossomed by the blast of the breeze of
the garden,

In truth, he who has a resigned heart rejoices even when
misfortune befalls him.

You would say that the black spot which has come in the
heart of the tulip from the cruelty of autumn

Is a Hindū who has fallen¹ into the flames of hell.

She stands there on one foot lifting upwards two eyes²

Beseeching the merciful Lord³ to grant the King eternal life.

He in comparison with whose youthful fortune the heaven is
as an old man bowed with age,⁴

And for instructing his judgment, abstract Wisdom⁵ is as an
intelligent child.

When once the power of growth⁶ has obtained sufficient
intensity from his sharp sword, it splits the fruit-stone, as
his sword does the enemy, into two halves beneath the
earth.

The star of sovereignty,⁷ which has left its orbit to seek thy
auspicious presence,

Will find its proper orbit if it becomes stationary at thy
court.

page 146: see also *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 405 *et seqq* for a paper on this, the Indian Spikenard, from which the following is taken "the *true nard* or *Jatāmānsi* which, by the way, has other names in the *Amarcōsh*, the smoothest of which are *gatilā* and *lāmasā* both derived from words meaning *hair*." The comparison of the narcissus to the eye is so familiar as to need no reference.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) فروخته.

² The scape of the tulip is here spoken of as bearing two flowers.

³ MS. (A) رب عظیم.

⁴ I read here پیرنگونست *pīr-i-nigūnast* for پیرنگونست (MSS. and text) *pīr-i-neckūst* which has no intelligible meaning. Probably the author wrote نگونست *nigūnast*.

⁵ عقل کل *‘aql-i-kull*. The first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the Angel Gabriel. In the language of the *Šūfis* the *‘aql-i-kull* (called also *‘aql-i-arwal*) appears to answer to the "Logos" of the Alexandrian School. See *Kashshāf-fi-Ittilābu-l-funūn*, II, p. 1028.

⁶ قوت نامیده for قوت نامیده.

⁷ رجوع کوكب *Rujū‘-i-kaukab*, called also رجعة *Rija‘t*, is the motion of a star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction which is known by the term استقامة *Istiqāmat*. See *Kashshāf*, s. v. رجوع.

And in truth after Qazî Zahir no poet arose in Hindustân whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading. After the death of Sultân Mahmud the great Amirs of Hindustân as for instance Mubārîz Khān and Malik Idris who was the ruler of Rohtak, quarrelled with Khizr Khān and were disposed to make common cause with Daulat Khān, Khizr Khān accordingly stood fast in Fathpūr and made no expeditions to any country.

In Muharram of the year 816 H (1414 A D) Daulat Khān having gone towards Kanhar on a hunting expedition and having brought the Rāis of that district into his toils, went to Batali, and Mahabub Khān the Wali of Badāon came thither and joined him. And in this year Sultan Ibrāhīm besieged Qādir Khān the son of Mahmud Khān in Kalpi, and Daulat Khān being very short handed, ignored him, and omitted to send reinforcements to either of these places, and Khizr Khān in Zu l qada of this year came to the fortress of Firūzabad,¹ the Amirs of which district came into him, and Malik Idris was besieged in Rohtak. Khizr Khān marched by that route to Miwat and taking with him Jalal Khān Miwātī the brother's son of Bahadur Nahir, conveyed him to Sanbal which place he pillaged, and in Zu Hijjah of that same year he encamped before the gates of Dillī with the intention of taking it, Daulat Khān held out for four months, but at last was compelled by the want of agreement with Malik Lonū and the other supporters of Khizr Khān to sue for peace, humbly and earnestly. He had an interview with Khizr Khān who threw him into prison, and delivered him to Qiṣam Khān who conveyed him to the fortress of Firuz and slew him. This happened in the year 816 H (1414 A D) on the seventeenth of Rabi'ul Awwal.²

Verse

Everyone whom the world favours, she at last³ spills his blood,
What can be the condition of that child, whose mother is
his enemy

MASNAV I 'ALĪ KHIZR KHĀN IBN MALIKU SH SHARQ⁴ IBN MALIK
SULLIMĀN,

In the year before mentioned after the conquest of Dillī having

¹ MS (A) reads به حصار ضروره آمد

² Firuzīta adds The duration of his reign was one year and three months

³ MS (A) reads عاقبة for آخرش

⁴ MS (A) The text reads ملک اشرف

raised the standards of monarchy, became firmly established upon the throne of sovereignty.

285. This Malik Suleimān had been exalted in his childhood by Malik Naṣīru-l-Mulk Marwān Firūz Shāhī to the rank of a son, and had been educated accordingly. In real truth he was a Saiyyidzāda of high family, so that on one occasion Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt, the fountain of dignities, Shaikh Jalālu-l-Haqq wau-s-Shara'wau-d-dīn al-Bukhārī *may God sanctify his soul*, came for some important purpose into the house of Malik Marwān Daulat; food was served, and Malik Suleimān brought the ewer and bason to Makhdūm intending to pour water over his august hands. Makhdūm addressing him by the title of Malik Marwān Daulat, said, This lad is a Saiyyid Zāda, and it is derogatory to him to allot him such a menial service. From that day forth, it was known that Malik Suleimān was an undoubted Saiyyid; but besides this, the signs of Saiyyidship, and good qualities and praiseworthy traits became manifestly visible in the character of Masnad-i-Ālī Saiyyid Khizr Khān.

Verse.


The Saiyyid was a man in whom were manifested

The virtues of Muḥammad, and the grace of 'Alī the accepted.

The following is an epitome of the career of Malik Marwān Daulat. He was governor of Multān in the time of Firūz Shāh, and after the death of Malik Marwān Daulat, the Government of that district devolved upon his son Malik Shaikh, shortly after whose death it was confirmed to Malik Suleimān. He also bade farewell to this world in that reign, and the country of Multān with its dependencies was conferred upon Saiyyid Khizr Khān on behalf of Sultān Firūz Shāh, up to the date when the aforesaid Saiyyid was advanced to the Sultānate by the Amīrs. He however would not assume the title of King; but received the title of Rāyāt-i-A'ala.¹

On the date mentioned he alighted at the palace of Sultān Maḥmūd, and gained over the hearts of great and small by public largesse and unbounded favours, distributing titles, offices, and territories among his personal attendants; in the very first year of his accession he conferred upon Malik Naḥv² (Tuḥfa) the title

¹ See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, and footnote.

² MS. (A)  Tuḥfa.

having seized the right bank of the Black water, ¹ inflicted condign punishment upon the infidels of Itāwah, and then returned towards the city.

And in the year 818 H. (1415 A.D.) he gave to Saiyyid Khizr Khān the younger son ² of Malik Mabārak, whose countenance betokened royal dignity, the territory of Firūzpūr and Sihriṇḍ, together with the whole of the districts which were in the possession of Bairam Khān Turkbacha, and subjected the supreme control and administration of that tract of country to his will and pleasure, while Malik Sadhū Nādir, ³ having assumed the control of the western portion of Hindūstān, was appointed to this office with the rank of *Nāib-i-Shāhzāda* (i.e., vicegerent of the Prince).

And in the aforesaid year the Prince here alluded to having, in concert with Malik ⁴ Sadhū Nādira and Zīrak Khān the Amīr of Sāmāna and other Amīrs and Maliks, ⁵ set in order the important affairs of that province, and put everything upon a satisfactory footing, returned to Dihlī his capital city.

And in the year 819 H. (1416 A.D.) he appointed Malik Tāju-l-Mulk ⁶ with a large army to carry the standards of Khizr Khān ⁷ towards Baiāna and Gwālīār; Malik Karīm-u-l-Mulk, the brother of Shams Khān Aḥādī came and had an interview with him.

287. Having cleared those regions of the thorns of infidelity he returned; and in this selfsame year some of the Turkbachas of Bairam Khān's party seized by treachery Malik Sadhū Nādira, who was holding the district of Sihriṇḍ as the Shahzāda's deputy, raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and took possession of Sihriṇḍ. Khizr Khān thereupon sent Zīrak Khān to put down this rebellion, and he accordingly went thence to the foot of the hills in pursuit of those rebels, but after encountering many difficulties he returned.

¹ The Kālī Nadi or Kālindī, or Kālīnī, rises in the Muzaffarnagar district, and drains the whole eastern portion of the Doāb. The name in the text آب سیاه *ab-i-siyāh* means *Black water*, and is a translation of the Hindūstānī *kālī naddī*.

² MS. (A) reads wrongly پسر خود for پسر خورد.

³ MS. (A). The text reads نادرة.

⁴ MS. (A).

⁵ Omit و after ملوک.

⁶ MS. (A) reads تاج الدین *Tāju-d-Dīn*.

⁷ MS. (A) رایات اعلیٰ خضر حانی.

In this year also Sultan Ahmad, who was the ruler of Gujerat, laid siege to Nagor,¹ but upon hearing of the march of Khizr Khān abandoned the siege and withdrew. Khizr Khān came to Chhāin,² and Alyās Khān the governor of Chhāin gave in his allegiance to him. Thence he proceeded to Gwālbār, and although he did not reduce that fortress, still he levied tribute and offerings from it, and thence came to Briāna where Shams Khān Auhadi gave in his submission. And in the year 820 H. (1417 A D) Tughlan the Ra'is with his band who had been the murderers of Malik Sadhu revolted. Zarak Khān was again appointed (to chastise them), and scattered that gathering in all directions.

And in the year 821 H. (1418 A D) Khizr Khan went up against Kanthar, and Har Singh Dev, who has already been mentioned, laid waste the whole of Kanthar, and took to the forest of Anwā, the circumference of which is twenty-four *krohs*. After several engagements he was defeated, and eventually withdrew to the hill country of Kumaon. Taju l-Mulk crossed the river Rahrāb and pursued him as far as the hills, and from there came to Badaon, and taking with him Mahābat Khān, the governor of Badaon, crossed the Ganges by the crossing of Bajlāna then having dismissed Mahābat Khān, he himself went on to Itāwa, whence he returned to Dihli laden with spoil. In this same year, also, Khizr Khan³ again led an army against Kanthar, and proceeding by way of Kol arrived at Batālī, where he crossed the Ganges and came to Badāon. On this occasion Mahābat

¹ Nagor. In Brigg's translation of Firishta this appears as Bagore (I 509). It is Nagaur in Jodhpur State, Rajputanā 48 miles North West of Nasirabad and 75 North East of Jodhpur city.

² The text reads جہان *Jahan* but MS (A) reads چہاين *Chhāin*.

In Brigg's (I 509) we find the place called Jalwar, with a footnote "I have some doubt as to the true name it is differently written in my various MSS." In the lithographed edition of Firishta the name is written plainly enough جانور *Janur* (Bombay Edn I 294), and it is said that without waiting for Khizr Khān to advance, Ahmad withdrew in the direction of Mālwa, and that when Khizr Khān arrived at Janur, Alyas Khān who was governor of the new city called 'Arus i Jahan, which was one of the cities built by Alau d Din Khulji, came to pay his homage. Evidently then, the city mentioned in our text and this "'Arus i Jahan" are the same.

³ MS (A) reads here باز دہای آمد و ہم در سہ مذکورہ ناز which appears to be a copyist's error.

Khān Badāoni being afraid of him, shut himself up in the fortress, and opposed Khizr Khān for a space of six months; he was on the point of being defeated, when Qiwām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khān, and certain of the other Mahmūd Shāhi Amīrs who had seceded from Daulat Khān and had espoused the cause of Khizr Khān, meditated treason against Khizr Khān: but Khizr Khān becoming aware of this state of things¹ abandoned (the siege of) Badāon, and returned to Dihli. And in the year 822 H. (1419 A.D.) he put those traitor Amīrs to death on the banks of the Ganges, in vengeance for the treachery of which they had been guilty. In the same year also an obscure person on the confines of Bajwāra,² falsely gave himself out to be Sārang Khān who had been killed some time before, and upon his assuming this name several adventurers flocked to him. Khizr Khān deputed Sultān Shāh Lodi³ to proceed against him. They fought a fierce battle in the neighbourhood of Sihhind, and Sārang Khān the impostor fled and took to the mountains. Sultān Shāh made Rūpar his head quarters.⁴ In this same year Khizr Khān sent Tāju-l-Mulk to Itāwa. Rāi Sipar was holding out in that fort, but sought for quarter, and consented to pay revenue to Tāju-l-Mulk.⁵ Thence he came to Chandwār, and having laid it waste and pillaged it, proceeded by way of Kaithar to Dihli. In this same year Malik Tāju-d-Din died, and the duties of his Vazīrship were entrusted to his elder son Malik Sikandar. Tūghān Ra'is again raised an insurrection in Sihhind, and Malik Khairu-d-Din was appointed to oppose him, and returned after having satisfactorily quelled his rebellion.

¹ MS. (A) reads قضیه which is preferable to قصه as found in the text.

² Firishta, (I. 295) says نزدیک ماچيواره near Māchīwāra, and in the Āin-i-Akbarī we find it stated that Māchīwārah is situated on the banks of the Sutlej (Jarrett, II. 310). In Rennell's Map (Tieff. III.) we find Māchīwārah figured between Rūpar and Lūdhiāna. It lies 23 miles south of Lūdhiāna, and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Bujwāra is farther north near Hoshiārpūr. (See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., II. 439).

³ Firishta adds, "called Islām Khān who was the governor of Sarhind."

⁴ This appears to be the meaning of the text. Firishta tells us that Islām Khān pursued "Sārang Khān" with his own forces and those of certain other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself.

⁵ MS. (A) مال واجبی. Firishta calls him Rāi Samūr.

And in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) Khizr Khān proceeded to 289.
Miwāt and took Kotla; thence he hastened to Gwāhār, from the
Rāi of which place he levied considerable sums and returned to
Itāwa Rāi Sipar had gone to hell, and ¹ his son had tendered his
submission. In this interval ² a severe illness attacked Khizr
Khān which led to his return towards Dillī. Having arrived at
that city on the seventeenth of Jumādīn l-Awwal in the above
year, he was received into the mercy of God and passed away from
the world.

Verse

Every evening is followed by the morning.

At last there comes an end to every labour.

The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.³

SULTĀN MUBĀRAK SHĀH IBN KHIZR KHĀN IBN MALIK SULEIMĀN,

In accordance with his rights as heir-presumptive ascended the
throne with the consent of the Amirs in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.),⁴
and became firmly settled in the administration of his kingdom.
In this year Jasrat Khūkar⁵ the son of Shaikhā Khūkar raised a
rebellion, the reason of which was that he had taken unawares
Sultān 'Alī the king of Kashmīr, who had started with the
intention of conquering Tatta⁶ and had defeated him in one of
the mountain passes,⁷ a vast amount of plunder falling into his
hands. Emboldened by this victory, he used the royal treasures
which he had obtained to further an attempt to seize the kingdom
of Dillī, and having crossed the rivers Biāh and Sutloj with a

¹ MS. (A) و

² MS (A) و دریں اثنا.

³ Firishta adds, "He was a just and wise king, kind and true to his word, his subjects loved him with a grateful affection so that great and small, master and servant, sat and mourned for him in black raiment till the third day, when they laid aside their mourning garments, and raised his son Mubarak Shah to the throne."

⁴ MS (A) reads correctly اربع for احدى MS (B) has the same reading as the text.

⁵ MSS (A) and (B) omit کہوکر Firishta writes کہوکر Khakar and calls him the brother of Shaikhā Khakar

⁶ Thus the text and MS (B) MS (A) reads simply بقصبہ تنہ Baqasba, Tatta, i. e., for the town of Tatta

⁷ MS (A) درون گہاٹی کو شکست داد The text reads کہانٹی

large army, and assaulted Talaundī which was in the possession of Rāi Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn,¹ and Rāi Fīrūz fled from before him.

290. Jasrat came to Ludhiāna² and plundered and pillaged along the banks of the river Sutlej as far as the boundaries of Rūpar;³ there he crossed the river and came to Jālandhar.⁴ Zīrak Khān had taken refuge in the fort of Jālandhar. Jasrat descended the bank of the river Sarsuti whereupon the question of peace arose; Jasrat by some treachery made Zīrak Khān prisoner. Sultān Mubārak Shāh moved towards Sihrind, upon hearing which Jasrat Shaikhā⁵ released Zīrak Khān who went to Sāmāna and offered his services to Mubārak Shāh who proceeded to Ludhiāna. Jasrat having crossed the Ludhiāna river drew up to oppose him, being in possession of the whole of the boats. The army of Mubārak Shāh was unable to cross the river, until after the rising of Canopus⁶ when the river became fordable. The Sultān then crossed the river; Jasrat fled and having

1 We must read **تلوندي کمال الدين**. This is shewn to be the right reading by the collateral passage in *Firishta* which reads (I. p. 297), **وتلوندي که برای کمال تعلق داشت غارت کرد** "and laid waste Talaundī which belonged to Rāi Kamāl."

2 The text and both MSS. read **کداهنه** Kudāhna, but it is evident that we should read **لدھیانہ** Ludhiāna. We find in *Firishta* (*loc. cit.*). **و حیرت بلود یانہ آمدہ** "Jasrat having come to Lūdiāna." Talaundī I cannot identify, but there is a place on the North bank of the Sutlej in Rennell's map, called Tulloom, this with the affixed genitive feminine termination (Punjābī) *dī*, would give Tulūmdī or Tulūndī, *i. e.*, the village of Tulūm. Tulloom lies about 20 miles S. S.-W. of Ludhiāna (*see* Rennell's map, Tieff., III), on the opposite bank of the river.

3 Rūpar in Rennell's map is placed North-East of Ludhiāna about 50 miles distant: but on modern maps it is shewn almost due East of Ludhiāna and about 35 miles from it.

4 A place of considerable antiquity, the original capital of the Rājput kingdom of Katoch. It is described by Hwen Thsang as having been a town of two miles in circuit in the 7th century A.D.

It is mentioned by Ptolemy by the name of *Kulindrīne* or *Sulindrīne*, *see* Cunningham, A. G. I., pp. 135, etc., and Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, VII. 91.

5 MS. (A) omits **بن** probably correctly as we have seen from *Firishta*'s account.

6 *Firishta* tells us they crossed on the 11th Shawwāl (October, 8th A.D. 1421).

crossed the river Chhināb¹ came to Talhar² in the hill tracts. The troops of Mubārak Khān followed him and the greater part of his infantry and cavalry were killed, and all his wealth and treasure was plundered and lost. Rāi Bhīm³ the chief of Jammoo offered his services to Mubārak Shāh and guided his army.⁴ Mubārak Shāh returned thence to Lāhor.

And in the year 825 H. (A.D. 1421) he remained encamped on the bank of the river Rāvi for nearly a month, rebuilt the city of Lāhor which had been laid in ruins during the late invasion, and completely repaired the citadel where it had been breached and levelled;⁵ then having left there Malik Maḥmūd Hasan who bore the title of Maliku-sh-Sharq, returned to Dihli. Five months later Jasrat Khūkar again came against Lāhor with a large army and encamped at the abode of Shaikh-i-Mashāikh Shaikh Hasan Zinjānī,⁶ *may God sanctify him*, and every day for a month made repeated efforts to take the city by assault, but eventually failing to attain his object⁷ withdrew to Kalānor⁸ and fought a battle with Rāi Bhīm, and when both sides were in the midst of the fight they agreed to make peace.

291.

Malik Sikander Tuhfa who had been despatched from Dihli to reinforce Malik⁹ Maḥmūd Hasan crossed the Rāvi by the ford of Pūhī¹⁰ and encamped at Lāhor, and Jasrat feeling that he was not able to cope with the conjoint forces¹¹ crossed the Chhināb

¹ The Chenāb.

² In the Kashmīr hill tracts.

³ Firishṭa tells us that Rāi Bhīm offered his services and guided the army to Bisal, the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds. Jasrat fled from there, his men were killed and he lost all his possessions.

⁴ MS. (A) reads *وای سلیم* both here and some lines lower down.

⁵ MS. (A) reads *شکستگی و پستی حصار*.

⁶ Firishṭa says *نزدیک شینح حسین زنجانى فرود آمد*.

⁷ MS. (A) *بمقصود خود نرسیده*.

⁸ Seventeen miles west of Gurdāspur town. Lat. 32° 1' N. Long. 75° 11' 30" E. It was here that Akbar in later times received the news of his father's death and ascended the throne (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, VII. 323).

⁹ MS. (A) omits *ملک* and reads *از گذر پوهی* in the next line.

¹⁰ Firishṭa *لوی* Lūī. See however note 1 next page.

¹¹ Firishṭa says that Maḥmūd Hasan was also joined by the forces of Malik Rajab, Governor of Depālpūr and of Isām Khān Lodī, Governor of Sihriṇḍ

river and proceeded to the hills of Talwāra,¹ and the army of Mubārak Shāh having put down that rebellion returned to Dihlī.

In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Kaithar, and Mahābat Khān of Badāon who had revolted against Khizr Khān came in and submitted himself, and was distinguished by special marks of favour. Leaving there ² he crossed the Ganges and attacked the country of the Panwārs ³ in the neighbourhood of Khor otherwise known as Shamsābād,⁴ and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country; then having left Malik Mubārīz and Zīrak Khān and Kamāl Khān with a large force in the fortress of Kanpila to quell the insurrection of the rebels he returned to Dihlī.

And in this year Alp Khān Governor of Dhār⁵ came with the object of chastising the Rāi of Gwālīār and with the intention of

and that Jasrat withdrew, crossed the Chhināb and Rāwī, and took refuge in the hills.

¹ This is the reading of the text. Talwāra is possibly the same as Talhar mentioned above. Dr. Stein, whom I have consulted, considers that Talwāra in the text refers to the village Talwāra on the right bank of the Chināb just opposite to the town of Rīāsī (74° 52' Long. 33° 6' Lat.). This is, he says, a common place for crossing the Chināb as the route connecting Ponī with Rīāsī and Jammu is shown on the survey map (Atlas of India, Sheet 29), as passing Talwāra. Dr. Stein cannot ascertain whether the hill range rising to the north of Talwāra is designated by that name. Pūhī in the text is probably identical with Ponī. The reading of MS. (A) is **درو کولہ رفت** went to Kotla.

² Firishṭa tells us that Mahābat Khān in obedience to the orders of the Sultān crossed the Ganges and invaded the territories of the Rāthor tribe.

³ The Rāthors are a clan of the Rājputs, and the Panwārs form another of their clans regarding whom Abul-Faḡl says "In ancient times the royal dynasty of Hindūstān came from this tribe" Mārwar is mentioned by the same author as the head-quarters of the Rāthor tribe. (See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett), II. 270 and III. 118).

For a full account of the Panwārs see Sherring (*Hindū Tribes and Castes*), II. p. 93, see also Elliot, (*Races of N.-W. P. of India*).

⁴ On the south bank of the Burī Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh.

⁵ The text reads **دهلی** Dihlī with a foot-note variant **دهار** Dhār. MS. (A) reads **دهار** Dhār. Firishṭa says, Sultān Hoshang Walī of Mālwa. The town of Ujjain and Dhār have at one period or another supplied a capital for the legendary Hindū dynasties of Mālwa. (See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 245, Dhār).

subduing that region, Mubarak Shāh upon receiving intelligence of this proceeded towards Gwālār, when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Baiāna, Shams Khān Auhadī¹ the son of Auhad Khān Auhadī, Governor of Baiāna, who had put to death by treacherous means his uncle Mubārak Khān, became alarmed and revolted, and after laying waste Baiāna entrenched himself² in the fortress, but eventually submitted.

Mubarak Shāh left that place and marched towards Gwālār, but Alp Khān proceeding along the banks of the Chambal river³ would not permit the army of Mubārak Shāh to cross however the soldiers of Mubarak Shāh crossed by another ford, scattered the forces of Alp Khān, and returned triumphant. This engagement led to a peaceful settlement, and Alp Khān sent in many presents and returned towards Dhār, while Mubarak Shāh proceeded to Dīli. 292

And in the year 827 H (1423 A D) he again ordered an expedition towards the hills of Kumāon and Kaithar, on returning whence he laid waste Miwāt. In this year a severe famine occurred throughout the whole of Hindustan. In the year 829 H he again proceeded towards Miwāt and reduced the fortresses of Indor and Alwar.

¹ MS (A) The text omits the words Shams Khān Auhadī. Firsihta calls him Amir Khān ibn i Da ud Khān ibn i Shams Khān (see Bombay Edition, p 209 last line) and says that he had entrenched himself on the heights.

² MS (A) reads منحصص گشته. The text reads منحصص شده.

³ Firsihta writes of this. And Sulṭān Hoshang seized the fords of the Chhanbal river and opposed his progress but Mubarak Shāh discovered another ford and crossed rapidly and certain of the Amirs of the advance guard of the Dīli forces pillaged the camp of the Sulṭān of Malwa and took many prisoners, but inasmuch as these were Muslims Mubarak Shāh set them free.

Sulṭān Hoshang sued for peace sending in suitable offerings and withdrew towards Dhār. Mubārak Shāh halted on the banks of the Chhanbal levying taxes on the old scale from the landholders of that district and eventually arrived at Dīli in the month of Rajab 827 H.

The Chambal or Chhanbal river is a river of Central India and one of the principal tributaries of the Jamna. It rises in Malwa about eight or nine miles south west of Mhow it is joined by the Kali Sūd Parbatī and Banās, flows past Dholpur into Etawah and joins the Janāna 40 miles below Etawah town. The Charmanwālī of Sanskrit writers (See Hunter's *Imp. Gaz.* III 331)

And in the year 830 H. he took Baiāna from Muhammad Khān Auhadi, and sent the family of Auhadi to the palace known as Jahān Numā,¹ and assigned it to them as a residence. He then gave Baiāna to Malik Muqbil Khān one of his retainers, and Sikri to Malik Khairu-d-Din Tuhfa, while he himself led an army against Gwālīar receiving the submission of the Rāis of that district.

And in the year 831 H. (1427 A.D.) ambassadors arrived in Dihli from Qādir Khān, governor of Kālpi, bringing tidings that Sharqī² was besieging him. Mubārak Shāh marched to oppose Sharqī; but in the meantime tidings arrived that Sharqī had attacked Bhūngāon³ and was encamped there, intending to proceed to Badāon.⁴ Mubārak Shāh, who had crossed the river Jamna at the ford of Nūh Patal, and had attacked Jartauli,⁵ on arrival at the township of Atrauli⁶ received intelligence that Mukhtaṣṣ Khān⁷ the brother of Sharqī had arrived on the borders of Itāwa with an army and many elephants; Mubārak Shāh detailed Maliku-sh-Sharq Maḥmūd Ḥasan with ten thousand cavalry to oppose Mukhtaṣṣ Khān. Mukhtaṣṣ Khān joined hands with Sharqī who proceeded along the banks of the Black-Water, otherwise known as the Kālīnī,⁸ and arrived in the vicinity of the township of Burhānābād one of the dependencies of Itāwa. Mubārak Shāh marching from Atrauli encamped at the town of

1 This palace was in Dihli. Firishṭa writes: "Sent his family and relations to Dihli."

2 Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī.

3 The text reads بهون گانون *Bhūn gānw* MS. (A) reads بهوگانور *Bhūkānūr*.

In Firishṭa we find افواج شرقیه بهوگانورا ناخسته, The troops of Sharqī attacked Bhūgāon. Bhongāon is in the Mainpūrī District, 9½ miles east from Mainpūrī at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk roads. The town was founded according to tradition, by Rājā Bhim Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the *jhīl* or lake. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* II. 403.)

4 Badāon lies N. of Bhongāon at a distance of about fifty miles.

5 Firishṭa writes, چرتولی ز که از مشاهیر بلاد مواس بود ناخست. Attacked Jartauli, one of the famous cities of Mawās. I fail to locate this place but it must have been in the Doāb. I can find no mention of it.

6 Atrauli, 16 miles from Aligarh town. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* I. 180).

7 Firishṭa calls him Mukhlis Khān.

8 MS. (A). The text reads Kālī Pānī. This is the Kālīnī, the Karā Sū of the *Malḡuzāt-i-Tīmūrī* (see note 3 page 360).

Kota,¹ but Sharqi declined battle and withdrew towards Rāpri,² and thence, after crossing the Jamna, proceeded to Baiāna and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar. Mubārak Shah pursued him as far as Chandwār, a space of four *krohs* lay between the two armies so that the outposts of the forces could see each other. They remained thus confronting each other for twenty days, at last Sharqi came out in force, and from mid day till nightfall hard fighting went on between the two armies, and the event was not decided on that day, on the following day Sharqi turned back towards his own country,³ and Mubārak Shāh, considering that both sides were Muslims, no longer pursued him, but went towards Satgana,⁴ and having conquered that country followed the bank of the Chambal river and came down to Baiāna.

Muhammad Khān Auhādī, who on account of having had an (unsatisfactory) interview with Sharqi had taken fright, and had entrenched himself in the fortress, came and sought protection in an interview with Mubārak Shah.⁵ Mubārak Shāh thereupon retraced his steps to Dilli.

And in the year 832 H. Malika sh Sharq Mahmud Hasan, who had been left in Baiāna by Mubārak Shāh as his Viceroy, and had put the affairs of that place in order, and had also chastised⁶ those infidels who had made common cause with Muhammad Khān and had raised disturbances, came to Court and received substantial favours, and the fortress of Firoza was confirmed to him. In that same year Malik Rajab Nādun, governor of Multan died, and Malik Mahmud Hasan received the title of 'Imadu l-Mulk (Pillar of the State) and proceeded to Multān.

And in the year 833 H. (1429 A.D.) Mubārak Shah went to Gwalior by way of Baiāna, and having taken the Rapri district from the son of Hasan Khān gave it to Malik Hamza and returned 294

¹ Firāhta writes مالی کونہ *Malikota*

² Took the road to Jaunpur (Firāhta)

³ Went to Gwalior by way of Halghat (Firāhta) MS (A) سنگادہ *Satgana*

⁴ Firāhta says "Muhammad Khān Auhādī for the reason that he despaired of any help from Sultan Sh rq asked for quarter and tendered his submission and was freely pardoned

⁵ تہدہ دادہ MS (A) تہدہ نمودہ Text

to the city (Dihli). On the way thither Saiyyid Sālim, who had served Khizr Khān for thirty years,¹ and held the fief of Tabarhinda, died. The title of Saiyyid Khān was conferred upon one of his sons, and that of Shujā'u-l-Mulk upon the other.² And Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, one of the servants of the aforesaid Saiyyid Sālim, raised a rebellion in Tabarhinda and took possession of the enormous wealth which had been amassed by Saiyyid Sālim. Mubārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyyid Sālim, and appointed Malik Yūsuf Sarūr and Rāi Hansū Bhatī³ to oppose him (Fūlād). Fūlād Turkbacha made a night attack upon them and scattered their forces, and much valuable booty fell into his hands. Mubārak Shāh led an army against Tabarhinda, and the Turkbacha slave was besieged there. Mubārak Shāh summoned 'Imādu-l-Mulk from Multān, and sent him with a message to the Turkbacha slave, who, after suing for quarter, came out from the fort and had an interview with 'Imādu-l-Mulk, but did not rely upon his assurances, and returned in alarm to the fort and continued to fight. Mubārak Shāh permitted 'Imādu-l-Mulk to proceed to Multān and himself returned to Dihli. The slave (Fūlād) continued to engage in battle at intervals with the troops of Mubārak Shāh during the six months during which he was absent. At last he sent considerable sums of money⁴ by way of presents to Shaiikh 'Alī Mughul who was the ruler of Kābul. Shaiikh 'Alī accordingly came to his assistance from Kābul with a vast army, which was reinforced by a large number of men from the borders of the Panjāb. He removed the slave

¹ Firishṭa writes

گویند سید السادات سید سالم مدت سی سال در حضور خضر خان ازمرگ
امراے عمده بود -

"They relate that Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim was for a period of thirty years reckoned by Khizr Khān as one of his best Amīrs."

² MS. (A) داد داند. Text دادند. Firishṭa also adds that the whole of their father's privileges together with all the immense wealth he had amassed were confirmed to these two sons, but that these favours were not sufficient to secure their fidelity to Mubārak Shāh. Badāoni's account does not explain the incident related in the subsequent passage. Firishṭa does, he says that these two sons of Saiyyid Sālim sent Fūlād to Tabarhinda and incited him to raise a rebellion.

³ Firishṭa's text reads Malik Yūsuf and Rāi Habūli. (?)

⁴ مبلغهای نمایان MS. (A). The text reads مبلغها بود.

(Fūlād) together with all his family and relations from Tabar-hinda and taking them with himself returned, and having crossed the river Biāh came to Lāhor. Malīk al-Sharq Malīk Sikander, governor of Lāhor, who used to pay a yearly tribute to Shaiḫ 'Alī, discharged his obligation and induced him to turn his attentions elsewhere. Accordingly Shaiḫ 'Alī passing by Lāhor without sicking it¹ made towards Depālpūr, and 'Imādu-l-Mulk came out from Multān to oppose him. Shaiḫ 'Alī taking the 295. bank of the river Rāwī, proceeded to within a short distance of Tulamba,² and turning aside from thence came to Khutpūr.³ ('Imādu-l-Mulk) fought with Shaiḫ 'Alī but was defeated, and Malīk Suleiman Shāh Lodī, who was with the advance guard of the army of 'Imādu l-Mulk, fell in this battle,⁴ [and Shaiḫ 'Alī came to Khusrūābād and for a long time daily engagements were fought between him and 'Imādu-l-Mulk.]⁵

And in the year 834 H (1430 A D) Mubarak Shāh sent a vast army to the assistance of 'Imādu l-Mulk, and appointed Fath Khān ibn-i Sultān Muzaḥḥar Khān of Gujrat to the command of that force. Shaiḫ 'Alī was not able to stand against them,⁶ so changed front, and retired under cover of night into an entrenchment which he had thrown up around his position, when they surrounded his entrenchment he retreated towards Jhilam, and having crossed the river there lost the greater part of his men by drowning, some were killed and some taken prisoners.⁷ Shaiḫ 'Alī and Amīr Muzaḥḥar proceeded with a certain number of men to the town of Shīwar;⁸ all their baggage and property having

¹ This appears to be the meaning of the Persian

² Tulamba is on the left bank of the Ravi 52 miles N E of Multan. The old fort was situated a mile to the south of the present town. It has been identified with a town of the Malli conquered by Alexander the Great during his campaign in the Panjab, and also as the place where he crossed the Ravi. (See Hunter Imp Gaz XIII 163 also Cunningham *Anc Geog of India*, 221)

³ Firishṭa says خطبپور *Khatibpur*. The text reads somewhat obscurely here. I have supplied the words in brackets to restore the sense in English.

⁴ Which took place according to Firishṭa at Khyrābad three stages from Multān.

⁵ The words within brackets are not in MS (A).

⁶ MS (A) نتوانست آورد. Text نیاورد.

⁷ MS (A) گشتند. Text شدند.

⁸ MS (A) شیدور or سینور. Firishṭa (text) شیدور.

been taken, the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk pursued them up to that point. Amir Muẓaffar remained entrenched within the fortress while Shaikh 'Alī set his face to go to Kābul. The victorious army abandoned the siege and returned to Dihlī. Multān was taken away from 'Imādu-l-Mulk and given to Malik Khairu-d-Dīn Khān which led to great disturbances on the borders of Multān.

96. And in the year 835 H. (1431 A.D.) Malik Sikander, ¹ governor of Lāhor, set out to quell the rebellion which Jasrat Khūkhar had stirred up at the foot of the hills. Jasrat took him ² unawares and engaged him in battle; Sikander falling into the hands of Jasrat Khūkhar was taken prisoner near Jālandhar. Jasrat took his prisoner to Lāhor and besieged the city, and Saiyyid Najmu-d-Dīn the regent of Sikander, and Malik Khushkhabr ³ the slave of Sikander, fought several battles with him. In the meantime Shaikh 'Alī collected an army and again came on to the borders of Multān, ⁴ and assaulted Khūtpūr, ⁵ taking prisoners the greater portion of the inhabitants of Jhilam and its vicinity, and seized Tulumba, pillaging and despoiling all the inhabitants and making them prisoners; most of them he put to death, and took the rest of them, great and small, to his own country.

In the meantime Fūlād Turkbacha, who has been mentioned above, left Tabarhinda and invaded the territory of Rāi Firoz ⁶ who engaged him in battle and was slain, Fūlād sending his head to Tabarhinda.

In this year also the Sultān again led an army towards Lāhor and Multān; when he arrived in the vicinity of Sāmāna, Jasrat withdrew from in front of Lāhor towards the foot of the hills, and Shaikh 'Alī also retired to his own country. Lāhor and Jālandhar were taken from Shamsu-l-Mulk and given to Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz, and Mubārak Shāh gave orders for the family and relations of Shamsu-l-Mulk to be removed ⁷ from Lāhor to Dihlī, whither he himself returned.

¹ MSS. The text reads wrongly بملک.

² MS. (A) omits اورا.

³ MS. (A) reads خوشنجر Khushanjar (?).

⁴ At the instigation of Jasrat Khūkhar, according to Firishṭa.

⁵ See note 3 page 389. MS. (A) omits را.

⁶ MS. (A) reads و تاخته instead of و تاخت as in the text.

⁷ Text برد MS. (A) برد.

And in the year 836 H (1433 A D) Mubārak Shāh once more hastened to Sīmāna¹ to put down the rebellion of Jasrat, when he arrived at Pānīpath he received intelligence of the death of his mother, who was called Maḥdūma : Jahan (Mistress of the world), and turned back with a small retinue² to Dihli, and having remained there ten days to perform his mourning for her, again joined his army, and detailed Yūsuf Sarūru l-Mulk to proceed to Tabarhinda to put down the insurrection of Gulid. Mubārak Shāh after taking Lahor and Jalandhar from Naḡrat Khān gave them to Malik Allahdād Kālū Lodi. When³ he arrived near Jalandhar, Jasrat, having crossed the river Biah, had engaged Allahdād Kālū⁴ at Bajwāra,⁵ and had defeated him. 297. Malik Allahdād had fled to the hill-country

In this year the Sultān brought an army into Miwāt against Jalal Khān, and from thence despatching a force to operate towards Gwāhār and Itāwa, returned (to Dihli). In this same year Shaikh 'Alī coming down into the Panjab again caused disturbances there. Mubārak Shāh accordingly nominated 'Imādu-l-mulk to reinforce the Amirs of that district. Shaikh 'Alī invaded the country from Shiwar to the banks of the Biah, and taking great numbers prisoners and plundering, went to Lāhor. Zīrak Khān and the other Amirs⁶ who were in Lahor fortified themselves there, and fought repeated engagements with him, till, one night, the inhabitants of Lāhor were careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yusuf Sarūru l-Mulk and Malik Isma'il under cover of night succeeded in joining Zīrak Khān, then sallying from the fort,⁷ gave battle and were defeated. Shaikh 'Alī pursued them, some of the fugitives were put to death, and some were taken prisoners. The following day Shaikh 'Alī took Lāhor and put to death great and small,⁸ and taking many prisoners

¹ MS (A) سیمانہ

² حریده Firashita says تنها he returned alone

³ Omit و MS (A)

⁴ MS (A) omits كَالُو Kālū ⁵ Bajwāra A village 1½ miles E. of Hoshiarpur about 25 miles N E of Jalandhar

⁶ MS (A) دیگر امرای که

⁷ MS (A) supplies the words از حصار

⁸ MS (A) reads حامی و عوام the textual reading is probably incorrect, read حامی و عام

remained there. And after some days, he came to Debālpūr, which Malik Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk was intending to abandon. Malik 'Imādu-l-Mulk¹ on hearing of this despatched his brother Malik Aḥmad from Tabarhinda to the fort of Debālpūr with orders to hold it. Shaiikh 'Alī becoming aware of this returned from that direction: Sultān Mubārak Shāh proceeded as far as Sāmāna in order to quell these disturbances.² From Sāmāna he proceeded to Talaundi and thence to the ford of Pūhī, where he crossed the the Bīāh and came to Debālpūr. Thence he marched along the banks³ of the Rāvi, and Shaiikh 'Alī crossed the Jhīlam and fled,⁴ Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as the fortress of Shīwar and crossed the Rāvi near Tūlumba.⁵ Amīr Muẓaffar Khān, brother's son to Shaiikh 'Alī, who was holding the fort with Shaiikh 'Alī's troops, fought against the king for a month, and at last sued for quarter, and gave his daughter together with a large amount of money and valuables to the prince. A part of Shaiikh 'Alī's forces who were besieged in Lāhor sought quarter from Shamsu-l-Mulk and evacuated the fort. As soon as Mubārak Shāh had completed the affair of Shīwar and the conquest of Lāhor, he proceeded with a small retinue to visit the holy shrines of the Shaiikhs at Multān, and returning almost immediately came to Debālpūr and remained there for some days. Having regard to Shaiikh 'Alī (as a source of danger), he gave the districts of Lāhor and Debālpūr to Maliku-sh-Sharq 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and taking away the districts of Baiāna from 'Imādu-l-Mulk he gave them to Shamsu-d-din. Marching thence in light order by forced marches, he reached Dihlī on the day of the 'Īd-i-Qurbān⁶ and

1 MS. (A) omits ملك.

2 MS. (A) omits وفساد and writes با سامانغ for تا سامانغ.

3 MS. (A) reads incorrectly كتاب for کنار.

4 The text and both MSS. (A), (B) read گذشته و رفت. The و is to be omitted.

5 Besieging the fort Shīwar (Firishta).

6 The festival of Sacrifice. This is the festival held on the 10th day of Zū-l-hijjah. It is known also as the 'Īdu l-aẓhā, see Qur'ān xxii. 33—38. It commemorates the intention of Ibrāhīm to sacrifice his son Isma'īl in obedience to the command of God. It is the chief of the Muḥammadan festivals and is called 'Īdu-l-kabīr, the great festival, to distinguish it from the 'Īdu-l-Fitr which is known as 'Īdu-s-saghīr which ushers in the month of Shawwāl and celebrates the termination of the fast of Ramaẓān. (See Hughes Dict. of Islām).

conferred the office of *vazir* upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk and gave to Malik Kamālu l-Mulk,¹ who was the Military Secretary (Naib i-Lashkar), charge of the civil administration in conjunction with Sarwaru-l-Mulk.

There was a hypocritical bond of fellowship between these two,² inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk had a grievous thorn rankling in his breast on account of the deprivation of Debālpūr, and bore a grudge against Mubārak Shāh so that at such a juncture, seeing that he had less than ever to hope from him, he entered on a course of secret treachery and deceit. He entered into a conspiracy with the sons of Kāngu Khatri and Kajwi Khatri and Mirān Sadr Naib i-'Arz, (who for generations had been *protégés* of the Mubarak Shāhī family, and held several high offices) and also with another party of Muslim rascals, to seek an opportunity of destroying Mubārak Shāh.³

And in the year 837 H (1433 A D) ⁴ Mubārak Shāh built a city on the banks of the river Jamna,⁵ and gave it the name of Mubārakabad (City of Prosperity), though in reality it should have been called Kharābabad (City of Ruin), and was so zealous in building it that he spared no pains in its superintendence. In the meanwhile news of the capture of the fortress of Tabarhinda reached the court, accompanied by the head of the slave I'ālād Turkbachā.⁶ Mubārak Shāh could not contain himself for joy at this intelligence, and proceeded by forced marches to Tabarhinda⁷ and returned thence speedily to Mubārakābād. In this year tidings arrived that hostilities were going on between Sulṭān Ibrahim Shāhī and Alp Khān, governor of Kālpi, who had re-

¹ Firishṭa says *كمال الدين* Kamāl al-dīn

² MS (A) omits *من*

³ Firishṭa names as the accomplices Sidāran, son of Kāngu Khatri and Sadpal, grandson of Kanjui Khatri with Miran Sadr Naib i-'arz i Mamalik, Qazī 'Abdu ṣadr Hajib i Khāṣṣ and others (Firishṭa *Dombay text*, I, p 309).

⁴ MS (A) *چون*

⁵ Briggs in his translation of Firishṭa (Vol I, p 529) assigns 839 H as the date of the building of this city, but a reference to the original shows that the historian gives 837 H as the date

⁶ The text reads here *مافولاد عالم* but a footnote gives a variant *مافولاد* and this reading is confirmed by MS (A) and also by Firishṭa

⁷ Firishṭa says he returned direct to Mubārakabad

ceived the title of Hoshang.¹ Mubārak Shāh accordingly sent commands in all directions for forces to be collected and held in readiness to march towards Kālpī, and that they should assemble at the Court. At this juncture Mubārak Shāh persisted in his invariable custom of visiting the site of the new city in season and out of season. One day when he had ridden out there with a body of attendants without ceremony, and was preparing to say the Friday prayers,² the infidels under Mirān Šadr, who had continually lain in wait for him at the instigation of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, seeking an opportunity (to slay him),³ with one accord entered the private apartment of Mubārak Shāh on some pretext or another, and Sidh Pāl,⁴ the grandson of the scoundrel Kajwī Khatri, put that auspicious monarch to a martyr's death. This event took place in the year 837 H. The days of his reign were thirteen years three months and sixteen days.

Verses.

Wonder not at the vicissitudes of time, for the heavens
 Retain a recollection of thousands of such stories as this.
 Set not your affections upon that which passeth away, for the
 river Dajla⁵
 Will continue to pass by Baghdād, while many Khalifas
 come and go.

¹ Firishta throughout calls him Hoshang.

² On the 9th Rajab 837 (Firishta Bombay text 1 803).

³ MS. (A) omits وقت.

⁴ The text is followed here as it agrees closely with the account given by Firishta. MS. (A) reads در محل پادشاهی در آمده سده مال..... ساختند.

⁵ دجلة Dajla or Dagla, as it may also be pronounced, is the Hiddekel of the Bible (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4) חֲדַקְלָא lit., *the swift*. The old Persian form is Tigrā, "swift as an arrow," whence is derived Tigris, the modern name of this river. According to Pliny (VI. 27), the river in the upper part of its course where it flowed gently was called Diglito, and lower down, where it is more rapid, on account of its velocity it is called Tigris, for the Medes call an arrow by this name. According to Gesenius, in modern Persian both the river Tigris and an arrow have the common name تیر *tīr*, which in the Zend becomes *Tedjer*. See Gesenius *Thes*: also Smith *Dict. G. R. Geog*.

"The Tigris is navigable for light steamers up to Baghdād, but owing to the rapidity of the current, the traffic is all down stream carried on mainly by a primitive style of craft, which is broken up at Baghdād and transported by camels back to Mosul."

SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH IBN I KHIZR KHĀN,

The brother's son of Mubarak Shāh ibn i Khizr Khān, whom Mubarak Shāh had adopted as his own son, ascended the throne in succession to Mubarak Shāh in the year¹ 837 H (1433 A D) and Sarwaru l Mulk, whose head was filled with treacherous designs, ostensibly owned his allegiance Muhammad Shāh, in spite of the foregoing circumstances, conferred upon him the title of *Khan i Jahan* and bestowed a *khilat* upon him, he also appointed Miran Šadr *Mu'izzu l mull*, and for a short time winked at the doings of those infidels Maliku šh Sharaq Kamāla l mulk, who was co-partner with Sarwaru l Mulk in the razarship, elected to reside outside the city, and gave in his allegiance to Muhammad Shāh. The second day after the accession Sarwaru l Mulk made some pretext for arresting² certain of the servants of Mubarak Shāh, and put them to death, and left nothing undone to secure the overthrow of the family of Mubarak Shāh, moreover, he began to divide the country among his own partisans, giving the territory of Baiāna, and Amroha, and Narnol, and Kubrām, together with certain districts in the Doab, to Sidh Pal and Sidhanan Khatri who were the (actual) murderers of Mubarak Shāh. Ranun the Black, a slave of Sidh Pal, arrived in Baiāna with a large following and attempted to enter the fort, but in the mean time Yusuf Khan Auhadi arrived from Hindwan,³ and giving him battle defeated him, and sent the greater portion of those infidels to hell. Then women and children fell as prisoners into the hands of the Muslims, and the head of Ranun the Black was hung up over the gate of the fort. Inasmuch as Sarwaru l Mulk and his infidel hoids began to commit violence, the Amirs of Khizr Khān and Mubarak Shāh, who were scattered here and there about the country, in several places showed⁴ symptoms of revolt and set on foot many insurrections. Sarwaru l Mulk had the self same object, namely to damage the kingdom. Malik Allahdad Kala Lodi, governor of Sambhal and Ahar,⁴

¹ 9th Rājab 837² MS (A) دستگیر و³ The text and both MSS read هندون Firsihta reads Hindwan. Hindaun lies about 20 miles S. of Baiāna it is situated in the Jeypore State.⁴ Ahar. In Bulandshahr District N.W.P. 20 miles N.E. of Bulandshahr.

and Malik Chaman¹ governor² of Badāon, grandson of Khān-i-Juhān, and Amir 'Alī Gajratī, together with some other Amīra, raised a large following to avenge the death of Mubārak Shāh, and started towards Dihlī. Malika-sh-Sharq, Kamālu-l-Mulk, and Saiyyid Khān, son of Saiyyid Salim, who had received the title of *Khān-i-Āzam* from Mubārak Shāh, were appointed by the *durbār* to proceed against these Amīra, and Malik Yūsaf, the son of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, together with Sidhāran and Kāngū were ordered to accompany Kamālu-l-Mulk. The Dihlī army crossed by the ford of Kleha and came to Baran (Balandshahr). Malik Allahdād and the other noted Amīra having arrived at the township of Abār desired to cross the Ganges without fighting and go where they could safely. But when they saw clearly that Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk was heartily bent upon taking vengeance upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk, they took courage and did not leave their positions. Sarwaru-l-Mulk becoming aware of this sent his lieutenant Malik Hushyār, under pretence of reinforcing Kamālu-l-Mulk, as a spy into their army. Yūsaf Khān and Malik Hushyār, and Sidhāran the infidel, entertaining suspicions regarding Kamālu-l-Mulk left the army and went to Dihlī: and the Amīra of Sambhal and Badāon joined Kamālu-l-Mulk and came in great force to the ford of Kleha. Sarwaru-l-Mulk was engaged in strengthening his fort. The following day the loyal Amīra having crossed the Jamna encamped in the Bāgh-i-Jūd³ while the traitors and infidels sallied out from the fort and engaged them in battle, but suffered defeat in the very first onset and retreated to the fort, but before they could enter it a large number were put to death and most of the remainder were taken prisoners.

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At the latter part of this year Zīrak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna

¹ MS. (A) writes ملک حسین *Malik Hamīn*; by Firishṭa, and in Elliott's translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (IV. 82) he is called Malik Chaman.

² The word in the original is مقطع *Muqtā'*, i.e., holder of a قطع *qūt'*. Firishṭa calls him حاکم بداون *Hākīm-i-Badāon*.

³ MS. (A).

died, and the country was confirmed to his son Muḥammad Khān. Muḥammad Shāh, although outwardly he held friendly relations with Sarwaru-l-Mulk, still in his inmost heart was in unison with his father's Amīrs. Sarwaru-l-Mulk became aware of this, and accordingly began to plot treachery against him also, and was only waiting his opportunity.

On the eighth of Muḥarram in the year 838 H. (1434 A.D.) Sarwaru-l-Mulk and the sons of the perfidious Mirān Šadr suddenly broke into the tent of the king with the intention of doing him a grievous injury, but at this moment Muḥammad Shāh became aware of their design; and with all despatch sent messengers to Kamālu-l-Mulk, while the attendants who were near the person of Muḥammad Shāh were on their guard, and killed the traitor Sarwaru-l-Mulk, and seizing the sons of Mirān Šadr executed them in presence of the *darbār*. The traitorous infidels blockaded themselves in their own houses. Kamālu-l-Mulk, accompanied by all the Amīrs, entered the fort by the Darwāza-i-Baghdād (Baghdād gate). The Russian Sidh Pāl set fire to his house and property, and after performing the *jauhar*¹ which is a well-known custom expressed by that word in the Hindi language, went himself into battle and became food for the flames of the pitiless sword,² and his impure soul went to hell.³ Sidhāran Kāngū and the rest of the Khatri confederation, were one and all taken prisoners, and were impaled near the *ḡazira*⁴ (mausoleum)

¹ جوهر *Jauhar* or *Jāhar* जह्वर is a Hindi word derived from the words जीव *jīva*, and हारा *hara* signifying *taking one's own life*. The custom of the Rājapūts when reduced to the last extremity in warfare was in olden times to perform a rite of self-sacrifice known by this name: as for instance on the occasion of the siege and capture of Chitor by Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn: "Huge piles of timber were raised up and set on fire. The women approached in funeral procession and threw themselves into the flames. The men arrayed themselves in saffron-coloured garments and rushed out of the fortress sword in hand; most of them were cut to pieces." The evident object of the rite was to protect the persons of the women from the indignities to which they would be submitted if they were to fall alive into the hands of the enemy. ² MSS. omit بیدرغ.

³ The word جوهر *Jauhar*, here used for "Soul," has the primary meaning of "essence." It is a Persian word and is used here as a play upon the Hindi word *jauhar* used above (Note 1).

⁴ حظيرة *Ḥazira*. The literal meaning of this word is *an enclosure*, here

of Mubārak Shāh, and Malik Husayn and Mubārak Kotwāl were executed along with them. The following day Kamālu-l-Mulk and the other noted Amīrs renewed their fealty to Muḥammad Shāh; Kamālu-l-Mulk obtained the rank of *vazīr* and Malik Chaman of Badāon received the title of *Ghūzi-l-Mulk*, and was reinstated in his former position as governor of Badāon, Amroha being also added to his province; Malik Allāhdād Lodī would not accept any title, the title of *Daryā Khān* however he accepted for his brother. Thus after settling the important affairs, Muḥammad Shāh gave durability to his rule, and conducted his Government in tranquillity.

And in the year 840 H. (1436 A.D.) he turned his attention towards Multān, and halted for some days at Mubārakpūr to give time for the Amīrs of the various districts to join him. When the Muḥammad Shāh's troops were all assembled at Mubārakpūr he marched thence towards Multān, and after visiting the shrines of the holy men at that place¹ came to Dihlī. And in the aforesaid year, marching towards Sāmāna he despatched a force to proceed against Shaiḫ Khūkhār.² Accordingly they laid waste his country and returned.³ In the year 841 H. (1437 A.D.) tidings arrived that the tribe of Langāhs had raised an insurrection in Multān, and in the meantime Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī obtained possession of certain divisions of Dihlī, and the Rāi of Gwālīār and the other Rāis refused to pay the customary tribute. Muḥammad Shāh affected to be indifferent to this, and disturbances sprung up in all directions, and everyone was hankering after something. The Khānzādas of Miwāt, who are the ancestors of Ḥasan Khān of Miwāt, invited Sultān Maḥmūd Khilji from Mālwa to assume the imperial power of Dihlī.

And in the year 844 H. (1440 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd arrived at Dihlī, and Muḥammad Shāh drew up his forces and sent out his son Saiyyid 'Alāu-d-Dīn to engage him in battle, giving the command of the force to Malik Buhlūl Lodī. Sultān Maḥmūd also

it means a tomb enclosed within walls or a palisade. Firishṭa writes "were put to death with great tortures" بعقوبت تمام بقتل رسیدند.

¹ MS. (A) omits آنجا.

² MS. (A). بر سر شایخا.

³ MS. (A) تا ولایت اورا خواب کرده مراجعت نمودند.

appointed his two sons Ghīẓ-ud-Dīn and Qadr Khān¹ to oppose them. A fierce battle resulting they at last agreed to make peace, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd taking advantage of that, and alleging as an excuse that he had seen in a dream that the Kingdom of Multān was being ruined, marched in light order under cover of night towards Mālwa. Malik Bahlūl pursued him and seized a portion of his baggage and valuable equipment. Sulṭān Muḥammad was so pleased at the energy displayed by Bahlūl that he called him his son,² and bestowed upon him the country of Lālār and Deṭālīūr.

And in the year 845 H (1441 A.D.) he marched to Sāṭāna, and having despatched Bahlūl to chastise Jaurat Khākhar, returned to Dillī. Jaurat concluded a peace with Malik Bahlūl and held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming Sulṭān of Dillī,³ till at last Bahlūl began to collect Afghāns from all directions and took terrible possession of a large number of *paraganas*, then without any extensible reason he picked a quarrel with Muḥammad Shāh and revolted against him, leading an army against Dillī. He held Sulṭān Muḥammad for a considerable time closely besieged, but could not accomplish his purpose, and returned without effecting anything. In the meantime Muḥammad Shāh was afflicted with a grievous disorder,⁴ and the Amīrs who were at a distance of twenty *krods* from Dillī revolted against him, and sending for his son 'Alāu-d-Dīn who held a *ṭegir* in Badāun, and had left there on a hunting expedition at the foot of the hills, made him⁵ heir apparent. And in the year 847 H⁶ he passed away, the duration of his reign was fourteen⁷ years and some months, or thereabouts.

¹ The text reads *قادر خان* *Qadr Khan* MS (A) reads *قادر خان* *Qadr Khan* Firsihta says *قادر خان* *Qadr Khan* So also *Tabaqāt-i Albarī*

² MS (A) *اورا پسر خواند* see Elliott IV 85

³ Firsihta says: Incited him to aspire to the Kingdom of Dillī. MS (A) instead of *مشر* writes *مسرور*

⁴ *روز بروز مستی پذیرفته* Firsihta says: *روز بروز مستی پذیرفته* becoming day by day weaker ⁵ MS (A) *ورا*

⁶ Firsihta says that he died in 849 H which is probably correct, see n 7

⁷ As he came to the throne in 837 H he had reigned only some ten years, not fourteen as here stated. Both MSS (A) and (B) however read *چهارده*

The *Tabaqāt-i Albarī* according to Elliott IV. 60 says ten years and some months. With regard to this see Thomas, *Pathan Kings*, p 336 and note 1,

Come and cast one look upon their dust, and take warning.
For the dust is the resting-place of trusted emperors.

305.

SULTĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN IBN I MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN I MUBĀRAK
SHĀH¹ IBN I KHIẒR KHĀN,

In accordance with the testamentary disposition of his father succeeded to the throne, and Malik Buhlāl with the other Amīrs gave in their allegiance to him, and seeing that the indolence of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was even greater than that of his father, a still more violent ambition to secure the throne began to work upon the excited fancy of Buhlāl.

In the year 850 H. (1445 A.D.) Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn made an excursion towards Baiāna; while on the road he heard a false rumour that the King of Jaunpūr was on his way to attack Dihli, and without attempting to ascertain its truth returned in hot haste to Dihli. In the year 851 H. (1447 A.D.) he went to

where it is said that Firishṭa "makes a less venial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years' reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from "839 to 849" A. H. Briggs, pp. 332—339." This is not Firishṭa's error but is the fault of his translator. Firishṭa says clearly that Muḥammad succeeded to the throne on the very day on which Mubārak Shāh was assassinated (Bo. text, p. 309) that is, "on the 9th Rajab 837" (Bo. text, p. 308), so that while his date as regards the death of Muḥammad Shāh may be wrong, his calculation based upon the dates he gives is correct. I am not aware of any direct evidence that Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn ascended the throne in 847 H. The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, if Elliott's translation (Elliott, IV, p. 86) is to be trusted, says, "Upon the death of Muḥammad Shāh the amīrs and nobles assembled, and raised his son to the throne under the style of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn' and in a footnote on the same page referring to the conflict of testimony between Badā'uni and Firishṭa as to the date of Muḥammad Shāh's death, he says: "Firishṭa seems correct in making it 849," and with this opinion I am inclined to agree. The mistake appears to have arisen from accepting the date given by Briggs in his translation of Firishṭa, instead of confirming it from Firishṭa himself, who gives 17th Jamādi I 824 as the date of Kẖiẓr Kẖān's death and Mubārak Shāh's accession, and states (Bo. text 309) that Mubārak Shāh reigned thirteen years three months and sixteen days. This would bring us to 837 H. not to 839 H. Therefore, unless there is evidence to show that 'Alāu-d-Dīn came to the throne in 847 H. we are justified in accepting Firishṭa's plain and coincident statement that Muḥammad Shāh reigned twelve years and some months, dying in 849 H.

¹ MS. (A) omits مبارک شاه and writes فرید خان Farīd Kẖān. See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 335, footnote.

Badāon and elected to take up his abode there, and after making preparations for remaining there¹ returned to his capital Dihli.

And in the year 852 H (1448 A.D.) having made his two brothers in law *Shah-i-Shahr* (City Constable) and *Mir-i-Kuc* (Superintendent of Roads) he returned to Badāon. A disturbance arose between those two brothers, and at last both were put to death by the people of Dihli. Husain Khān who was *Umdat-i-Mulk* (a Privy Councillor), and loyal to the Sultān, but from time to time spoke the direct truth to the Sultān in connection with the administration of State affairs, had for this very reason, fallen out of favour with the Sultān, and had been deposed from his office. Hamid Khān, *Vazir-i-Mamlakat*, (vazir of the State) who had fled to Dihli fearing punishment at the hands of the Sultān, and dividing an attempt upon his life,² joined with Husain Khān in inviting Malik Buhlul and in raising him to the throne. He accordingly took advantage of the absence of the Sultān to proceed to Sirhind³ and having assumed to himself the title of sultān read the *Khutbah*, and coming a second time with⁴ his whole army seized upon Dihli. Leaving his viceroy there he proceeded towards Dibalpūr, where he set about raising an army, and wrote a letter couched in hypocritical terms to Sultān 'Alau-d Din saying, "I am your obedient servant, and am undertaking all this marching backwards and forwards solely out of loyalty to your person." The Sultān in reply, wrote as follows "The deceased King, Sultān Muḥammad Shah, called you by the name of Son. There is neither fruit nor profit for me in sovereignty, living in solitary contentment at Badāon I resign the empire of Dihli⁵ to you Sultān Buhlul leaving Dibalpur ascended the throne of Dihli⁶

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¹ MS (A) طرح اقامت انداخته The text reads درانجا طرح عبارت Facing laid the foundations of a palace, but there seems no authority for such a statement.

² Firāhta gives a full account of this and says that the Sultān was instigated to this attempt by Qutb Khān and Rāi Pertab, the latter of whom had a blood feud against Hamid Khān (see Firāhta, Bombay text I. p. 315).

³ MS (A)

⁴ His oldest son Khwāja Bayazid. At this time, according to Firāhta the *Khutbah* he used to be read in the joint names of Sultān 'Alau d Din and Sultān Buhlul, who upon first marching against Dihli had written to 'Alau d Din alleging as his excuse that he was marching to oppose Hamid Khān.

⁵ MS (A) سلطنت دهلي

⁶ MS (A) حاویم نمود

without fighting or opposition; and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn by the orders of Sultān Bahlūl was invested with the sovereignty of Badāon and the districts appertaining to it, towards the river Ganges as far as Khairābād and the foot of the hills, and used to read the Khutbah in his own name in those districts, till at last after some time, in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) he bade farewell to this world.¹ The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

Verse.

This is the sum and total of the world's conduct.
It has never proved faithful to any man.

SULTĀN BUHLŪL [IDN I KĀLĀ]² LODĪ,

Who in the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh had obtained the title of Khān-i-Khānān,³ in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) in concert with Ḥamīd Khān Vazīr (who, after the execution of Ḥusāin Khān at the hands of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, had gained possession of the family and relations of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn in Dihlī, and had brought the key of the fortress and had given it to Sultān Bahlūl) ascended the throne of sovereignty, and by degrees contrived to secure the imprisonment of Ḥamīd Khān,⁴ and in the same year proceeded to Multān to set that province in order.⁵

And in the year 856 H. (1452 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī at the instigation of certain of the Amīrs of the party of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, came with a large army and laid siege to Dihlī,

¹ According to Firishṭa 'Alāu-d-Dīn died in Badāon in the year 883 H. (1478 A.D.) having reigned in Badāon some twenty-eight years.

Badāonī's statement is wrong in this particular. In 855 H. according to Firishṭa, 'Alāu-d-Dīn retired into obscurity, leaving the kingdom of Dihlī to Bahlūl Lodī, and reigned in Badāon for twenty-eight years, dying in 883 H. (Bo. text 316.) See n. 4 page 405.

² MS. (B) omits the words in brackets.

³ MS. (A) writes خطاب خانی یافتہ بود.

⁴ A long account of the way in which Ḥamīd Khān was taken prisoner is given by Firishṭa.

⁵ Firishṭa gives an account of the circumstances attending the birth of Bahlūl Lodī, telling us that the mother of Bahlūl Lodī, when close upon her confinement of him, was killed by the falling of her house upon her; she was taken out lifeless, and to save the child the mother was instantly submitted to the Cæsarean operation and the child removed; as it showed signs of life it was carefully tended and grew up. (Bo. text p. 317).

and after severe fighting gained possession of it,¹ and Iath Khan Harawī² who was one of the most trusted Amirs of Sultan Mahmud was killed. Sultan Mahmud³ not being able to bear up against this went to Jaunpur, and the following year came into the same neighbourhood, proceeding from Jaunpur to Itāwa, and concluded peace upon the following terms, namely, that so much of the kingdom of Dilli as was under the sway of Mubārak Shāh should belong to Sultān Bahlul, while that portion which was under the rule of Sultān Ibrāhīm Shārqī should revert to Sultan Mahmud,⁴ and having promised that after the rainy season he would give Shamsabad to Sultān Bahlul⁵ which was held by Junr Khan as the deputy of Sultan Mahmud, each of them went to his own country.

Sultān Bahlul at the expiration of the appointed time marched against Shamsabad, took possession of it, and gave it to Rāi Kiran, ruler of Bhūnganw. Sultan Mahmud being displeased at this, proceeded again⁶ to the borders of Shamsabad and fought with Sultān Bahlul.⁷ In the meantime Sultan Mahmud quitted this existence for the house of eternity, and Muhammad Shāh, the son of Sultan Mahmud, was nominated to the kingdom of Jaunpur in the room of his father, and having arranged peace upon the terms formerly agreed upon between Sultan Mahmud and Sultan²⁰

¹ MS (A) has here a different reading (note 7) ایتاد. The text seems right agreeing with MS (B)

² هروی Harawī of Herat

³ MS (A) reads here ایتاد فتح حاکم هروی .. و کشته شدی او سلطان. Sultan Mahmud was not able to bear the fall of Fath Khan and is being killed

⁴ MS (A) محمد. Muhammad Firsihta says that another term of the agreement was that Bahlul was to return the seven elephants taken in battle from Fath Khan and should receive Shamsabad in place of Junan Khan (Bo text p 322)

⁵ MS (A) omits ب. Firsihta tells us that Junān Khan refused to quit Shamsabad when called upon to do so by Bahlul Lodī who consequently marched against him and drove him out giving Shamsabad into the charge of Rāi Kiran and conquering all that country (Bo text p 322)

⁶ MS (A) درآمده

⁷ In this engagement Quṭb Khan Lodī was taken prisoner in consequence of his horse stumbling and throwing him and was sent by Mahmud to Jaunpur where he was imprisoned

⁸ Firsihta says that Bibi Rachi the mother of Muhammad Shāh Shārqī

308.

Buhlūl proceeded to Jaunpūr, and, inasmuch as Qutb Khān, the cousin of Sultān Buhlūl had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muḥammad Shāh,¹ Sultān Buhlūl, in defiance of the existing treaty, again brought up his army against Muḥammad Shāh, who also leaving Jaunpūr came to Shamsābād and took it from the Hindūs by force,² and on the borders of Rāprī confronted Sultān Buhlūl. Muḥammad Shāh was defeated and retreated towards Qanauj. Sultān Buhlūl pursued him.³ And in the aforesaid year Sultān Ḥusain Sharqī, ibn-i-Sultān Maḥmūd revolted against his brother Muḥammad Shāh, and seized the throne of Jaunpūr with the assistance of the Amīrs, and detailed⁴ a large army to proceed against Muḥammad Shāh, whom they finally put to death on the banks of the Ganges in the vicinity of Rāj Gar. Sultān Ḥusain made peace with Sultān Buhlūl, and sending for Qutb Khān Lodī who was still in prison, from Jaunpūr, presented him with a horse and a robe of honour and sent him to Sultān Buhlūl⁵ and returned from Qanauj to Jaunpūr⁶.

intervened, and arranged peace upon these terms, that Muḥammad Shāh should retain his father's kingdom, while Buhlūl should be in undisturbed possession of all that he already held. ¹ See preceding page n. 4.

² There is a rather important difference here in the account given by Firishṭa (Bo. text p. 323) who writes: "When Sultān Buhlūl arrived near Dihlī Shams Khātūn, the sister of Qutb Khān Lodī sent him a message, saying, "So long as Qutb Khān remains in the prison of Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī food and sleep is unlawful for thee O King." Accordingly Buhlūl broke the truce, and came to Dihlī, whence he returned towards Jaunpūr. On his arrival at Shamsābād he took it out of the hands of Rāi Kiran, and gave it to Jūnān Khān who had arrived before him, and Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī also had come out to meet him, consequently the two Kings encamped near Sarsuti facing one another at close quarters, and engaged each other early and late." From this it appears that Shamsābād was taken by Buhlūl from Rāi Kiran, whereas Badāonī makes it seem as though Muḥammad's forces re-conquered it. Firishṭa's account is undoubtedly the correct one as subsequent events show.

³ MS. (A) تعاقب او کرد.

⁴ MS. (A) نامزد کرد.

⁵ The account of the circumstances given by Firishṭa shew that Ḥusain Khān started with his army under pretence of opposing Buhlūl but changed direction to Qanauj. When Buhlūl heard of this he had despatched a few of his Amīrs to meet Ḥusain Khān, and himself took prisoner Jalāl Khān, brother of Ḥusain Khān who was also coming out after his brother, and kept him as a hostage for Qutb Khān, for whom he was eventually exchanged (Bo. text, p. 323).

⁶ MS. (A) از قنوج بجانب جونپور. The text and MS. (B) are wrong here.

Sultān Bahlūl also despatched Jalāl Khān, the brother of Husain Khān, whom he held in confinement as hostage for Qutb Khān, to Sultān Husain after conferring honours upon him. And after some years¹ Sultān Husain coming to the borders of Chaudwār, fought a battle with Sultān Bahlūl, and having concluded a peace for three years again returned to his own country. At this juncture Ahmad Khān Jilwānī, the ruler of Baiāna read the *Khutbah* in the name² of Husain Khān; and Sultān Husain, upon the expiration of the period for which peace had been concluded, proceeded towards Dihli with 10,000 cavalry and a thousand elephants. They met near a place called Bhatwāra, and Sultān Husain having agreed to peace encamped at Itāwa. Sultān Bahlūl came to Dihli. The fact of these two kings being thus within a seven days' journey is not without its ridiculous side.

Verse.

Who has ever seen a scabbard which can contain two swords !
Who has ever seen the thrones of two Jamshīds in one place !

And in this year Sultān 'Alān-d-Dīn, whose daughter [Malika-³309. i-Jahān]⁴ was married to Sultān Husain, passed away in Badāon, as has been already related,⁴ and left his kingdom to Sultān Bahlūl and Sultān Husain.

Verse.

Even supposing that thou hast attained to that which thou
desirest,
Even supposing that thou hast been all that thou shouldest be,
Has not everything which has attained perfection, suffered
afterwards from loss ?
Does not the azure heaven taken away again all that it has
bestowed ?

And Sultān Husain came from Itāwa to Badāon to perform the

¹ A peace had been arranged for a term of four years (Firishta).

² Both MSS. (A) (B) omit *بنام*.

³ The name is omitted in MS. (A).

⁴ See note 1 page 402. 'Alān-d-Dīn really died in 883 H. according to Firishta. In the former place our author says he died in 855 H. but here he corrects the mistake.

duties of mourning for him,¹ and having taken those districts from the sons of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, took possession of them himself, and thence went² to Sambal, and having taken prisoner Tātār Khān,³ the Governor of that place, sent him to Sāran,⁴ and with a large army and the number of elephants already mentioned, arrived at Dihlī in the month of Zū Hījjah, in the year 880 H.⁵ and encamped on the banks of the Jamna near the ford of Kichā.⁶ Sultān Buhlūl coming from Sihrind summoned⁷ Husain Khān, the son of Khān-i-Jahān from the vicinity⁸ of Mirath, and despatched him to oppose Sultān Husain,⁹ while he himself held Dihlī against him. And on this occasion also, owing to the exertions of Qutb Khān, Sultān Husain agreed to peace, taking into his own possession the whole of the country on the further side of the Ganges;¹⁰ then relinquishing this side of the river to Sultān Buhlūl he returned. Sultān Buhlūl¹¹ seized his opportunity, and when Sultān Husain marched, crossed the river Jamna and captured some baggage and other property¹² which Sultān Husain, relying upon the truce, had left on the camping-ground: a certain proportion of the treasury also which was laden on elephants and horses, fell into the hands of Sultān Buhlūl, and as many as forty¹³ noted Amīrs of Sultān Husain's force, were taken prisoners, among others for instance, Qūzī Samā'u-d-Dīn, entitled Qutluḡh Khān the Vazīr, who was the most learned of the doctors of his time.

310.

¹ MS. (A) reads *بتعزیت او* *ba-ta'ziyat-i-ū* which agrees with the words of Firishṭa (Bo. text, p. 325) and is far preferable to the reading of the text and MS. (B) *بتقريب او* *bataqrīb-i-ū*, i.e., on his account.

² MS. (A) *رفت*. ³ Firishṭa calls him *مبارک خان* Mubārak Khān.

⁴ Thus also both MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote variant *بشاران* *ba Shārān*.

⁵ There is a serious discrepancy here in the dates. Firishṭa says in 883 H. (Bo. text, p. 325) and this must be correct.

⁶ MS. (A) reads *گذر گنجینه* *Guzr-i-Ganjīna*, but the text is right. Firishṭa reads *کچھ* *kachha*.

⁷ MSS. (A) and (B) omit *طلبیده*.

⁸ MSS. (A) and (B) read *جانب* for *ولایت* (Text).

⁹ Firishṭa says *بضبط میرک*, to take Mīrak.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads *گرفته*. That is to say eastward of the Ganges.

¹¹ MS. (A) omits *و*. ¹² MS. (A) *اشیای کہ* MS. (B) *اشیای را کہ*.

¹³ Firishṭa says "thirty or forty."

Sultān Bahlūl made over Qutlugh Khān in chains to Qutb Khān Lodi, and himself giving chase went as far as Shamsābād¹ in the Doāb, which was held by Sultān Husain, and seizing it, appointed commissioners² of his own over³ that country; this occurrence took place in the year 881 H. (1479 A.D.)⁴ the chronogram for that year was *Nasid-i Kharābi* (Tidings of ruin).⁵

And Sultān Husain seeing that he was being very closely pursued, determined to make a stand at Rāpri, and once more peace was agreed to between them upon the old conditions, namely, that each should rest contented with the countries of which he was in possession, and should retire. Upon the conclusion of this peace Sultān Husain remained at Rāpri, and Sultān Bahlūl at a place called Dhopāmāu⁶; and after a time Sultān Husain again collecting an army came up against Sultān Bahlūl, and a fierce engagement took place in the vicinity of Sonhār⁷ Sultān Husain again suffered defeat, a great deal of treasure and valuables beyond computation falling into the hands of the Lodi party, and was a means of increasing their influence and power. Sultān Bahlūl left Dhopāmāu⁸ for Dihli to mourn⁹ for Khān-i-Jahān who had died in Dihli, [and having conferred the title of Khān-i-Jahān upon his son, again returned to attack Sultān Husain, and reaching Rāpri fought a battle in which he gained a victory],⁹ and when Sultān Husain took refuge in flight a number of his family and

¹ Firāhta enumerates Khanpal (Kanpila?) Daitali Shamsabad, Sakit Marhara and Jalsar, as the townships seized on this occasion by Bahlūl

² شقदारوں *Shiqqāran* Officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces

³ برائ MSS (A) (B) The text reads ندی

⁴ Firāhta includes this among the events of 883 H. See note 17

⁵ Our author here shows that he is wrong, as the total of the letters given amounts to 883 not 881 Thus نوید خرابی 50+6+10+4+600+200+1+2+10=883

⁶ This passage is differently worded in the text In both MSS (A) and (B) it runs thus —

و بعد از صلح سلطان حسین دراپری و سلطان بھلول در موضع دھوپامڑ قوار گرفت و بعد از مدتی سلطان حسین بار جمعیت نموده بر سر سلطان بھلول آمد و در سواد موضع سوہار مجاہدہ مت افتاد

⁷ The text reads incorrectly بتقریب instead of بتعزیت MS (A)

⁸ MS (A) omits the portion in brackets

children were drowned in the Jamna. Sultān Husain continued his march towards Gwāliār, and was still on the way when the rebel tribes of Hatkānt,¹ who are a clan of the Bhadaurīs, attacked his camp; Rāi Girat Singh, the Governor of Gwāliār came to the assistance of the Sultān offering his services, and having presented him with money and property, horses, camels, and elephants, with tents for himself and his troops, sent an army to accompany him, proceeding himself with the Sultān² as far as Kālpī; Sultān Buhlūl pursued him, and the two Kings³ met in the neighbourhood of Kālpī and a considerable time was spent in hostilities. In the meantime Rāi Tilūk⁴ Chand, the Governor of the country of Baksar,⁵ came and offered his services to Sultān Husain,⁶ and enabled him to cross the Ganges at a place which was fordable. Sultān Husain not being able to stand against him withdrew to Thatta,⁷ and the Rāja of Thatta came to receive him, and having presented him with several laks of tankahs in cash, and other valuables,⁸ together with several elephants, escorted him to Jaunpūr.

Sultān Buhlūl made an attempt to conquer Jaunpūr, accordingly

¹ MS. (A) omits the word متبردان leaving a hiatus, and writes متکانت *Hatkānt* which is correct, see n. 2.

Hatkānt is said by Abūl Fazl to be the chief town of Bhadaur a district S. E. of Agra. Its inhabitants are called Bhadaurians. They were known as daring robbers and though so near the capital managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted. *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 488. Elliot. *Races of N. W. P.*, vol. I, p. 25.

² We should probably read here مشایعت *Mushā'at* for متابعت *Mutabi'at* see *Firishta*.

³ MS. (A) reads میان.

⁴ Both MSS. Also *Firishta* who calls him Rāi Tilok Chand, Governor of *Khatra* (? Katehr.)

⁵ Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges 34 miles S. E. of Unāo town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre of 1857 at Cawnpore (see *Hunter Imp. Gaz.*, I, 450) MS. (A) reads یکسر *Yaksar*.

⁶ *Firishta* says بخدمت سلطان بهلول آمده. Offered his services to Sultān Buhlūl; from our author's subsequent words it would appear that it was Sultān Buhlūl, and not Sultān Husain.

⁷ MSS. (A) and (B) read بٹہ *Bhatta* instead of پٹنہ *Paṭna*. *Firishta* has تھٹہ *Thatta*, and this seems to be the proper reading.

⁸ MS. (A) جنس.

name of Bāyazīd,¹ and having arrived at Dholpūr² levied several *mans* of gold as tribute from the Rāi of that place; then passing by Bārī went to Ilāhpūr,³ one of the dependencies of the fortress of Rantanbhūr, and having laid waste that country came to Dihli and remained there. Some time after this he hastened to Hissār Fīroza, where he remained a few days and then returned to Dihli. Once more he went to Gwālīār, where Rāja Mān the Governor of Gwālīār sent an offering of eighty laks of *tankas* of that period; accordingly Buhlūl confirmed him at Gwālīār, and proceeded to Itāwa, and was making his way back to Dihli when he was taken ill in the neighbourhood of a township of the dependencies of Sakīṭ.⁴ And in the year 894 H. (1488 A. D.) he died, the duration of his reign was thirty-eight years,⁵ eight months and eight days.⁶

Verso.

Whether it be Afrāsiyāb or his son Zāl,
He will meet with chastisement at the hand of Fate.
To a cup whose measure the wine-bearer has appointed
It is impossible to add a single drop, however much you may
strive.

313.

¹ MS. (A) writes پسر دیگر another son. Firishṭa says نبیره خرد خواجه 'his grandson Khāja Ā'zam Humāyūn son of Khwāja Bāyazīd.' (Bo. Text, p. 327). This is correct. Bāyazīd was the eldest son of Buhlūl.

² Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit خرد.

³ The text and MS. (B) read Pālhanpūr. MS. (A) reads بالهنپور *ba Ilhanpūr*: Firishṭa's text however reads clearly (p. 327) بجانب اله پور *ba jānib-i-Ilāhpūr*. Briggs (p. 560) says Ruttanpoor!

⁴ Text and MS. (B) have سکپت *Sakpat*. MS. (A) reads سکيب *Sakīb*. In Firishṭa we read (Bo. text 327) that "Buhlūl took Itāwa from Sakīṭ Singh and set out to return to Dihli but fell ill on the way." Later on we read that "he died near Bhadāulī one of the dependencies of Sakīṭ." Sakīṭ is in the Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, and it is here according to Hunter (*Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 146), that Buhlūl Lodī died. Abūl Faṣl states (*Āin-i-Akbarī* text I. 532) that he died near the township of Saketh, but places Bhadāwah in the Sarkār of Sahār in the Āgra Sūbah, while he places Saketh in the Sarkār of Qanauj (see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) (II. 309 n. 3). Sakīṭ was probably the head-quarters of the Sakīṭ Singh whom Firishṭa mentions.

⁵ MS. (A) reads بود after سال.

⁶ Firishṭa says seven days.

Whether it be a king or a *khās* seller¹
 Fate brings to his hearing the summons of death
*The date of his death*²
 In eight hundred and ninety and four
 The world conquering *Khedive*, *Bahlul* left the world,
 With his sword he seized provinces, but for all his bright
 sword and burnished dagger,
 He was not able to repel death³

SULTAN SIKANDAR IBN I SULTĀN BURLUL,⁴

Who was known by the name of *Nizām Khān*, upon hearing the tidings of his father's decease, came in haste⁵ from *Dihli* to the township of *Jalali*, entered the camp⁶ and despatched the corpse of his father to *Dihli*. On Friday, the seventeenth of the year above mentioned, he ascended the throne in the palace of *Sultān Ibrūz*, which is situated on the banks of the Black water, with the concurrence of *Khān i Jahān ibn i Khān i Jahan*, and *Khān i Khānan Fārmali*,⁷ and all the *Amirs*, and was addressed by the title⁸ of *Sultān Sikandar*. It is said that at the time of leaving *Dihli*, he went to *Shaiikh Samā'ud Dīn Kanbu*,⁹ the spiritual guide of *Shaiikh Jamali*,¹⁰ who was one of the greatest among the *Ulama Shaiikhs* of his time, on pretence of taking an

¹ *خس فروش* *Khās furūsh*. *Khās* is a fragrant grass (*Andropogon muricatum*) from which screens are made and wetted with water for the purpose of cooling rooms by the air which blows through them commonly known as '*Khās Khās* tatties' in India.

² MS (A) reads تاریخ و وفات. This is omitted in the text.

Prior to his death *Sultān Bahlul* had made a partition of his dominions assigning *Jannpur* to *Shahzāda Bārbak Shah* and *Karra Manikpur* to *Shahzāda 'Alam Khan Bahraich* to his eldest son *Shaiikh Muhammad Fārmali* who was known as *Kala Blar* and *Lakhnau* and *Kalpi* to *'Alam Humayun ibn i Khwaja Bayazid Khan* (*Firishta* Bo text 327).

³ These same verses are found in *Firishta*.

⁴ MS (A) has no further words. MS (B) adds لودی *Lodī*. The text adds ابن کالا *ibn i Kala*.

⁵ Neither MS (A) nor (B) has تمام as in the text.

⁶ MS (B) داردوی نرسند.

⁷ MS (B) حاکمان دهلی *Khān i Khānans Dihli* it omits *فارملى* *Fārmali*.

⁸ MS (A) omits خطاب. ⁹ MS (A) کنو *Kanu*. ¹⁰ MS (A)

omen,¹ for this reason that he feared lest the Shaiikh might favour the claims of the other brothers,² so making his customary daily walk a pretext, he enquired the meaning of the expression *As'aduk Allāh*³ from the Shaiikh.

314. When he answered, It means *may God Most High make you fortunate*, he besought him saying, Kindly let this expression fall three several times from your auspicious lips; the Shaiikh did so,⁴ then he arose and said I have gained my request, then

1 **تَفَافُلُ** *tafā'ul*. Taking a **فأل** *fā'l* or omen from the words of a book. Sortilege, in the manner of the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, or the oracle of Præneste. Among Muhammadans it is a not infrequent custom, before embarking upon any important undertaking, to consult the Qur'ān, or the works of Iḥāsiz in this way. The word **فأل** *fā'l* properly means a good omen, as opposed to **طيرة** *ṭiyarat* a bad omen, this distinction is however not strictly observed. The prophet Muḥammad directed his followers not to put faith in a bad omen, but rather to take a good one; on being asked the meaning of a good omen he said "a good word which any of you may hear: such as if a person in search of anything be addressed thus, O Finder!" (*Mishkāt-u-l-Maṣābiḥ* Mathew ii. 381) see also Lane s. v. **فأل**; also Lane's Modern Egyptians 259, where a full account of one of the methods of sortilege by the *Zāirgah* is given.

2 MS. (B) reads **برادر دیگر** another brother. *Firishta* gives a detailed account of the circumstances attending the accession of Sikandar; he says that most of the Lodī Amīrs favoured Ā'zam Humāyūn, and before Buhlūl's death practically forced him to summon Sikandar from Dihlī, intending to make a prisoner of him. This plot came to the ears of 'Umr Khān Shīrwānī who was a friend of Sikandar, and he consequently agreed with the mother of Sikandar, who was in the camp at the time, to warn Sikandar of his danger. Sikandar accordingly made excuses from day to day, and eventually delayed coming so long that Buhlūl died. The Amīrs then held a consultation, most of them favouring Bārbak Shāh the eldest surviving son, but some leaning to Ā'zam Humāyūn: Zebā, the mother of Sikandar, spoke from behind a curtain in favour of her son, but was rudely repulsed by one 'Isā Khān a cousin of Buhlūl, who said, "the son of a gold worker's daughter is not fit to be king." Thereupon Khān-i-Khānān Farmaī rebuked him, and words ensued which led to a quarrel. Khān-i-Khānān took his party of Amīrs with him, and removed Buhlūl's corpse to Jalālī, summoning Sikandar from Dihlī where they placed him on the throne in the palace of Sulṭān Fīrūz on the banks of the Biāh, as Sulṭān Sikandar. He then sending his father's body to Dihlī, marched against 'Isā Khān and defeated him, but pardoned him (*Firishta* Bo. text 338-339).

3 **اللہ اسعدک** *Asa'dak allāh*, i.e., May God prosper thee. MS. (A) reads **صرف هوای ساخته معنی**.

4 MS. (A) omits the words **سه بار** and reads **و بعد**.

he besought the Shah to assist him, and set out to go to the army, and after that his rule was firmly established,¹ he left Dilli, and marched towards² Rapi and Itawa to conquer the country, and spent seven months there. He also sent Isma'il ³ Khan Luhānī with overtures of peace to King Barbak Shah at⁴ Jaunpur, while he proceeded in person against⁵ 'Isā Khān Governor of Patiali,⁶ and⁷ 'Isā Khan confronted and fought with him and was wounded, and after tendering his submission succumbed to his wounds. Rāi Ganeśh,⁸ the Rājā of Patiali who was friendly to Bārbak Shah, came in and had an interview with the Sultān who⁹ confirmed him in the Government of Patiali¹⁰. Barbak Shah coming from Jaunpur to Qannauj, the parties met and an engagement took place between them¹¹. Mubārak Khān Luhānī,¹² who was with the army of Bārbak Shah, was taken prisoner in this battle,¹³ Bārbak Shah fled to Bidaon, Sultān Sikandar besieged¹⁴ that fortress, and Barbak Shah being reduced to extremities sought an interview with the Sultān, who reassured and encouraged him, and took him along with him to Jaunpur, restoring him to his former position upon the throne of the Sharqi kings, except that he divided certain *parganas* of these territories¹⁵ among his own Amirs, detailing armies for each place and appointing trusted officers of his own following to assist Bar-

1 MS (B) wrongly استقراء

2 MS (B) حاب

3 The text and MS (B) read نوحانی ul ni MS (A) نوحانی Nukhānī

4 MS (A) در حویدور 5 MS (A) در عیسی حاب 6 MS (B) پتیالی

7 MS (A) omits و

8 MS (B) reads رای کشش Rai Kishan MS (A) reads رای گندس Rai Ganeśh (?) The text reads رای گندس Rai Ganes Firishṭa reads رای کیلی Rai Kilān

9 MS (A) omits سلطان reading و دروخته او

10 MS (B) پتیالی Patiali

11 MS (A) reads در میان طرفین instead of طرفین را

12 Text نوحانی

13 Firishṭa (Bo text 331) says that it was Kala Bhar (Shāikh Muḥammad Fārmā, nephew of Sultān Bahlul and cousin of Sikandar and Barbak) who was taken prisoner, and in return for his kind reception by Sikandar joined him against Barbak Shah who lost heart and fled to Bidaon

14 MS (A) محاصره کرد

15 In Bihar (Firishṭa)

bak Shāh.¹ Then he took Kalpi from A'zam Khān² Humāyūn the son of Khwāja Bayazid. From thence he came to Jāhtara,³ and from that place to Gwālīār, sending Khwāja Muḥammad Fārmalī with a special robe of honour on an embassy to⁴ Rāja Mān,⁵ who in turn sent his brother's son to pay him respects to the Sultān and to offer his submission. This nephew of his accordingly accompanied the Sultān as far as Baiāna. Sultān Sharq⁶ the Governor of Baiāna, the son of Sultān Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, came and visited him, and was desirous of handing over the key of the fort⁷ to the agents of the Sultān; however he changed his mind, and on arrival at Baiāna strengthened the defences of the fort. The Sultān proceeded to Agra where Haibat Khān Jilwānī, a subordinate of Sultān Sharf⁸ fortified himself in the fort of Agra.⁹ The Sultān left certain of his Amirs in Agra and¹⁰ proceeded to Baiāna¹¹ and in the year 897 H. (1491 A. D.) Sultān Sharq¹² fell into straits and sued for quarter, surrendering the fortress of Baiāna to the Sultān; that province was then conferred upon Khān-i-Khānān Fārmalī. In the same year the tribe of Bachgotis¹³ in the Jaunpūr territory had assembled to the number

¹ Firishṭa says, leaving trusted officers of his own following in his service, though Badāonī's words would convey the idea that these officers were left to control Bārbak Shāh's actions. MS. (A) omits بر before کماشت and را after معتبدان. and کالپی.

² MS. (A) omits خان giving it to Maḥmūd Lodī (Firishṭa).

³ Briggs (p. 568) says Bhurayee, but the original text of Firishṭa says جهترة Jāhtara. I fail to locate this.

⁴ MS. (A) نزد.

⁵ Governor of Gwālīār (Firishṭa).

Briggs has Mān Singh. Firishṭa reads Mān merely.

⁶ Firishṭa reads thus سلطان شرف. Sultān Sharf. Badāonī (text and both MSS.) reads شرق Sharq.

⁷ MS. (B) reads قلعه instead of فتح.

⁸ The text reads سلطان الشرق. Sultānu-sh-Sharq. MSS. (A) (B) read سلطان شرق Sultān Sharq.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) متحصن شد.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) گذاشت و.

¹¹ Where he besieged Sultān Sharq who after a while capitulated (Firishṭa 331).

¹² شرق Sharq (text and MSS.).

¹³ A tribe of Rājput̃s said to be descended from the Mainpūrī Chaulāns

of a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry,¹ and were raising a disturbance. The Sultān proceeded thither and Barbak Shah came in and offered his allegiance. Leaving there, he proceeded to occupy himself with a hunting expedition to the borders of Awadh (Oudh), and again returned to Jaunpur, and arrived at the fortress of Janhar,² and engaged in battle with the Amirs of Sultān Husayn Sharqi who held it, and having defeated them, without waiting to completely invest the fortress came to Patna,³ and having come to Aril,⁴ which is near Ilāhabās (otherwise called Prayag),⁵ laid waste that district,⁶ and proceeding by way of Karra and Mānikpur hastened to Dalman,⁷ and from thence came⁸ to Shamsābād, and remaining there six months went to Sambal [whence he again returned to Shamsabad]⁹

And after the rainy season in the year 900 H (1494 A D) 316 he set out with the object of chastising the rebels of Patna, and great slaughter took place and many prisoners were taken, from thence he proceeded to Jaunpur.¹⁰ In this expedition very many

notorious for the turbulence originally Mulammadans see Elliot, *Races of N W P* I 47

¹ MSS (A) (B) پیادہ و سوار

² Text چنار Janhar MS (A) reads حنار (?) MS (B) چنار Chinar Firishtā چنار Chinar

³ Firishtā says came to Kātauba (?) which is one of the dependencies of Patna MS (A) reads روت

⁴ A footnote variant is given in the text ناریل *la Arkal*

Firistā reads ارل Aril (or Aryal) he says جانب ارل روت

Aril is mentioned by Abul Fazl (*Āin : Akbari* (B) I 420) he held Jhosi and Aril (Jalalabas) as jagir

⁵ The text reads پیاک Payak MS (A) reads باک Bayak MS (B) بپاک Bapak Regarding the derivation of Prayag the ancient name of Allahabad see Cunningham (*A G I* 391)

⁶ حواب کردہ روت MS (B)

⁷ Dalman lay opposite to Karra on the other side of the Ganges see Rennell's Map see also, *Āin : Akbari*, (J) II 167 n 2 Firistā (Bo text) reads Dalpur, p 332

⁸ رسید MS (B)

⁹ Not in MSS (A) and (B) The text has a footnote saying that these words occur in only one copy. They are however in exact accord with Firistā's statement and are probably copied from his work

¹⁰ MS (A) آمد

horses were lost, hardly one in ten remaining alive;¹ the zemīndārs of Patna and others wrote and informed Sultān Ḥusain Sharqī of the loss of the horses, and of the scarcity of supplies in Sultān Sikandar's army, and invited him (to advance). Sultān Ḥusain collected an army, and marched from Behār with a hundred elephants against Sultān² Sikandar, who for his part crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantit³ and came to Chenār⁴ and from thence to Banāras. Sultān Ḥusain had arrived within seventeen *krohs* of Banāras when Sultān Sikandar marched against him rapidly.⁵ In the midst of his march Sālbāhan the Rāja of Patna, who was a trusty *zemīndār*, left Sultān Ḥusain and joined Sultān Sikandar.

Sultān Ḥusain drew up in line of battle, but suffered defeat and retired towards Patna.⁶ Sultān Sikandar left the camp, and pursued him⁷ with a hundred thousand light cavalry; while thus engaged he learned that Sultān Ḥusain had gone to Bihār. After nine days Sultān Sikandar arrived,⁸ and joining his camp set out for Bihār. Sultān Ḥusain, leaving his deputy⁹ in Bihār, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gānw one of the dependencies of Lakhnauti, and Bihār fell into the hands of Sikandar's troops.¹⁰ Thence the Sultān proceeded to Tirlut and conquered it.

And in the year 901 H. (1495 A. D.) Khān-i-Jahān Lodī died, and Aḥmad Khān his eldest son¹¹ was styled A'zam Khān Humā-yūn. The Sultān returned from Tirlut, and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Quṭbu-l-Mashāikhi-l-'Izām,¹² Shaikh Sharfu-d-Dīn Munīri,¹³ may God sanctify his resting-place, and came to

1 MS. (A) نهاند.

2 MSS. (A) and (B).

3 The text and MS. (B) read مکدر گشت *mukaddar gashṭ*, i.e., became disturbed; but the proper reading is بگذر کثیت *baguzr-i-Katīt*. MS. (A) or بگذر کثنت *baguzr-i-Kantit* (Firishṭa). Kantat is on the S. W. bank of the Ganges, in the Sarkar of Allahabad, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 89: 158.

4 Text جنهار Janhār.

5 Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit تمام.

6 MS. (A) reads پنه *Panna*. Text reads پته *Patta*. MS. (B) reads گرفت.

7 MS. (B) نمود و در راه.

8 MS (B) omits آمده.

9 Malik Kandhū (Firishṭa).

10 MS. (A) آمد.

11 MS. (A) reads احمد پسر او بخطاب اعظم همايونى مخاطب شد.

12 MSS. (A) (B) in Bihār (Firishṭa).

13 He was the son of Yahya-b-Isrāīl the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Ganj-i-Shakkur. His burial place is in Bihār, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (J.) III. 370.

Darveshpur From thence he set out on an expedition against Sultān 'Alāu d Dīn king of Bangūla, and in the vicinity of Bihār, the son of Sultān 'Alau d-Dīn, whose name was Dāniāl, in obedience to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sultān (Sikandar), and prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one contenting himself with his own territories¹ and consenting to make peace In this year great scarcity and dearth occurred in the camp of the Sultān, orders were promulgated² remitting the customary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely abolished From thence he came to the township of Saran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity,³ and came by way of Mahligarh⁴ to Jannpūr, and having spent six months there proceeded to Panna⁵ And in the year 901 H. (1498 A D) he invaded the territory of Panna,⁶ as far as Bāndhūgarh⁷ which is a famous fortress plundering and taking prisoners, but being unable to take the fortress on account of its strength, went to Jannpūr where he remained In the meanwhile a quarrel had arisen among some of his Amirs during a game of *chaugān*,⁸ and at last it ended in an open fight,⁹ and the Sultān

1 MS (A) درولات 2 MS (A) صادر گشتند

3 MS (B) تقسیم کرده معرر نمود MS (A) تقسیم نموده مقرر کرد

4 Firishṭa reads مجھلی گڑھ Machli garh

5 MS (A) پنے Panna, text and MS (B) پٹنے Patna Firishṭa text پٹنے Pafna Briggs in his translation say Panna (p 573) and this must be correct to judge from what follows

6 MS (A) reads ولایت پنے Wilayat : Panna

7 MS (A) reads مادھو گڑھ Ma dhugarh but Bandh garh is the right reading Regarding the position of this fortress we find Abul Faḡl states (*Āin : Akbari* (J) II, 157) that Bāndhu lies south of Allāhābad The translator appends a footnote (9) in which he identifies it with Banda Banda, however lies to the west and not to the south of Allāhābad Bāndhūgarh was one of the two chief fortresses of the province of Bandhu (which corresponds nearly to the state of Rewa) and lies south of Rewa (Rewa) distant about 60 miles and S S E from Panna, distant about 90 miles (Keith Johnson) In Rennell's Map (*Ticff III*), it is very plainly marked though the distances and bearings differ slightly from the above see Rennell's Map N p 29 The other fortress lay south of Bāndhūgarh and was called Mandla Garh

8 چوگان *Chaugan* Called in Arabic مولدین *Saulajan* The modern name of this game is Polo For a full account of the game, see *Āin : Akbari* (B) I 297 298

9 Firishṭa gives a detailed description of the events, and states that within

becoming suspicious ¹ of the Amīrs, gave orders that some armed and trusty guards ² should attend him every night, which was accordingly done. The majority of the disaffected and disappointed Amīrs urged Fath̄ Khān the son of Sultān Buhlūl to seize the empire. He in his simplicity communicated ³ this secret to his mother, and also to Shaikh Tāhir, and a party who were among the confidants of the Sultān, at the same time giving them ⁴ a memorandum containing the names of those confederate Amīrs. The party above mentioned diverted him from that insane idea with friendly admonition. To prove their own innocence of complicity in that treasonable design, they took that memorandum to Sultān Sikandar, ⁵ who devised some specious pretext for scattering in different directions all those Amīrs ⁶ who had shewn partiality for the Prince ⁷ Fath̄ Khān.

318.

And in the year 905 H. (1499 A.D.) he proceeded to Sambal, and resided there for four years employed in affairs of State, and used to spend his time ⁸ either in luxurious living, or in hunting expeditions.

And in the year 906 H. (1500 A.D.) Aṣghar the Governor of Dihlī began to commit malpractices. The Sultān accordingly sent orders from Sambal to Khawāṣṣ Khān the Governor of Māchhīwāra, ⁹ to seize Aṣghar and send him (into his presence); but Aṣghar anticipating this had gone humbly to Sambal where he suffered imprisonment; and Khawāṣṣ Khān received the Governorship of Dihlī. In this year also ¹⁰ Khān-i-Khānān Farmālī the Governor of Baiāna died, and the Government of that place was for some time entrusted to Aḥmad and Suleiman the two sons (? grandsons) of Khān-i-Khānān. ¹¹ After a time they

four days the fight was renewed, in consequence of which the Sultān began to believe it was due to some preconcerted plan against his own person.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) بریشان بد عظمته شده. ² Both MSS. (A) (B) omit از.

³ ظاهر ساخت و. MSS. (A) (B). ⁴ نموده و. MSS. (B).

⁵ MS. (B) omits سکندر and reads نموده. MS. (A) agrees with the text.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) reads امرار. ⁷ MS. (B) reads پادشاه.

⁸ Both MSS. omit او. MS. (A) reads بالعیش both MSS. read سیر.

⁹ MS. (A) reads ماجهواره. Firishṭa writes ماحیوارة Māchhīwāra.

¹⁰ MS. (B) درین سال.

¹¹ The text here reads با حمد و سلیمان پسران و سلطان پسران خانانان both MSS. have this same reading but Firishṭa reads پسر خانانان.

entered the Sultān's service at Sambal, and the Government of the fortress (of Baiāna) was made over to Khawās Khān, while Safdar Khān¹ was appointed to the charge of Agra, which was one of the dependencies of Baiāna. Khawās Khān with the assistance of 'Alam Khān² Governor of Miwāt, and Khān Khānān Luhānī, proceeded to attempt the capture of Dholpur³. The Rājā of that place came out to oppose them, and heavy fighting ensued in which many Muslims attained martyrdom. The Sultān leaving Sambal came with all haste to Dholpur, and Rājā Manik Deo,⁴ Rājā of Dholpur, not being able to hold out, evacuated the fort and went to Gwālār. They plundered and pillaged⁵ the district around Dholpur. The Sultān having remained a month in those parts left to reduce Gwālār, and leaving Adam Lodi there crossed the river Chambal, and encamped for two months on the banks of the river Mendakī⁶.

By reason of the⁷ badness of the climate of that place sickness⁸ broke out among⁹ the population and a pestilence arose. The Rājā of Gwālār also came and made overtures of peace,⁹ and delivered up Sa'id Khān, and Bābu Khān, and Rai Ganesh,¹⁰ who had deserted from the army of the Sultān and had taken refuge in that fort, and also sent his eldest son¹¹ to do homage to the

¹ Briggs calls him Sudr Khān but the original reads Safdar Khān

² MS (A) reads *خان عالم* Khān : 'Alam

³ Native State in Rajputana. The town of Dholpur capital of the State lies 34 miles south of Agra and 37 miles north west of Gwalior, see Hunter *Imp Gaz*, IV 273

⁴ Firishṭa calls him *بنایک دہو* Binayek Deo

⁵ MS (B) reads *لہب* for *لہب* here and in several other places

⁶ Firishṭa calls this river "the Asī otherwise known as Medakī, and says that in consequence of the badness of the water sickness broke out among the troops terminating in a pestilence. Mendakī means frog haunted

There is no river which I can definitely identify as this river but the Asan in Keith Johnson (India) E f flowing west of Gwalior would answer to the Asī in position. Rennell's Map gives no name to this river

⁷ MS (A) omits *و* and also *روہی*

⁸ MS (B) reads *درمیان*

⁹ MS (B) reads *مسلح* musallah (armed) for *بصلح* ba sulh

¹⁰ Supply *را* MS (A)

¹¹ Vikramajit (Firishṭa)

Sultān, who sent him back after bestowing upon him a horse and robe of honour, returning himself to Agra. At the time of his return he restored the fort of Dholpūr¹ also to Bināyik Deo,² and having spent³ the rainy season in Agra, after the rising of Canopus⁴ in the year 910 H. (1504 A.D.), marched to reduce the fortress of Mandrāyal,⁵ which he took without fighting from the Rāja of Mandrāyal, who sued for peace; he also destroyed all the idol-temples and churches⁶ of the place, and, as he returned, rebuilt anew the fortress of Dholpūr, then came to Agra and gave his Amīrs permission to proceed to their several *jaegīrs*.⁷ [And in this year Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr,⁸ *may God sanctify his holy resting place*, who was one of the chief of the great *walīs* and had even laid claim to be the Mahdī, in answer to the call of Him who has the true claim to us all answered, *Here am I*, while returning from Makkah the sacred city towards Hindustān, at the town of Farah⁹ where he was buried. Qāzī Ḥusain Zargar of Qandahār, *God's mercy be on him*, whom, as well as the Mir himself I had the honour of visiting, wrote the following chronogram :

¹ MS. (B) omits سلطان and reads باز for با.

² MS. (B) reads دهولپور قلعه and بنا یک دیو.

³ MSS. (A) (B) گذرا نید و.

⁴ In the month of Ramaḡān (*Firishṭa*).

⁵ Mandrāyal. This is not marked in Rennel's map, but Tieffenthaler (I. 174) mentions it under the name of *Mandalayer* or *Madracl*, and says that it lies upon the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western bank of the Chambal, and twelve miles S. S. E. of Caroli (Kerauli) see Keith Johnston's Atlas, India E. F. Mandler, see also *Āin-i-Akbarī* (J) II. 190, Mandlāer.

⁶ بتخانها و کنایس اینجا. So also *Firishṭa*.

⁷ The portion in square brackets is not in either MS. (A) or MS. (B).

⁸ Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad was the son of Mir Saiyyid Khan of Jaunpūr, and was the first to give definite form in India to the doctrine of the advent of the Mahdī, alleged to have been promised by the prophet Muḥammad. He gained many adherents after he had declared that he was the promised Mahdī, among them was Sultan Mahmūd I. at whose request it was that he proceeded on the pilgrimage to Makkah from which he was returning at the time of his death, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B1) I. Biog. p. V.

The Shī'ahs believe that the Mahdī has already appeared, the Sunnīs still look for his appearance. Hughes, *Dict of Islam*.

⁹ Farah in Biluchistan (*Āin-i-Akbarī* (B1) I. Biog. p. V).

He said, Go and enquire from the Shaiikh ¹

Shaiikh Mubārak also invented a chronogram in the words ² *Mazā Mahdī*, 'The Mahdī has departed'.³

On the third of the month of Ṣafar in the year 911 H. (6th July, 1505 A.D.) so violent an earthquake occurred over the whole of Hindūstān ⁴ that the hills began to tremble, while strong and lofty buildings ⁵ fell to atoms, and the earth in places was cleft and rents appeared,⁶ while they assert that villages and trees left their places, and men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived ⁷ We learn from the *Wāq'āt-i-Bābarī*,⁸ and other histories, that this earthquake was not confined to Hindūstān, but that on the same day in Persia also a similar earthquake occurred, and the word *Qāzī*,⁹ was invented as a chronogram to record the date of it.

Rubā'ī.

In nine hundred and eleven the city of Agra became the goal of several successive earthquakes

¹ گفتا که روز شیخ کی استفسار *Guftā ke birau zi Shaiikh kun istifear*. The value of the letters of the word شیخ is 300 + 10 + 600 = 910.

² ماضی مهدی *Mazā Mahdī* 'these words as written in the text only total 900, but if we write more accurately, ماضی مهدی they will be 910

³ A footnote to the text states that this portion (here included in square brackets) only occurs in one MS. Firāhta also has no reference to this event

⁴ Firāhta only says in Agra.

⁵ MS (A) چنانکه کوه ها ده لرزه در آمد و عمارت های عالی

⁶ سوراخها پدید گشت MS (A) roads دشواریها *dushwariha* Difficulties and dangers

⁷ MS (B) قیامت واقع شد

⁸ Regarding this work, see Elliott IV, 218. The commentaries of Baber, originally written in Turki were translated into Persian in Akbar's reign, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 103, and an English translation was made by Dr Leyden and Mr Erskine. At page 170 of that translation is found the account of the earthquake referred to by our author. Baber says "there were thirty-three shocks that same day, and for the space of a month the earth shook two or three times every day and night" The date is not given, but the account follows closely upon that of the death of his mother, which he states occurred in the month of Muharram, and we may from the account reckon about 40 days afterwards so that it must have been early in the month of Ṣafar.

⁹ قاصی *Qazī* 100 + 1 + 800 + 10 = 911

And whereas her buildings were excessively lofty, that which had been their highest points became the lowest.¹

From the time of Adam to the present time no such earthquake has ever been known.

And in the year 912 H. (1506 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus, he marched against the fortress of Ūntgarh,² and laid siege to it, and many of his men joyfully embraced martyrdom, after that he took the fort and gave the infidels as food to the sword; those who escaped the sword fed the flames of the fire of *jūhar* with their wives and children. He then cast down the idol temples, and built there a lofty mosque.

In the year 913 H. (1507 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus he proceeded with the object of reducing the fortress of Narwar.³ Whilst en route he fell in with the elephants and cavalry and infantry of Jalāl Khān Lodī,⁴ whom he had sent on in advance to clear the way,⁵ and whom he had appointed to reduce Narwar. Becoming suspicious of him, he set about overthrowing him, and made some pretext for dispersing his forces, and taking him prisoner sent him to the fortress of Sakkar;⁶ he then took Narwar, the garrison having capitulated. And in the year 914 H. (1508 A.D.) he constructed other forts round Narwar to increase its strength, and bestowing

¹ Firishṭa gives this *rubāʿī* with slight variation omitting چون *chūn* in the second line.

² Firishṭa reads اودیت نگر *Udītnagar*. MS. (A) ادونت گر *Adwantgar*. MS. (B) اونت گڑھ *Ūntgarh*. This fortress lay just South of Mandler (p. 420 n. 5) and is shown in the map as Deogarh, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 380 n. 1. Firishṭa states that the Sulṭān regarded Udītnagar as the key to Gwālīār which he wished to reduce (p. 338).

³ Firishṭa Bo. text, p. 339, says this was after the rains of 913 H. in the year 914 H., but from the detail he gives of the various operations it is doubtful if he can be correct. Narwar was a dependency of Mālwa (Firishṭa). It lay about half way between Gwālīār and Dhār, see Tieff. I. 175 for a description and map of the fortress: see also *Āin-i-Akbarī* (J.) II, 190, on the right bank of the river Sind, 44 miles south of Gwālīār city, see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* X. 227.

⁴ Who upon the death of his father Maḥmūd Khān had become governor of Kālpī.

⁵ Firishṭa says Jalāl Khān was ordered to go on in advance and invest the fort of Narwar.

⁶ Firishṭa says Hanwantgarh.

In this year also Suleimān, the son of Khān-i-Khānān Fārmalī, was dismissed from the service of the Sultān, on the grounds that he had been appointed ¹ to perform a service at Ūntghar,² and in the direction of Sūpar, and had refused: the *pargana* of Indrī Karnāl ³ was given him as *Madad-i-ma'āsh* (rent-free land), with orders to go and remain there.

In this year ⁴ Bahjat Khān of Mālwa transferred Chanderī to Sultān Sikander on account of the weakness ⁵ of Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, and read the Khutbah in his name in those districts. Accordingly proclamations conveying tidings of this victory were written to all parts of the Kingdom; and Muḥammad Khān, the grandson of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa,⁶ was taken prisoner, and Chanderī was (nominally) ⁷ placed under his authority, but Amīrs were appointed to supervise him so that they might be aware of all his movements, control his actions, and administer ⁸ his *jāegīr*, then the Sultān proceeded on a hunting excursion towards Baiāna, and paid his respects to the various learned and holy men of those districts, who were at that time famous for their miracles and wonder-working,⁹ especially ¹⁰ Saiyyid N'amatu-llāh and Shaiḫ 'Abdullāh Ḥusainī,¹¹ who was

¹ MS. (A) فرموده شده بود.

² Firishṭa says Hanwantgarh, Bo. text, p. 341, and tells us that Suleimān was summarily dismissed with permission to remove all that he could by day-break, and all of his property that remained was to be looted by the populace (غارت عام دهنده).

³ Firishṭa says بازری *Bazeri*. MS. (B) reads اندري و کرنال. For the meaning of *madad-i-ma'āsh* called also *sūyūrghāl*, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B1) p. 268 سویورغال *Sūyūrghāl* is a Turkī word meaning gifts (of land). (Pavet de Courteille).

⁴ MS. (B) reads دربین چند سال.

⁵ MS. (A) omits ضعف.

Firishṭa reads: Bahjat Khān, Governor of Chanderī, whose ancestors for generations had been the faithful subjects of the Sultāns of Mālwa, on account of the weakness of Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, and the decadence of his kingdom, sought an interview with Sultān Sikandar, and agreed to the Khutbah being read in his name in Chanderī, see Briggs, p. 583, and Bo. text, p. 341.

⁶ MS. (A) omits مالوي. MS. (B) writes محمد خان Muḥammad Khān, as also does Firishṭa. The text reads محمد خان Maḥmūd Khān.

⁷ Firishṭa reads ظاهر.

⁸ MS. (A) omits و. MS. (B) reads در جایگیر.

⁹ See Lane s. v. کرامه. also Hughes, *Dict. of Islām* art. Miracles. The full expression is خوارق العاده *Khawāriq-l-'ādat*.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) خصوصا.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B).

one of those famous for revelations and miracle working,¹ with whom he used to consort frequently Shāhzāda Daulat Khān, Governor of the fortress of Rantanbhūr, in the service of Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa, availing himself of the intermediary aid of 'Alī Khān of Nagor, who was in charge of the province of Siwi Siyupur,² came and had an interview with the Sultān, and agreed to give up to him the key of the fortress. It so chanced that the 'Alī Khān who has been spoken of above, once more practised his hypocrisy, and came out from the fort to oppose him. The Sultān pretended not to notice this, and treated Daulat Khān as though he were his own son, bestowing upon him a special robe of honour, with several horses and elephants, and proceeded towards the fort of Phankar,³ and from thence proceeding by way of the township of Bānī,⁴ he returned thence to Āgra. Here he was seized with an illness, and took the journey to the⁵ next world on Sunday the seventeenth⁶ of Zūl Q'adah 923 H (Jan 1518 A D). The words *Jannātu l-Firdaus nazala* (The gardens of Paradise came down) furnish the date⁷ of his death, the duration of his reign was twenty-eight years and five months.

Verse

Sikandar, the emperor of the seven kingdoms continued not
No one continues, seeing that Sikandar himself did not
continue

Sultān Sikandar used to associate frequently with poets and 323.
was himself also a man of taste, and would occasionally compose

¹ MSS (A) (B) read که ار اهل کشف و کرامات بود and this reading is preferable to that of the text

² The text reads سوی سیو سیو *Su Siu* with a fo tnote variant سیوی سیوی *Sui Siu* *Siwio Siupur* Firāzta reads سیویپور *Siyi pu* (? Sibi) see *Ain e Akbari* (J) II 328 n 1

³ Firāzta writes تھانکر *Thankar*

⁴ In the Sarkar of Āgra See 110ff I 166

⁵ MS (A) reads لیحات آخرت

⁶ Firāzhta says Sunday the seventh of Zūl Q'adah and adds that he died from suffocation, owing to the impaction of a morsel of food in the passages, not of quinsy as Briggs translates it See Do text 343 and Briggs I 58v

⁷ MS (B) reads تاریخ شد and omits مدد. The letters حنات الفردوس make up the total 923

verses after the ancient Hindustānī ¹ models, under the pseudonym of Gulrukh, accordingly he felt great pleasure in the companionship of Shaikh Jamāl.² The following verses are the product of the genius of the Sultān, and are written with the utmost regard to poetical form.

*Ode.*³

That cypress whose robe is the jasmine, whose body the rose,
Is a spirit incarnate whose garment the body provides.
What profits the Khatani musk? all the kingdoms of Chīn
Are conquered, and bound in the chains of her clustering curls.
In the eye of her eyelashes' needle the thread of my soul
I'll fasten and swiftly repair every rent in her robe.
Could Gulrukh essay to discover the charms of her teeth,
He would say they are water-white pearls of the ocean of
speech.⁴

One of the poets of the reign of Sultān Sikandar was the Brahman [Dūnkar⁵] who, they say,⁶ in spite of being an infidel, used to give instruction in books of science.⁷ The following *maṭla*, (opening couplet) was spoken [and is a most auspicious *maṭla*⁸] by him in the metre of Mas'ūd Beg,

Had not thy glance been the dagger, my heart had not bled
to-day;

Had not thy look been the serpent⁹ I never had lost my way.

Also among the great and learned men of the time of Sultān Sikandar were Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh Tulumbi¹⁰ in Dihli, and Shaikh 'Azizu-llāh Tulumbi¹¹ in Sambhal, both of whom came

¹ MSS. (A) (B) هندوستانیہ.

² MS. (B) جمال ازین. MS. (A) جمال الدین Text جسالی ازین.

³ MSS. (A) (B) غزل Text ابیات.

⁴ The verses are here given in the order in which they come in MSS. (A) and (B). Both MSS. read گلرخ چو کند and MS. (A) reads تا خاک or چاک تا Text.

⁵ MS. (A) دونکر *Dūnkar*?

⁶ MS. (A) کہ میگورند.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) کتب علمی omit رسمی. ⁸ MS. (A) reads مطلع مسعود.

⁹ ابتر *Abtar*. A noxious serpent which no one sees without fleeing from it see Lane s. v. بتر.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits طلنبی.

¹¹ MS. (A) بودہ اند.

to Hindustān at the time of the ruin of Multan, and introduced the systematic study of the intellectual sciences into that country. Before then time, with the exception of the Sharḥ : Shamsīyah, and the Sharḥ : Saḥāif¹ there were no books current in Hindustān which treated of logic and metaphysics. I heard also from my masters,² that more than forty expert and profoundly learned men have arisen from among the disciples of Shaiḫ 'Abdu llāh, for example, Miṣṣān Ladan, Jamāl Khān of Dillī, Miṣṣān Shaiḫ of Gwalār,³ Mirān Saṣṣīq Jalāl of Badāon, and others. They say also that Sultān Sikandar, during the instruction of the aforesaid Shaiḫ 'Abdu llāh, used to come⁴ and seat himself quietly in a corner unseen by the rest, fearing lest he should interrupt the lesson of the other students, and when the lesson was ended they used to exchange the customary salutation of *Salām 'alaikum*⁵ and mix freely with each other.

And Shaiḫ 'Azīzu llāh of Tulumba, who was a man of great probity and rectitude, had such an abundant genius and marvellous power of recollection⁶ that no matter how difficult or minute the subject matter of a book which a student of intelligence might be reading he would give his lesson in it without previously reading it, and that time after time when they came up for examination, and propounded the most inscrutable problems, the learned Shaiḫ would explain them on the instant while giving his lesson.

¹ The former of these two works was most probably the famous commentary by Qutbu d Din Mahmud bin Muḥammad Rāzī on the Shamsīyah a famous treatise on Logic composed by Najmu d Din 'Umar bin 'Alī Qazwīnī who died A. H. 693 (1293 A. D.) see Hajī Khālifah No. 7067. *El Saḥāif fi el kalam fīlā de metaphysica*. The Sharḥ : Saḥāif must be the commentary mentioned by Hajī Khālifah and by him ascribed to Samarqandī. There was another commentary by Bīlāḥī. See H. K. 7718.

² MS (A) و از اساتید شریفة شده

³ MS (A) has a hiatus between the first and last letters of this name

⁴ Text and MS (B) می آمد MS (A) می آمد ⁵ MSS (A) (B)

⁶ 'Recollection' does not quite convey the full meaning of the word in the original which is استحصال *Istihṣāl* this means literally, making present summing. It seems to be used here for the power of calling up at will any impression. It is not memory or rather retentiveness but implies the power of recalling impressions by purely mental forces after the removal of the stimulus. MSS (A) (B) read استحساری غریب داشته

One of his pupils was¹ Miṣyān Ḥātim Sanbalī, who is commonly said to have read the *Commentary on the Miṣṭāḥ*² more than thirty times in the course of his life, and the *Muṭawwal*³ more than forty times, from the first letter of the *Bism'illāh* to the last of the word *Tammat*.⁴

Another is Shaiḫu-l-Hadiyāh Jaunpūrī, the author of many worthy compositions and excellent books, who wrote a commentary extending over several volumes upon the *Hedāyah-i-Fiqh*,⁵ while there is no need of mentioning his commentary on the *Kāfiyah*:⁶ in addition to these he wrote notes upon the *Tafsīr-i-*

¹ MSS. (A) (B) ميسيان.

² The text and MS. (B) agree in this reading. MS. (A) reads سرمين مفتاح which may possibly stand for شرحين مفتاح *Sharḥain-i-miṣṭāḥ*, the two commentaries on the *Miṣṭāḥ*.

Miṣṭāḥu-l-'ulūm (clavis doctrinarum), see Hājī Khalīfah 12578. This book was written by Sirāj-u-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yusuf bin Abī Muḥammad bin Alī as Sikkākī who died 626 A.H. (1228 A.D.)

The book was divided into three parts, of which the first treated of grammatical inflection, the second of syntax, and the third of arrangement and composition of sentences. (علمى المعاني والبيان) 'Ilma'u-l-ma'ānī wal bayān. (Regarding 'Ilmu-l-bayān, etc., see Garcin de Tassy *Rhetorique des langues de l'orient Musulmān*, pp. 1-5.)

A commentary on all three parts was written by Maulā Ḥusām-u-d-Dīn al Muwazzinī, and this is probably the commentary alluded to in the text. Other commentaries were written on the third part, of which Hājī Khalīfah mentions three as worthy of special notice.

³ *Muṭawwal* (commentarius longior). By this book is meant the commentary written by Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftazānī (who died 792 A. H.) on the book called *Talkhīṣu-l-Miṣṭāḥ*. It was called by the name of *Muṭawwal* or long commentary because after its completion in A. H. 748 its author wrote a second commentary, an abbreviation of the first, and gave it the name of *Mukhtaṣar* or shorter commentary. (See H. K. II. p. 404).

⁴ All works written by Muslims commence with *Bism'illāh* باسم الله. In the name of God. The word *tammat* تمت, stands for تمت الكتاب *tammat-il kitāb*, the book is finished, and forms the last word, answering to our word 'Finis.' MSS. (A) and (B) write only بسم.

⁵ *Ḥidāyah-i-Fiqh*. (see Hājī Khalīfah 14366.)

⁶ *Kāfiyah*. The famous grammar known by this name is *Al-Kāfiyat fī-l-naḥw* (liber sufficiens) whose author was Shaiḫ Jamāl-u-d-Dīn abī 'Umar Uṣmān bin 'Umr, commonly known as *Ibn-u-l-hājiḥ*. (ob: 646 A. H). For a full account of the work and its various commentaries see H. K. 9707.

*Ma'ārik*¹ and other works, which are read up to the present day² Sultan Sikandar also collected together learned men³ from all parts of the country to instruct him,⁴ placing on one side *Shaiḥ* 'Abd u llah, and *Shaiḥ* 'Aziz u llah, and on the other *Shaiḥ* Nadiyah and his son *Shaiḥ*⁵ Bhakarī to discuss 325 difficult points. Eventually it became clearly evident that the former pair of worthies were superior in oratory, while the two latter were the better writers. The death of *Shaiḥ* 'Abd u llah occurred in the year 922 H, the following chronogram was invented to commemorate it *Ūlāika lahū ul darajatu l ulā*⁶

And among the poets of the time of Sikandar, was the afore said *Shaiḥ* Jamāl Kanbawī of Dihli, to whom Saltān Sikandar was in the habit of submitting verses which he had written, for his opinion.

Speaking generally, he had many excellent points, he was a man who had travelled much, and had been honoured with the fellowship of our master the saintly Jamī,⁷ may God sanctify his resting place, and had gained many advantages from⁸ him and won his approbation,⁹ and was moreover in the habit of submitting¹⁰ his poems to that revered master. The following verses are by him

Verse

I wear a garment woven of the dust of thy street
And¹¹ that too rent to the skirt with my tears

Verse 12

Love's speech is swift, whole centuries of words,
Friend speaks to friend swift as the eye can close

¹ *Tafsir i Madarik* Explanation of the sources from which are sought the ordinances of the law See Lane s v *مذرك*

² MS (A) om ts *تا اس زمان*

³ MSS (A) (B) write *علماء*

⁴ MS (A) *دردس حویش*

⁵ Both MSS (A) (B) write *شیخ*

⁶ The text reads wrongly here *اولئك لهم درجات العلى* MSS (A) (B) are correct. The quatou may be found in the Qur'an (XX 77). The value of the letters is 929

⁷ MSS (A) (B) omit *الله*

⁸ MS (A) omits *از*

⁹ MSS (A) (B) *در باوند*

¹⁰ MSS (A) (B) *در ملازمت*

¹¹ MS (B) om ts *و*

¹² MS (A) omits the a complet

The following ode also, ¹ which he translated and set to music in his native Hindī, is marvellously inspiring, and is well known.²

My heart's desire is fixed on thy abode
Oh thou that art long absent from my sight;
By day and night the thought of thee alone
My constant partner is, ask then thy thought
Should'st thou desire, to bring thee news of me.

He also wrote a *Tazkirah* (Book of Memoirs) to recount the assemblies of some of the Shaiḫs of Hindūstān, called the *Sīyaru-l-ʿArifīn* (Biographies of the Saints) which is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies. It commences from the venerable Khawāja³ Muʿīnu-l-Ḥaqq wau-d-Dīn Ajmīrī, and finishes with his own spiritual guide Shaiḫ Samāu-d-Dīn⁴ Kanbawī of Dihlī, in addition to which it contains other matter both⁵ prose and poetry. His *diwān* is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.

SULTĀN IBRAHĪM BIN SULTĀN SIKANDAR LODĪ,

Ascended the throne in Āgra in the year 923 H. with the concurrence of the Amīrs, and Shahzāda Jalāl Khān ibn-i-Sultān Sikandar⁶ [was appointed to the rule of Jaunpūr and was styled by the title of Sultān, while Khān-i-Jahān Lūhānī⁷ governor of Rāprī came to Āgra] and blamed the Amīrs greatly for associating (Jalāl Khān) in the government⁸ of the kingdom; and after that he had pointed out to them the foolishness⁹ of this procedure orders were issued to the Amīrs of the eastern districts to seize Jalāl Khān and bring him to the Court. He however went from Jaunpūr to Kalpī and collected a large following, and after establishing the *Khutbah* and *sikkah* in his own name, assumed the title of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn. Aʿzam Hūmāyūn Shirwānī sided with him for a time, but eventually came and had an audience of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Sultān Ibrāhīm

¹ (A) omits اوهم.

² MS. (A) omits حضرت.

³ MS. (A) اجمیری.

⁴ MS. (A) هم دارد.

⁵ From this point there is a very long omission in MS. (B).

⁶ The portion included in square brackets is repeated twice in MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) نوحانی Nūhānī.

⁸ MS. (A) reads بامر.

⁹ MS. (A) فسح.

sent to the fortress of Hānsī certain of his brothers who were imprisoned, for instance Shāhrazāda Isma'il Khān, and Husain Khān, and others,¹ and appointed for each of them food and clothing and two² servants from the private establishment. Then he proceeded in person with the object of conquering³ the Eastern districts, and came to Bhūn Gānw, and having settled the disturbances in Mawās⁴ came to Qanauj. There he nominated a large number of Amirs to proceed against Jalāl Khān, who with thirty thousand cavalry and a certain number of elephants had gone off in the direction of Āgra. Malik Ādam Kākar was sent by the Sultān to defend Āgra, and certain other Amirs arrived to support him. They succeeded in persuading Jalāl Khān, by making pleasing overtures and using attractive arguments, to surrender his paraphernalia of royalty and kingly splendour to the Sultān, in order that they might prefer his application for pardon of his past offences and obtain for him the Kulpi district as a *jāegir*. Jalāl Khān instantly agreed, and made over his royal canopy, his kettle-drums, etcetera to Malik Ādam with instructions to convey them to the Sultān in the neighbourhood of Itāwa. 327.

¹ It will be remembered that A'zam Humāyūn was the eldest son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, Isma'il and Husain were respectively the fourth and fifth sons, Jalāl being the second son, and Ibrāhīm the third.

² Text reads دودو MS. (A) more correctly reads دو.

³ MS. (A) بختگیر.

⁴ The text reads here : و آن مواسا را پاک کرده *wa an Mawāshā rā pāk kardā* while MS. (A) reads مواسا *Mawāshā* for مواسا *Mawāshā*. Neither reading is intelligible.

Firishta reads here :

چند زمیندار چرتولی من توابع پرگنه کول که از مواس مشهور بود با عمرخان پسر سکندر خان سور جنگ کرده او را بشهادت رسانید بنابراین ملک قاسم حاکم منبهل بر سرش رفته آن مفسد را بقتل آورد و آن فتنه ناگهانی را تسکین داده در قنوج بمالزمت پادشاه رسید -

Jai Chand, a Zemindār of Chartūli, a dependency of the pargana of Kol which was better known as Mawās, had fought against 'Umr Khān the son of Sikandar Khān Sūr and had slain him. Accordingly Malik Qāsun Hākīm of Saubhal proceeded against him and put that rebel to death, and having quelled that sudden rebellion came and joined the king at Qanauj.

On the strength of Firishta's statement the above translation is given, and I would suggest that the text should read و آن مفسدان مواس را . . .

The Sultān would not agree to his proposal of peace, and despatched a large army to oppose Jalāl Khān, who fled in consternation and took refuge¹ with the Rāja of Gwālīār, and the Amirs of Sikandar's party, who had heretofore been a source of weakness to the administration of the empire, one and all owed allegiance to the Sultān. The Sultān experienced² a revulsion of feeling with regard to Miyyān Bhoh, who was the chief of the Amirs of Sikandar, and had been his *vazīr* and privy councillor, accordingly he cast him into chains and sent him to Malik Ādam; however, he treated his son with kindness and advanced him to the high offices formerly held by his father. Miyyān Bhoh died in prison, and A'zam Humāyūn Shirwānī, the Governor of Karra, was sent with thirty thousand cavalry and three³ hundred elephants to attempt the reduction of Gwālīār. Jalāl Khān fled from Gwālīār and went to Mālwa to Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa. After the arrival of the Sultān's troops Rāi Vikramājīt the son of Rāi Mān Singh,⁴ who, after the decease⁵ of his father, held the government of Gwālīār, was not able to cope with them, and could not properly defend the fortress. The fortress of Bādālgarh, which lies below⁶ the fortress of Gwālīār,⁷ a very lofty structure, was taken from Rāi Mān Singh⁸ and fell into the hands of the Muslims,⁹ and a brazen animal,¹⁰ which was worshipped by the Hiudūs also fell into their

1 MS. (A) omits بردا.

2 MS. (A) پیدا شدۀ Firishṭa calls him بهورۀ Bhūra.

3 The text reads سی صد sih ṣad three hundred. MS. (A) reads سی صد Si ṣad thirty hundred. Firishṭa (Bo. text p. 349.) reads also سیصد sī ṣad.

4 MS. (A) مان سنگهہ.

5 MS. (A) درگذشتن Text reads کشتن Firishṭa says he died.

6 MS. (B) continues here.

7 This fortress of Bādālgarh is to be distinguished from another fort of the same name mentioned in subsequent page (text page 429) see *Āin-i-Akbarī*, I. (B) p. 380 n. 1. Firishṭa says it had been built by Mān Singh and was a lofty fortified building (Bo. text p. 350).

8 MSS. (A) (B) omit رای.

9 MS. (A) omits اهل.

10 The text reads صورتی روئیں *Ṣūratē rū'īn* a brazen image: but both MSS. (A) (B) read ستوری روئیں *Sutūre rū'īn* a brazen animal. So also Firishṭa, who says that it was ultimately erected at the Baghdād gate of Dihlī, and goes on to say that "that cow remained at that gateway till the reign of Akbar" (p. 350).

hands, and was sent by them to Āgra, whence it was sent by Sultān Ibrahim to Dihli, and was put up over the city gate. This image was removed to Fathpur in the year 992 H, ten years before the composition of this history,¹ where it was seen by the author of this work. It was converted into gongs, and bells, and implements of all kinds.

In those days Sultān Ibrahim becoming distrustful of the old Amirs, imprisoned the greater number of them,² and expelled (others) in different directions, and inasmuch as Jalal Khan could not get on with Sultan Mahmūd of Malwa, he fled from Malwa and came to the country of Kara Kanka,³ where he fell into the hands of a tribe of the Gonds,⁴ who took him prisoner and sent him as a present⁵ to the Sultan who ordered him to be taken to Hansi and imprisoned with his brothers. While on the way thither he drank of the draught of martyrdom.

The draught of sovereignty and glory is so sweet

That for its sake kings will shed the blood of their brethren,
Shed not the blood of the afflicted in heart for the sake of
kingdom,

For they will pour the selfsame draught into the cup for
thee⁶

After some time, in accordance with the orders of Sultān Ibrahim, Āzam Humāyūn Shihwari, together with his son Fath Khān, abandoned the siege of Gwahar Fort which he was within an ace of taking, and came to Āgra, where both were made prisoners. Islām Khān the son of Āzam [Khan]⁷ Humayun, gathered together⁸ a following in Karra by means of his father's

¹ MS (B) agreeing with the text. MS (A) reads اور تاريخ اس جمع

² MS (B) reads گردايدند

³ Text and both MSS (A) (B) Firsihta (Bo text 351) reads براده كدبه شكانت, fled to the Raja of Kadba (P). It would seem we should read Garba Katanka which is the name of country bounded on the North by Panna and on the south by the Dakhan see Elliot VI 30

⁴ For an account of the Gonds see Sherring *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, II 134 et seqq., see also Hunter *Imp Gaz article Central Provinces*

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read مقيد ماحدة تحفة نزد

⁶ Firsihta also has these same lines

⁷ MS (A)

⁸ MS (A) رسانيد

wealth, and, having brought over to his side the Amīrs of that district, fought a battle with Aḥmad Khān¹ the governor of Karra, and defeated him. Sultān Ibrāhīm accordingly despatched Aḥmad Khān, the brother of Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodī, in command of a vast army,² to oppose the Amīrs who had fled from his camp and had joined Islām Khān. With him also he sent³ other Khāns of eminence, such as Khān-i-Khānān Farmali, and others of similar rank. Near the township of Bāngarmau, in the neighbourhood of Qanauj,⁴ Iqbāl Khān, the chief cavalry commander under Ā'zam Humāyūn, with five thousand cavalry and some splendid elephants, broke out of ambuscade and attacked the forces of the Sultān, and after throwing them all into confusion⁵ withdrew (into ambush). The Sultān by way of precaution despatched⁶ a further force to their assistance, but the enemy, who had about forty thousand cavalry, well armed, and five hundred elephants, shewed a firm front against them, until Naṣir Khān Luhānī with other generals arrived from the direction of Bihār and engaged the enemy on both sides. A fierce conflict ensued between the two armies, such a conflict as baffles description, and after a severe struggle⁷ the rebels were defeated. Islām Khān was killed and Sa'id Khān Lodī was taken prisoner, thus the rebellion was quenched.

Verse.

Do not inflict ingratitude upon a benefactor and generous friend,

Like the cloud, which receives bounty from the ocean, and rains a storm of arrows upon its breast.⁸

As far as you are able, make the requital of favours your habit and custom,

Like the river, which gives to the clouds an ocean in return for one drop of its rain.

And withal that he had gained so important a victory, yet was not the heart of the Sultān favourably disposed towards the

¹ MS. (A) omits نام.

² MS. (A) reads سردار لشکر انبوه كوده.

³ MS. (A) نامزد ساختہ.

⁴ MS. (A) wrongly inserts و before اقبال.

⁵ Firishta says, "after killing some and wounding many."

⁶ MS. (A) فرستاده و.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) كمش و كوشش.

⁸ This couplet is also given by Firishta.

Amirs and they also being aware of this, raised in all directions the banners of antagonism. In the meanwhile, many of the eminent Amirs of royal descent, as for example Ā'zam Humāyun Shīrwānī, and Miṣṣān Bihārī, the Vazīr of Sultān Sikandar, departed from this world in the confinement of the prison house.¹

This is that same journeying place this interminable desert
In which the army of Salm and Tūr was lost,²
This is the selfsame stage, this world of ruin
Which witnessed the palace of Afrasiyab.³

Miṣṣān Husain⁴ Farmālī was assassinated in Chanderī, at the instigation of the Sultan, by certain ruffianly Shāhīh Zādās of that place, and Daryā Khān Lūhānī governor of Bihār, and Khān-i Jahān Lodi being alarmed,⁵ became disaffected. After a short time Daryā Khān died, and his son Bahadur Khān turned rebel and occupied the place of his father. The revolted Amirs made common cause with him, so that he collected a force of nearly a hundred thousand cavalry in the vicinity of Bihār, and gained possession of that country,⁶ assuming the title of Sultan Muhammad,⁷ establishing the *Khutbah* and *sikka* in his own name. His army penetrated as far as the country of Sambal and brought it within the area of their control.⁸ The *Khutbah* was read in his name in Bihār and the territories adjacent, for some time. It so happened that the son of Daulat Khān Lodi whose name was Khān-i Khānān⁹ came from Lāhor to Āgra to visit the Sultan, but being suspicious of his intentions fled from his court and went to his father Daulat Khān, seeing no hope of obtaining release from the (wrath of the) Sultan, sent that same son of his¹⁰ to Kabul. He accordingly did homage to the supreme King, Zahir

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¹ MS (A) reads در قند

² MS (A) reads مرحلة MS (B) مرحلت For the story of Salm and Tūr two of the sons of Farid n see *Shāh-nama* (Atkinson) page 49 et seqq also *Shahnama* (Turner Macan) pp 58 to 83

³ MS (A) reads که دنده است

⁴ MS (A) هراسان ⁵ MS (B) هراسان

⁶ MS (A) omits و Firsihta adds as far as Sambal

⁷ Footnote variant محمود Mah : i Firsihta reads Muhammad

⁸ MS (A) مسعود وسط MS (B) مسعود وسط Text مصروف وسط

⁹ Firsihta says غازی خان Ghazi Khan ¹⁰ MS (B) پسر خود را

331. d-Dīn Bābar, and induced him to advance against Hindūstān. Eventually Khān-i-Khānān laid a complaint¹ against his father before the supreme King Bābar, and poisoned his mind against him, and led to discord between them, as will be related if the Most High God so will it. Khān-i-Khānān was living up to the date of the rebellion of Sher Shāh, but at last died in prison. Sultān Muḥammad departed to the world of permanence from Bihār, and the Amīrs on all sides rebelled against Sultān Ibrāhīm, and great damage was inflicted upon the kingdom. The pillars of the empire began to totter,² and the standard of the fortune of King Bābar floated high.

The following is a brief epitome of the matter: Daulat Khān and Ghāzī Khān his son, together with the other noble Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm, sent 'Alam Khān Lodi to Kābul, bearing despatches to Zahīru-d-Dīn Bābar Pādishāh, inviting him to attempt the conquest of Hindūstān. Accordingly Bābar Pādishāh appointed a number of his own Amīrs to accompany 'Alam Khān, with orders to advance and conquer that country. Having conquered Siālkot and Lāhor with its dependencies, they represented the condition of affairs (to Bābar) and the following *qiṭ'ah* was written to commemorate the date of the conquest of Hindūstān.

Verse.

Zahīru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Bābar,
In fortune Sikandar, in force a Bahrām,
By his fortune conquered the country of Hind,
The date of this was *Faṭḥ badaulat*.³ (Victory by fortune).

Bābar Pādishāh marching continuously, arrived at the banks of the river Indus, and drew up the whole force, composed of ten thousand [veteran] cavalry⁴ in that camp after passing the troops in review. In the interval, Daulat Khān and Ghāzī Khān had turned back with thirty thousand veteran⁵ cavalry composed of Afghāns and other tribes, and had occupied the town of Kalānūr, and prepared to engage Bābar's Amīrs at

¹ MS. (B) writes شکایت after از پدر خود instead of before it as in the text. MS. (A) reads معاتب for شکایت.

² MSS. (A) (B) افتاد.

³ فتح بدولت *Faṭḥ ba daulat*. These letters give the date 930 H.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit مرد گاری.

⁵ MS. (B) omits سوار.

Lāhor, while Amīr Khwārū, who had strengthened the fortress of Siālkoṭ, evacuated it as soon as Ghāzi Khān arrived, and took refuge in flight to the camp. Some days afterwards Bābar arrived at Siālkoṭ where he encamped [and after laying waste the township of Siālkoṭ founded Dholpur].¹ 'Ālam Khān proceeded to Dihli by order of Bābar, and encountering Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, made² a night attack upon the army of the Sulṭān, and Jalāl Khān with certain other Amīrs arrived in the course of that night and joined 'Ālam Khān. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm did 332 not stir from his tent till dawn. The followers³ of 'Ālam Khān, fancying they had secured an easy victory, were scattered in all directions, only a small number remained⁴ with 'Ālam Khān. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, urging an elephant forward, attacked the enemy's centre, who could not withstand⁵ his attack. The faithless 'Ālam Khān passing through⁶ the Doab came to Sirhind, and thence fled for refuge to the fortress of Gunguna,⁷ one of the dependencies of Malot,⁸ at the foot of the hills. Dilāwar Khān Lūhānī separated from him, and joined the service of Bābar Padīshāh, and became one of his faithful adherents. 'Ālam Khān also after some time came and had an interview with Bābar, who, in accordance with his former custom, gave him an honourable reception, and as he was halting at the time of the interview he distinguished him with a robe of honour and other marks of favour, and when he pitched camp in the neighbourhood of Kalanūr, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā and other Amīrs⁹ came from Lāhor and joined him. Thence he proceeded to the fortress of Malot in which Ghāzi Khān [and Daulat Khān were, and besieged it, and Ghāzi Khān and Khān-i-Khānan]¹⁰ determined upon flight

¹ Not in either MS (A) or (B) a footnote to the text states that this passage occurs in one MS only.

² MSS (A) (B) آورد

³ The text reads rightly عالم خانیان MS A reads عالم خاں

⁴ MS (A) ماندند

⁵ MS (B) پای ثابت

⁶ MS (B) omits گذشته

⁷ The text and both MSS. read Gunguna See Erskine's Bābar, p 300 "The fort of Kinkutel"

⁸ In Fınd Dadın Khān taḥṣil Jhām, District Panjab see Hunter Imp Gaz, IX 263

⁹ MSS (A) (B) دیگر امرا

¹⁰ Not in text of MSS (A) (B) which read MS (A)

ودولتخان دران بودند رفقه محاصره نمود

and left the fort. Daulāt Khān hastened to tender his submission, and his faults were ¹ pardoned as on former occasions; and on the day of public audience when they brought him into the presence with two swords tied round his neck, orders were given that he was not to be brought in in that (humiliating) manner. On the contrary, Bābar sent him a respectful summons, and bidding him be seated ² gave him a place near himself.³

That is (true) generosity to shew kindness to the wrongdoer,
For the generous cannot but shew kindness to a friend.

333. However, he distributed his effects among the soldiery,⁴ and the fortress of Malot, which apparently means Malot itself, fell into the hands of Bābar Pādīshāh. Some few days after this occurrence Daulat Khān, who had been imprisoned by Bābar, died in prison⁵ and Bābar proceeded to the Siwālik hills in pursuit of Ghāzī Khān, and encamped ⁶ at the foot of the Dūn,⁷ which is a very high hill, Ghāzī Khān was not to be found. Bābar accordingly returned stage by stage to the frontiers of Šihriṇḍ, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Ghaghhar; ⁸ thence he came to the borders of ⁹ Sāmāna and Sanām, and gave orders to Amir Kittah Beg to ¹⁰ proceed to within a short distance of the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who, after the defeat of 'Ālam Khān, had stood fast ¹¹ near Dihlī,

MS. (B) goes on مسامره نمودند و غازي خان و خانخانان ازان قلعه فرار داده

¹ MS. (A) reads گناهان او.

² MS. (A) جای دادند. MS. (B) نشستن فرمود و.

³ Compare the account of this given by Bābar himself, see Elliot IV. 246. Firishṭa's account (Bo. text p. 378) tallies with that given by our author.

⁴ In MS. (A) the word بسپاهیان precedes قسمت: in the text it follows it.

⁵ Firishṭa does not mention the death of Daulat Khān, and tells us that Bābar took possession of Ghāzī Khān's library of valuable books, of which he kept some for himself and gave the rest away.

⁶ MS. (A) نزول فرمود.

⁷ The text reads داسن کوہ نادون with a footnote variant هندون. MSS. (A) (B) read داسن کوہ دون, see *Tūzak-i-Bābarī*, Elliot IV. 247. "Marching thence and passing the small hills of Ābkand by Milwat we reached Dūn. In the language of Hindustan they call a Jūlga (or dale) Dūn."

⁸ MS. (A) کپکرو.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) بسدود omit در.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits که.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) متمکن بود.

and bring intelligence of the position and strength of his army; and at this camp Babar the Afghān who had been in revolt came and had an interview (with Bābar) From this camp also Shāh-zada Muḥammad Humayun Mirzā, together with Khwaja Kalān Beg and other notable Amirs, were despatched against Hamid Khān the *Khas-i Khul* (Chief of Cavalry) of Sultān Ibrahim, who was advancing at the head of a force from Hissār Firoza to give them battle They proceeded by forced marches, and a severe engagement took place Hamid Khān was defeated, many of his men being either killed or taken prisoners ¹ The *sarīār* of Hissār Firoza with a revenue of two crores, ² was given as a reward to the Shāh-zada, and Bābar Padishāh encamped on the bank of the Jamna, two marches from Shāhābād, and detailed Khwāja Muḥammad Sultan Mirzā, and Sultan Jauād Mirzā ³ Birlas to oppose Da'ūd Khān and a body of Amirs of the army of Sultan Ibrahim, who had crossed the Jamna with five or six thousand cavalry Accordingly they also crossed the Jamna and gave the Afghans a second drubbing, killing them and taking them prisoners, while the remnant of the sword took refuge in the camp of Sultān Ibrahim

Marching thence, having drawn up his right and left wings and centre, ⁴ King Babar reviewed them in person Eight hundred gun carriages ⁵ had been prepared in one day Ustā ⁶ 'Alī Qulī the Artillerist, acting upon my orders, had followed the custom of the Turkish artillery, and bound together the gun carriages with chains and raw hide thongs, twisting them into the form of a whip-lash ⁷ And in the interval between each pair of gun carriages six or seven shelter parapets ⁸ were placed, so that on the day of

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¹ MS (B) اسیر

² MS (A) دو کورر, see however *Āin-i Akbarī* II (J) 203. ³ MSS (A) (B)

⁴ حوابعار *baranghar*, right wing حوابعار *jauanghar*, left wing called also حوابعول *jauangul* عول *ghul* or قول *qul*, means the centre of an army (See Pavet de Courteille *Dict. Turk. oriental*), see also Erskine's *Babar*, p. 227

⁵ Text writes عرابة MS (A) writes this word ارابة

⁶ Ustād 'Alī Qulī (*Erskine's Babar*, p. 302).

⁷ ارد قمچی P de O does not give this word ارد قمچی (?) the end of a whip, i. e., the lash See *Erskine's Babar*, p. 304

⁸ The text reads توبره پر حاک *tubra : purkhak* MS (A) omits the words پر حاک *purkhak* while MS (B) writes پر حاک تدرنگ *purkhak : tufang* All these readings appear to be incorrect For توبره *tubra*, we should read تور

the battle the riflemen might be able to fire in safety from the shelter of the guns and parapets. He had determined ¹ to march, and encamp with the city of Pānīpath in the rear of his army, and to use the line of gun-carriages as a front line of defence for his troops,² while the cavalry and infantry should come into action from behind the gun-carriages with ³ arrow and musketry fire, while the remainder of the cavalry should advance on both sides, and keep up a constant attack,⁴ and in case of necessity should retire to the cover afforded by the gun-carriages.⁵ Accordingly on Thursday the last day of Jumaidu-l-Ākhīr⁶ 932 H., he encamped in the vicinity of the city of Pānīpath, at a distance of six *krohs* from the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm, whose force was composed of a hundred thousand cavalry and a thousand elephants, while the army of Bābar Pādīshāh⁷ comprised fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry on a rough estimate.⁸ The troops under Bābar used to make daily sallies from unexpected quarters, and attack the Afghān army, bringing in several heads: in spite of which Sultān Ibrāhīm and his men did not dare to make a single attempt at any counter attack during all this time.⁹ At last one night Mahdī Khwāja, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and certain other Āmīrs, with five or six ¹⁰ thousand men made a night attack ¹¹ upon Sultān Ibrāhīm's army, and after killing a large

tūra, with the meaning *palisades* or *abattis*, see Pavet de Courteille *Dict. Turk-oriental* s. v. *تورا* *تور* pièces de bois et defer qu'on relie ensemble avec des chaines et des crochets, et derrière lesquelles s'abritent les soldats. See also Erskine's Bābar, p. 304 n. 2. See also Pers: *Lat Lexicon* s v. *تورا*, also Elliott IV. 251. n. 4. This seems to be undoubtedly the correct reading, the word *توبره* *tūbra* having been written by our author in mistake for *تورة*, the words *پر خاک* having been subsequently added. Sacks full of gunpowder would form a not very comfortable shelter for riflemen.

¹ MS. (B) قرار او. ² MS. (A) پیش سپاہ. ³ MS. (B) تیرو تفنگ.

⁴ The text reads *بمدافع و مجادله* with a footnote to say that this is the reading of all three MSS., but that probably the verbal noun of action should have been written. MS. (A) gives this verbal noun *مدافعة*. So that clearly this MS. was not one of the three from which the text was edited.

⁵ MS. (B) omits *عرایه* and writes *بار تعقب*.

⁶ April 12, 1526.

⁷ MS. (B) بادشاه.

⁸ MS. (B) تخمینا.

⁹ MS. (A) writes *ظاهر* for *واقع*. MS. (B) writes wrongly *ظاهر نشد* *جراحی* for *جراتی*.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) پنج شش.

¹¹ MS. (A) شبیخون.

number of them returned in safety. In spite of the consternation into which this threw them, the enemy were not put upon their guard,¹ and on Friday the eighth of the honoured month Rajab² in the aforesaid year, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm with a large army, strong as the brazen rampart of Sikāndar,³ clad in iron armour came out to the fight.

Bābar Padishāh also, having arrayed his army with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and shewing a firm unbroken front, gave orders detailing from the left wing Amīr Qarā Qūrchī and Amīr Shaiḫh 'Alī, with certain other Amīrs, and from the right wing, Walī Qizil and Bāba Qashqah, with the whole force of Muḡhūls, to form two parties and attack the enemy in the rear, while the Amīrs of the right and left wings in a body, and from the picked troops,⁴ Amīr Muḥammad Gokultāsh, and Amīr Yūnas 'Alī, and Amīr Shāh Mansūr Birlās, with other famous Amīrs, should lead the front attack: and since the Afghāns [were specially observant of the right wing, Amīr 'Abdu-l-'azīz, who was with the reserve, was ordered by king Bābar to reinforce the right wing],⁵ and when he got within bowshot of the enemy,⁶ the bodies of the enemies took to themselves wings, and the bird of the soul of many of them took flight from the cage of the body, while the wings of others⁷ were clipped by the shears of the two-edged sword.

Verse.

So vast was the river of blood which flowed on that battle field

That the feet of the warriors could not stand against its flood ;

The breeze which blew from that battle field at morning time

Brought to the nostrils the odour of the heart's blood

The slain lay in heaps,⁸ while those who escaped death by the sword became the portion for kites and ravens A period of two

¹ MS (A) writes پراگند شد MS (B) agrees with the text.

² المرجب *Al-murajab*. So called because in the Time of Ignorance it was held in special honour, inasmuch as war or fighting during this month was held to be unlawful, see Lane s v. رجب

³ MS. (A) omits اسکندر.

⁴ MS. (B) فوج.

⁵ Omitted from MS (B)

⁶ The text is wrong here: we should read در شبیه تیر *dar shaiḫa tīr* on the authority of MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ MS (B) supplies بعضی after پروال

⁸ We should read و از کشته پشته شد.

*garns*¹ has elapsed since this event up to the time of the composition of this *Muntakhab*, but up to the present, the noise of conflict and shouts of combatants proceeding from that field of battle reach the ears of travellers at night.

336. In the year 997 H. (1588 A.D.) the writer of these pages² was proceeding one day at early morning³ from the city of Lāhor towards Fathpūr, and had to cross that plain, when these terrifying noises reached his ears, and the people who were with him imagined that some enemy was upon them. I also witnessed with my own eyes what I had heard related. Submitting this divine mystery to the Almighty we went on our way.

Sultān Ibrāhīm together with a party of attendants was taken in an unknown desert and put to the sword, his head⁴ was brought into the presence of Bābar Pādishāh, and⁵ about five or six thousand who formed Sultān Ibrāhīm's retinue were put to death in the one spot.

Verse.

It is plainly evident⁶ to thee that this dark world is a snare of calamity,

Thou knowest⁷ now that the world is full of guile, and desperately deceitful.

That man from fear of whom no one would enter the water

He himself is drowned in the ocean, an ocean without bounds.⁸ Bābar Pādishāh after gaining this⁹ signal victory departed thence, and reached Dihlī¹⁰ on the same day and encamped there. He then caused the *Khutbah* to be read in his name,¹¹ despatching Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā and all the Amīrs to Āgra, with orders to make forced marches, and to seize the treasure¹² belonging to Ibrāhīm, which was of untold value, and divide it among the soldiery.¹³

1 The *qarn* قرن is an uncertain period of time, here it probably means a space of forty years.

2 MSS. (A) (B) اوراق را.

3 MS. (A) وقت سحری.

4 MSS. (A) (B) سرش را.

5 MSS. (A) (B) supply و.

6 MS. (B) reads روز شب.

7 MS. (B) reads حیرتی.

8 Read here با پهنا for نا پهنا. A footnote to the text states that نا پهنا is the reading of all three MSS.

9 MS. (A) این چنین فتح. 10 MS. (B) به دهلی. 11 MS. (B) omits بنام.

12 MS. (A) (B) خزیه and omit که. 13 MSS. (A) (B) نمودند.

Verse.

He who sacrifices his life upon the field of battle
Sacrifice thy gold to him by way of generosity.
However brave hearted a man may be
He cannot be eager to fight when he is without food.¹

This event took place in the year 932 H. (1525 A D), and the Hindūs invented this date *Shahid shudan-i-Ibrāhīm* ² (the martyrdom of Ibrāhīm) to commemorate it. From that time the empire once more passed from the Afghān Lodī family, and rested on the descendants of Amīr Timūr Sāhibqirān. The duration of the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was nine years.

ZAHĪRU-D-DĪN MUHAMMAD BĀBAR PĀDIŠĀH GHĀZI.

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After this ascended ³ the throne ⁴ of sovereignty, and by his justice and liberality adorned the world with fresh lustre and glory, and sent rewards to Samarqand, 'Irāq, Khurāsān and Kashghar. He also despatched offerings ⁵ to the sacred cities of Makkaḥ and Medinaḥ, and to the holy places of pilgrimage, and sent off gold beyond price to all the inhabitants of Badaḡhān and Kābul, to each its separate store, from the vast treasures of Hindūstān. He converted the world into a rose garden. The Amirs of Hindūstān, notwithstanding his conciliatory behaviour and efforts to improve ⁶ their fortunes, did not yield obedience to him, but behaved like unruly savages,⁷ and took to fortifying themselves in their fortresses and estates,⁸ while Qāsim Sanbālī in Sambal, and Nizām Khān in Baiāna, and Hasan Khān Miwātī in Alwar, and Tātār Khān Sārang Khān ⁹ in Gwalhār, took refuge in their respective fortresses. Itāwa was held by Quṭb Khān, and Kalpi by 'Ālam Khān, while Qanauj and all the eastern districts were in the possession of the Afghāns, who, in the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm also, had refused to own his sway,¹⁰ and ¹¹ having raised the son of Bihār Khān to the throne, gave ¹² him the title of Sulṭān Muhammad, his empire extended as far as

¹ MS (B) reads دی مرگ² 932 = شهید شدن ابراهیم³ MSS (A) (B) نمود⁴ MS (B) سرور⁵ MS (A) نذر⁶ MS (A) reads ترقیت⁷ MSS (A) بود (B) نود after متوحش.⁸ MS (A) omits وقاع⁹ MS (A) ساریک حان¹⁰ MS (A) نمیکرد¹¹ MSS (A) (B) supply و¹² MS (A) نهادند

Bihār, and Naṣīr Khān Lūhānī and Ma'rūf Farmalī and other powerful Amīrs gave in their allegiance to him, while a slave of Sultān Ibrāhīm named Marghūb, having fortified the township of Mahāwan, which is situated at a distance of twenty *krohs* from Āgra, on the far side of the river Jamna, refused to own him as king.

Accordingly troops were detailed by Bābar Pādīshāh to conquer these countries, and Fīroz Khān, and Sārang Khān,¹ and Shaikh Bāyazīd, the brother of Muṣṭafā Farmalī, with other Afghāns coming and tendering their submission, were given *jāegīrs*.² Shaikh Khūran who was one of the Hindustānī Amīrs, and also one of their most accomplished men,³ being unrivalled in the art of music, came with his whole following and had an interview (with Bābar) in the Doāb.

The territory of Sambal was conferred as a *jāegīr* upon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā. The Amīrs seized Qāsim Sanbalī and sent him to Bābar, while another body of men had been sent against Baiāna, and had besieged Nizām Khān, keeping him closely invested. In this year also Rānā Sānkā having wrested the fortress of Khandār,⁴ which is in the vicinity of Rantanbhūr, from Ḥasan son of Makhan, was in possession of it; and Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā,⁵ with a party of Amīrs who had been appointed⁶ to capture and hold Dholpūr, were ordered to proceed against a body of Afghāns of the Lūhānī faction who were close on fifty thousand, and had advanced beyond Qanauj. Both Saiyyid Mahdī Khawāja, and Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā, who had been ordered to capture Itāwa,⁷ joined the retinue of the Shāhzāda,⁸ who brought into subjection the whole of the eastern districts as far as Jaunpūr. In the meanwhile Rānā Sānkā and Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī raised to the throne one of the sons of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, named Sultān Muḥammad, with the title of Pādshāh, and started on an expedition against the territories of Bābar with a large following and vast⁹ army.

1 MSS. (A) (B) خانی.

3 MSS. (A) (B) supply متعین.

5 MSS. (A) (B) را.

7 MS. (B) writes املادة for اتاوة.

9 MS. (A) بیپایان.

2 MSS. (A) (B) جایگیرها.

4 MSS. (A) (B) کهندار.

6 MSS. (A) (B) معین.

8 MS. (A) writes شلا Shāh.

Marching by way of Basāwar¹ they arrived in the neighbourhood of Fathpur, otherwise known as Sikri² Nizām Khān, the Governor of Baiāna made representations to the Court of Babar and gained a certain degree of influence. Rafi' u d Dīn Saifi, who was one of the most powerful Sayyids of Balkh³ and the chief⁴ of the traditionists, and who, having come to Hindustān in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, had been given the title of *Ha-rat i Muqaddas* (His Holiness), came and had audience of the Sultān and tendered his service. Tartar Khān Sarang Khān also, after that Rana Sankā seized the fortress of Khandhar, and the infidels had got the upper hand, first of all sent a representation to King (Babar) saying, I intend to surrender the fortress of Gwalior, but when Khwāja Rahim⁵ Dad and Shaikh Khūran and a further party also arrived, he was ashamed (of this weakness). This party then, by the guidance of Shaikh Muhammad Ghau⁶, who was unrivalled in his time, and was the chief authority on the science of *da'watul asma*,⁶ entered the fort by some skilful stratagem and took it from Tatar Khān whether he would or no, and sent him 339. into the presence of Babar Padishāh. In just this same way also Muhammad Zaitūn the Afghan gave up the fort of Dholpur to⁷ the Amirs of Babar, and coming in had an interview with the King. In the meanwhile, Rana Sankā⁸ had arrived on the confines of Baiāna and was doing damage to the country, and had, after a halt of a few days, reached Fathpur, Babar Padishāh, with a small body of the soldiery which he had with him left the capital of Āgra with the object of engaging him in battle. He also wrote⁹ a despatch to summon Shahzada Muhammad Humayun Mirza, ordering him to leave Jaunpūr in charge of certain eminent Amirs, and to come himself with all speed to take part in that war, the victorious Prince, having taken the country of Haraud¹⁰ and

¹ MS (A) پشاور ² See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV 433

³ MSS (A) (B) ابج Abkh ⁴ MS (A) اعظم ⁵ MS (B) حم

⁶ Lit. calling upon the names (of God). This is a term used to express a system of incantation which is held to be lawful by orthodox Muhammadians. For a full account of it, see Hughes (*Dict. of Islam*) article *Da'wah* p. 72

MS (B) reads دعوات. The text has a misprint رهنمونی for رهنمونی

⁷ MS (A) نه ⁸ MSS (A) (B) رانا ⁹ MS (B) می نوشتند

¹⁰ Footnote variant to the text reads حرد Har d

Bihār from Nasir Khān¹ Luhānī, and having appointed Khwāja Amīr, Shāh Ḥasan and Amīr Junaid Birlās to the government of Jaunpūr, proceeded by way of Kalpī, and by adopting measures partly peaceful and partly warlike, brought over ‘Ālam Khān the governor of that place,² and made him one of his adherents. He lost no time in attaching himself to the king’s service, and was granted many royal favours.

At this same time, that pattern for the great³ and noble, Khwāja Khāwind Naqshbandi arrived from Kābul, and the Amīrs sitting in council determined by a majority, that, seeing that the army of Rānā Sānkā is currently reported to exceed in multitude the ants and locusts, it appears advisable to strengthen the fortress of Āgra, and that, leaving it in charge of a garrison, the sovereign of Islām should proceed in his own excellent person towards the
 340. Panjāb, and wait for the development of unseen events. The king did not agree to the decision of this council, but girded up his loins to carry into effect his intention of a *jihād*, and setting his heart upon martyrdom, marched in the direction of the field of Fathpūr and made this project the aim and object of his ambition.⁴

Verses.

Since the soul must of necessity at last leave the body,

This is best, that, when the time comes, it should at least
 depart with honour.

The end of the world is this, and nothing more

That after a man’s death, his name should remain.

The Amīrs also, placing their hands upon the sacred word, (the Qur’ān), swore an oath to renew their compact and carry out their intention of making war upon the infidels, for the exaltation of the sublime creed,⁵ and the promulgation of the

¹ A footnote variant نصرتخان Nuṣrat Khān. So also MS. (B).

² MS. (B) reads حاکم بخارا Hākīm-i-Bukhārā.

³ The text reads قدوة الأعظم so also MSS. (A) (B). A footnote to the text says that this reading is found in all three copies, but that إعظم is correct.

⁴ MS. (A) همت والا نهمت.

⁵ The کلمه *Kalimah*. “There is no God but God and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God,” see Qur’ān xlvii. 21 and xlviii 29. See also Hughes (Dict. of Islām) art : *Kalimah*.

glorious law, deeming the field of battle to be a joyful assembly, and doing full justice¹ to the claims of manliness in such a way as the eye of time had never before witnessed, and after many strenuous efforts the standards of Islam floated bravely on high, while the banners of infidelity were laid low. In the thick of the fight an arrow found its way to the forehead of Hasan Khān Miwātī, who was an infidel who used the Kalimah, they cast him into a well and took to flight, while he fell into the well of Hell, although a certain Miwātī,² a *yogi*³ in form and appearance, in the year 960 H., after the death of Salim Shāh Afghān Sur, raised a rebellion in Miwāt, and called himself⁴ Hasan Khān, and mentioned certain of the secret signs to the Miwātīs, still, a certain number acknowledged him. The composer of this *Muntakhab* (selection) also, in the year 965 H. (1557 A.D.) saw him⁵ in Āgra, but no signs of nobility or authority were visible in his features,⁶ and the late Khān : Khānān Burān Khān used to say, that Hasan Khān Miwātī⁷ was a man who commanded a large following,⁸ and was of kingly appearance, and had a poetical temperament. His poems are well known, but this mannikin⁹ resembled¹⁰ an uncouth rustic, his appearance was extremely repulsive¹¹. God forbid that this wretch, should be that Hasan Khān.

After some time certain of the Khānzādas of Miwāt moved 341. by indignation and jealousy put him to death. A short time after this¹² victory, that gallant king was attacked by a severe illness, and after that he had reached the age of fifty years, he departed from this transitory world to the eternal realms in the year 937 H. (1530 A.D.).

THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF SHĀH BĀBAR

This took place in the year nine hundred and thirty seven. The words *Shāsh* : *Shawwāl*¹³ also form the date of his decease,

1 MS (B) reads *وای دادند*

2 MS (B) omits *میواتی*.

3 MS (A) reads *چوکی* 4 MS (B) *میگفت* Text and MS (A) *میگرفت*.

5 MS (B) *دیدند*

6 Both MSS (A) (B) omit *هنگ*

7 Both MSS (A) (B) read *میواتی* for *مدکور*

8 MS (A) reads *صاحب حتی*

9 MSS (A)(B) *مردک*

10 MS (B) *می نماند*

11 Lit like that of a changeling

12 MSS (A) (B) omit *اس*

13 *شش شوال* = 937 (H)

while the date of his birth may be found from this couplet.

Since this revered monarch was born in the sixth of Muharram,

The year of his birth¹ also is *Shush-i-Muharram*.

The duration of his reign in Māwarā-annahr, Badakhshān, Kābul, and Kāshghar, as well as in Hindustān, was² thirty-eight years. He had succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twelve, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg wrote this couplet in his funeral ode:

Alas! that time and the changeful heaven should exist without thee.

Alas! and Alas! that time should remain and thou should'st be gone.

Among the learned men of his time is Shaikh Zain Khānī,³ who translated in most elegant⁴ style, the *Wāqī'at-i-Bābarī*,⁵ which the deceased monarch wrote, and the following verses are by him:

Verses.

342. Thou hast rested with thy guardians and hast fled from me
What have I done? or what hast thou heard or seen from me?
There was no necessity for injustice to enable thee to seize my heart.
I would have yielded it had'st thou but desired it of me.

*Verses.*⁶

So straitened did my heart become for longing for those lips of thine
Too narrow was the way by which my soul should quit its earthly shrine.

¹ The text reads correctly تاریخ سال او but both MSS. (A) (B) read تاریخ فوت *tārīkh-i-faut*, the date of his death.

The letters of the words شش محرم give the date 888 H. This would make him fifty years of age in 938 H. This couplet has a variant reading which is given in the footnote to the text.

² MS. (A) omits بود.

³ MS. (A) reads ذین حوافست.

⁴ *Wāqī'at-i-Bābarī*. This, called also *Tūzak-i-Bābarī* is the work of which Erskine's translation is so well-known. I can find no other reference to the translation from the original Tūrkī here referred to by our author. See Elliot V. 218 *et seqq.*, also Erskine's Bābar (Introduction).

Footnote variant فصیح.

⁶ MS. (A) reads وله.

My verses are both rational and traditional, and my desire is, that Maulānā Hasan, who comprises in himself all rational¹ and traditional science, may hear them

Another is Maulana Baqā'ī who wrote a *Masnawī* in the metro of the *Malhizan* i *Asrar*² At the moment I do not remember a single poem of his

Another³ is Maulānā Shihābu d Din the Enigmatist, whose general learning was overshadowed by his special skill in the composition of enigmas, and⁴ at the time when Darmashtī Khān⁵ was appointed⁶ by Shāh Isma'īl Šafawī Husainī to the Governorship of Khurasan, that prince of traditionists, Mir Jamāl d Din, the traditionist, one day while the preaching was going on, in dispelling the apparent contradiction between the sacred word *Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days*,⁷ and that true Hadīṣ (tradition) that *He created the world in seven days*,⁸ explained it in two ways, Maulana Shihābu d Din⁹ refuted it, by adducing one after another several excellent arguments and wrote a treatise on that subject, to which the learned divines of that time subscribed¹⁰ their signatures The writer of these pages also on the same occasion wrote a few lines of prose and poetry, from which the following *rubā'i* is selected,¹¹

Quatrain

343

This writing which has appeared like lawful magic,
Its poetry and prose are purer than the purest water

¹ MSS (A) (B) read معقول

² MS (A) supplies اسرار See *Āin i Akbari* (B) I p 595 n 2, also Beale, p 67

³ MSS (A) (B) ودیگری See Beale, p 213 Shihābu d Din died in the reign of Hum yun 942 A H See next p ge

⁴ MS (A) در زمانی که

⁵ MS (A) در پیش حاکم Darmashtī Khān ⁶ MSS (A) (B) منصوب شد

⁷ Qur an VII 53 X 3

⁸ See *Mishkat* xx v I 3 God created the earth on Saturday, and the hills on it on Sunday and the trees on Monday and unpleasant things on Tuesday, and he created the light on Wednesday and scattered the seeds of the earth on Thursday and created Adam after afternoon prayer on Friday the last of the creation

⁹ MS (B) writes Shihāb only

¹⁰ MSS (A) (B) wrote ثبت کرده اند

¹¹ The text reads او راں حیلۀ فقیر است MS (A) omits the word فقیر and MS (B) reads possibly for نعل

- It is a gleam from the brightness of "the brilliant Star,"¹
 In describing whose dignity the tongue of meditation is struck
 dumb.
- The following enigma on the name Kāshif is also by him.

Quatrain.

- With a view to deceive the heart of this broken-hearted one,
 That idol with mouth like the rosebud is every moment²
 displaying coquetry.
- Upon the leaf of the rose she wrote that curling ringlet
 And then displayed her moon-bright face from³ one corner.⁴

The death of the Maulavī took place at the time of the return of the Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn, whose abode is in Paradise, from his expedition to Gujrāt in the year 942 H., and Mir Khond⁵ Amīr the historian invented the chronogram *Shihābu-ṣ-ṣāqib*. And one of the wonderful⁶ inventions of that Emperor, whose shelter is the pardon of God, is the Khatt-i-Bābarī (the Bābarī script), in which writing he indited a copy of the Qur'ān, and sent it to the sacred city of Makka: his anthology of Persian and Tūrki poetry is well-known. He has also composed a book on the Hānifite Theology called *Mubaiyyin*,⁷ and *Shaiḫ* Zainu-d-Dīn⁸ wrote a commentary upon it which he entitled *Mubīn*. His treatises⁹ on Prosody are also in common use.

¹ *Shihābu-d-Dīn* was called *Shihābu-ṣ-ṣāqib* (the brilliant star); these words also give the date of his death, see post.

² MS. (A) reads *از* for *هر*.

³ MS. (A) reads *در* for *از*.

⁴ The following is the explanation of this *Mu'amma* which is contained in the two last lines of the *Rubā'ī*. *برصفکۀ گل کرد رقم آن سرزلف*. That is to say: she took the word *گل* and removed from it the *dā'ira* or curved portion of the *ل* *lām*, thus leaving *گ*; to this she added *آن سرزلف* *ān Sar-i-zulf*, that is to say the last letter of the word *زلف*, the letter *ف*, thus having *گ...ف*. To this she added *رخ مه* *rukḥ-i-mah*, the first letter of the word *مه*, which is in Arabic *شهر*. This will give the whole word *کاشف*.

⁵ MS. (A), see Beale, p. 150.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit *غرائب*.

⁷ The text reads *مبین نام بفتح بای مثنات*.

⁸ MS. (A), see Elliot and Dowson IV. 288, et seqq.

⁹ MS. (B) reads *ویل* for *رسایل*, see Elliot and Dowson IV. 219.

Verse

The heaven, whose sole skill is oppression,
Has this one object, to wring each moment the heart's blood,
It gives not to the tulip the crown of royalty without laying
low under the foot of oppression the head of a crowned
monarch

NASIRU D DIN [WAZIR D DUNIYA]¹ MUHAMMAD HUMAYUN
PADSHAH I GHAZI

344.

Marching by forced marches from Sambal in the year 937 H. (1530 A D), with the concurrence of Amir Khalifa who was the agent and prime minister² of the Government ascended the throne. The following chronogram was invented to record the date

Verse

Muhammad Humayun Shah of auspicious fortune
Who is the best of kings by virtue of his merit
The year in which he ascended the kingly throne
Was distinguished by the words *Khairul Muluk*³

Moreover, inasmuch as at the time of his accession he made present of trays filled with gold another chronogram was invented in the words *Kishit i Zar* (Tray of gold). After disposing of all matters of importance he led an army against the fortress of Kalujar⁴ and⁵ after quelling the insurrection of Sultan 'Alam ibn i Sultan Sikandar Lodi who had raised a revolt in Jaunpur, returned to Agra and made a great feast at which entertainment twelve thousand people were distinguished by the bestowal of robes of honour

Verse

A king will have the upper hand of his enemies
When his army is happy and contented,
But if he withholds then just reward from his soldiery,
They in turn will withhold then hands from the sword

In those days⁶ Muhammad Zaman Mirza ibn i Badi u z Zaman Mirza⁷ ibn i Sultan Husain Mirza, who had hostile intentions

¹ MS (A)

² The text reads *وکیل و وزیر مطلق* MS (A) reads *دور سلطنت*

³ *Khairul Muluk* Best of Kings. The letters of the words *حیر الملوک* give the date 937 H. as do also the letters of the words *کشیدی زر* *کشتی زر* in the next line

⁴ MS (B) writes *کاشیچر* *Kal el ar* and *کشدۀ بود*

⁵ MSS (A) (B) supply *و* ⁶ MS (A) *دوران اقام* ⁷ MS (B) *صیرا*

was captured. Sending him to the fortress of Baiāna, orders were given for his eyes to be put out. The pupil of his eye remained uninjured however, and shortly after, he escaped from prison and fled for refuge to Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt. It is said that at the time when Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā joined Sultān Bahādur, the latter was engaged in besieging Chitor, and the weather was exceedingly hot. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā was seized with a pain at the heart,¹ for the cure of which the physicians declared *gulqand* (confection of roses)² to be indispensable. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā begged Sultān Bahādur to send him a piece of this *gulqand*. He accordingly summoned his *shurbatdār* (preparer of beverages), and enquired how much *gulqand* there had been brought with the camp; he replied that there must be more than twenty cart loads. The whole of this he sent to the camp of Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā,³ and apologetically explained that this amount had been estimated as the probable requirements of the army, if it were not sufficient he begged to be excused. It eventually transpired that the juice of the *gulqand* used to be extracted for his use, and that for this reason there were⁴ so many carts accompanying him. Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, with his two sons Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā, proceeded to Qanauj and laid the foundations of revolt, and when the king, now deceased, wrote and despatched to Sultān Bahādur letters summoning Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, Sultān Bahādur sent back a discourteous reply;⁵ he accordingly determined upon the conquest of Gujrāt. Bahādur, having collected an army to reduce the fortress of Chitor and oppose Rānā Sānkā, engaged him in battle, and besieged him. Tātār Khān Lodī being despatched by him, came and gained possession of the fortress of Baiāna, extending his depredations as far as Āgra; and after a fierce

¹ MSS. (A) (B) درد دلی.

² گل‌قند *Gulqand*. Confection of rose-petals and honey, said to be a powerful cardiac stimulant and tonic, see *Makhzanu-l-adwiyah* s.v. ورد.

³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) بالآخر.

⁵ MS. (A) reads بودی for بودی in the text.

⁶ For the text of this reply and an account of the circumstance, under which it was written, see Bayley's *History of Gujerāt*, pp. 377 to 380.

conflict¹ with Muzā Handūl, in which he attacked with three thousand² men, was put to the sword with all his following. While Sultān Bahadur was besieging Chitor for the second time, Muhammad Humāyūn Padshāh³ moved against him from Āgrā, and in this same year Muzā Kamran, proceeding by forced marches from Lahor to Qandahar, defeated Sam Mūza, the brother of Shih⁴ Tāhmāsp, who was besieging Khwaja Kalan Bōg, and⁵ the following hemistich gives the date

Zada Padshāh Kamrān Sām rā⁶

(King Kāmīān defeated Sam)

Maulānā Bekasī⁷ also writes the following

Verse

At that time when the crown and the golden goblet stands in sight, 346.

When amid the joy and feasting is seen the form of the
flagon and the chasing of the cup,

I enquired from wisdom, why hast thou cast down in our
midst the gold scattering crown, like a crimson tulip?

She answered, the heaven, by way of assigning a date to this
encounter, has cast down the golden crown,⁸ in consequence
of the defeat of the army of Sam

Muhammad Humayun Padshah, considering that it would be disgraceful to go up against Sultān Bahadur and engage his attention

¹ MS (A) نموده

² The text reads سیصد Sī Šad 3000 MS (B) reads ششصد *Shashad* 600

³ MS (A) writes میرزا Mirzā MS (A) omits شاه MS (A) داد و

⁴ رده پادشاه کامران سام را These letters form the date 942 H

⁵ Footnote variant شکینی *Shakebi*

⁶ افگنده تاج زر و شکست سپاه سام The letters of this line form the date 942 in the following way

The literal meaning of the line may be taken thus

Has cast away the crown of gold (Taj : Zar) from the defeat of the army of Sam (Shikast : Sipah : Sam) By Taj : Zar is meant the letter ج, the first letter of the word زر the value of which is 7, this being cast out from the value of Shikast : Sipah : Sa n gives 949-7=942

while he was engaged in the siege of Chitor,¹ halted at Sārangpūr. Sultān Bahādur meanwhile forcibly reduced the fort of Chitor, after which he engaged in war with Pādshāh (Humāyūn) for a space of two months in the neighbourhood of Mandsūr, a dependency of Mālwa, but owing to the fact that no supplies of grain could reach the camp of Bahādur, man and beast died from starvation, and² Bahādur with five of his most trusty Amīrs left the royal tent by the rear door and fled towards Mandsūr.³ The following verse commemorates the date of this event:—

Humāyūn Shah-i-Ghāzī, who has thousands of slaves in his palace like Jamshīd,

When he came victorious towards Gujrāt, returned in triumph, the glory of the sons of Timūr.

Since Bahādur fell humbled and abject,

The date thereof was "The disgrace of Bahādur."⁴

347. Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued him, and the Mughūl soldiers came upon Bahādur one night while he was asleep,⁵ and were near taking him prisoner, but he made his escape with five or six horsemen towards Gujrāt. Sultān 'Ālam Lodi, however, fell into their hands and they cut off his feet. The army of Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued Bahādur by rapid marches and laid waste Aḥmadābād. Bahādur leaving Aḥmadābād went to Kanbhāyat,⁶ and from there to the port of Dīp,⁷ and at that time the fortress

¹ See Bayley, *History of Gujrāt*, p. 382. ² MSS. (A) (B) supply و here."

³ MS. (A) reads مندو, so also footnote variant to text.

⁴ ذل بهادر Zull-i-Bahādur. These letters form the date 942 H. We may also read Zill-i-Bahādur, in which case we translate "the 'submission' of Bahādur."

⁵ MS. (B) reads گرفته یافته which the text gives in a footnote variant. This appears from the context to be the true reading.

⁶ Cambay. The name Khambāt is said to be derived from Khambha or Stambhatirth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, III. 271. See also Tieffenthaler I. 370 et seqq.

⁷ Tieff I. 395, writes *Diu*, appelée *Dīp* dans la langue du pays, est une petite île située dans (près de) la presqu'île de Sorath où se trouve une ville et un château très fort, appartenant aux Portugais avec un petit territoire. La ville est séparée du château par un canal taillé dans la pierre. Un pont de bois joint l'un à l'autre. Elle a un port commode, duquel sort chaque année, un vaisseau chargé de marchandises pour *Mosambique*. *Diu* est à 60 milles portugais de Surate vers l'Ouest."

See also *Āin-i-Akbarī* I. 348, and II. 265, also Bayley, *Hist. of Gujrāt*, 319 n.

of Jānpānir¹ was also taken after a battle by the Padshāh, and treasure beyond computation fell into his hands

The year in which this happened may be learned from the following verse —

Wisdom sought for the date of the victory of Shāh Humāyūn
and discovered this,

"It was the ninth of the month of Safar"²

Then Bahādur, in concert with the Zamīndars of the country³ of Sorath, collected a force and proceeded towards Ahmadābad. Mirzā 'Askarī who, after the return of Humāyūn Padshāh towards the East,⁴ remained at Ahmadābad with the intention of having the Khutbah read in his own name, in which project he had the support of Amīr Hindu Bēg, however, he could not carry out his plan, and after slight opposition left for Jānpānī, the governor of which place, Tardī Bēg, having entrenched himself, sent letters to the court conveying the tidings of the revolt of Mirzā 'Askarī. But at the time when Humāyūn had left Mandir on his way to Āgra Mirzā 'Askarī met him on the road and gave in his submission, and Bahādur took Jānpānir from Tardī Bēg without the necessity of fighting⁵ [And in this year Shāikh⁶ Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihli left this transitory world for the kingdom of eternity. A chronogram has been invented to commemorate this in the words Khusru-i-Hind būda (he was the Khusru of Hindustan)]⁷ In this year also Shāh Tahmasp came up against Qandahar from 'Irāq to take vengeance on Sām Mirzā,⁸ and⁹ Khwāja Kalan Beg leaving the city empty, and leaving the Diwānkhana (Hall

¹ Or Champānir See Bayley's *History of Gujrat*, pp 330 et seqq

² شهر صفر نهم : Shahr : Safar bu l These words give the date 942 H

³ MS (A) omits ولات ⁴ A footnote variant reads برهان پور Burhanpur

⁵ The portion in square brackets is omitted in MS (A) in this place

⁶ MS (B)

⁷ خسرو هند بود The letters of these words give the date 942 H There is a footnote to the text calling attention to an alleged discrepancy in the dates of the chronograms and asserting that دل بهادر represents 932 and not 942 This is a mistake

⁸ MS (A) here inserts the date 942 (942) in figures

⁹ MS (A) here inserts the paragraph relating to the death of Shāikh Jamālī, *supra* n 6

348.

of audience) locked up just as it was, adorned with its splendid carpets, its magnificent furniture, and all the appurtenances of the audience chamber, came out to invite Shāh Tahmāsp to alight at that pleasantly prepared ¹ resting place, which he did, and ² gave Khwaja Kalān Bēg great praise for his conduct, saying, that is a good servant whom Kāmran Mirzā possesses. Shāh Tahmāsp left Qandahār in charge of Badagh Khān, one of his own Amirs, and returned to 'Irāq. Mirzā Kāmran at this same juncture, proceeded by forced marches from Lāhor, and arriving at Qandahār took possession of it. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, whom Bahādur had despatched after his defeat to inflict injury upon Hindustān, took advantage of the absence ³ of Mirzā Kāmran to invest Lāhor; but, when he heard tidings of the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh to Gujrāt, retraced his steps. At the expiry of one year from the accession ⁴ of Humāyūn Pādshāh in Āgra, Shīr Khān Afghān Sūr, in the absence of Humāyūn, collected a large force, and took possession ⁵ of the country of Gour, Bihār, and Jaunpūr, and also the fortress of Chinār. Humāyūn Pādshāh encamped ⁶ before the fort of Chinār, with the intention of opposing Shīr Khān, on the fourteenth of the month of Ṣafar in the year 943 H., and besieged Jalāl Khān, son of Shīr Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Islām Shāh. In a short time by the exertions of Rūmī Khān the Artillerist, (on whose name Sultān Bahādur had written and despatched the following enigma:—

[*Haif bāshad nām i ān sag bar zabān,*

Mikh dar jānash nih o nāmash bikhvān]⁷

It were a pity to take the name of that dog on one's lips

Place a stake (mikh) in his life (jān) and read his name).

¹ MSS. (A) (B) طيارتزة. ² MS. (A) supplies و. ³ MS. (B) omits زمان.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read استقرار.

⁵ MS. (A) متصرف شد.

⁶ MS. (A) معسكر ساختن.

⁷ This *معما mu'ammā* or enigma requires explanation: The English version is naturally meaningless.

The words in the original, رومي خان *Rūmīkhān*, contain as will be seen the word *ميخ* *mīkh* between the syllables *Rū...ān*. These form the word *روان* *rawān*, one meaning of which is *life*, for which the synonym in Persian is *جان* *jān*. So the writer says: Place the word *mīkh* in his life (*روان* *rawān*), and you have his name *رو ميخ ان* *Rū mīkh ān*, i.e., Rūmī Khān.

⁷ The *مخمس* *Mihmas* is, as its name implies, a litter so close that the curtains surround on all sides the sitter upon it. See Lane ۲, ۱ *حف*.

⁸ MS (A) reads *در آمد و در آمد*

⁹ Regarding the truth, etc. (See MS. Copy)

The climate of Bangāla proved so extremely suitable to Humāyūn, that he changed the name of Gaur to Jannatābād ('The realm of Paradise'), and having halted there for (two or)¹ three months returned. In the meanwhile Shīr Khān's affair was assuming large proportions, and his following was increasing. He wrote a letter to Humāyūn, saying, 'all these Afghāns are the servants and retainers of His Majesty the King, and beg to be granted *jāegīrs*,² if the king will think about a *jāegīr* for them, then it will be well, but if not, hunger will drive them to open revolt. Up to the present time I have kept them in check, but now they no longer obey me, and the proverb is well-known. *The hungry man will throw himself upon the sword.* For the rest whatever the king says is law.'

Humāyūn, when he grasped the contents of the letter, saw clearly what its object was, and seeing that the opportunity had passed by,³ and considering the bareness of equipment and inefficiency⁴ of his army, which had recently been doubled, many horses and camels having died, while the remainder were so jaded and emaciated that they were of no use whatever, he set about devising some remedial measures. Mīrzā Hindāl, who had accompanied the king as far as Mongīr, was despatched to Āgra to put down the rebellion⁵ of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Ulugh Mīrzā, and Shāh Mīrzā, who had
 350. fled and had done great mischief in the Dihli country, and were now returning. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, after that Sulṭān Bahādūr was drowned in the sea owing to the treachery of the Firangīs,⁶ could not accomplish anything, and again sought refuge with Humāyūn.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit دو.

² MS (A) omits ها.

³ بعد از خرابی بصره. *Ba'd az kharābī-i-Baṣra.* After the ruin of Baṣra. A proverbial expression equivalent to the English "shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen." For the story from which the proverb arises see *Sharḥ-i-Nahju-l-Balāgha* by 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd bin Abī-l-Ḥadīd al Mu'tazilī. When Alī ibn Muḥammad Šāhebu-z-Zauj besieged Baṣra in the year 255 H. Aḥmad Abūl-Abbās, son of Al-Muwaffaq b-Illāh came up and opposed him, but not until Baṣra was ruined. Hence the proverb. See *Arabum Proverbia*. Freytag III, p. 129, No. 774.

⁴ MS. (A) reads بی سامانی و پربشانی MS. (B) بی شیمانی.

⁵ MS. (A) omits وفساد.

⁶ This happened at Dīn on the 3rd Ramazān A. H. 943. See Bayley, *History of Gujārāt*, pp. 396, 397.

And in the year 945 H Mirzā Hindal, at the instigation of certain turbulent innovators,¹ put to death Shaykh Bahlūl, the elder brother of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḡhauṣ of Gwālīār, who was one of the chief exponents of the art of invocation and incantation,² and who enjoyed the full confidence and friendship of Humāyūn. The year in which this event occurred was commemorated by the chronogram *Faqal mūta Ṣhahīd in*.³ Verily he died a martyr's death.

Mirzā Hindāl in this year read the Khutbah in his own name in Āgra. Humāyūn de-patched five thousand picked men to reinforce Jahangīr Bēg the Mughul, and making over the rule of that country to him, with permission to read the Khutbah should occasion arise, set out for Āgra, and, all unprepared as he was, reached Jausū,⁴ which is a village on the bank of the Ganges. The Amirs of Jaunpūr and Chinnār came in and offered to tender their services. Shir Khan seized the head of the ford, and being aware of the distress of the army, placed between it and his own army a canal,⁵ which joined the Ganges, and, owing to the rains, was quite full of water, and for three months encamped over against the King. It is said that during this period when they were confronting each

1 MS (A) reads معتبان Maftiyān

2 MS (A) reads دعوت اسماء و سحر *da'wat isma wa sihr*, the invocation (of the attributes of God) and magic. *Da'wah* issaīl in the *Jawahirul-Khamsa* to be used for several purposes: establishment of friendship or enmity, for the induction of sickness and death, or for the cure of disease for the accomplishment of desires temporal or spiritual, and to secure victory in battle.

By اسماء *Asma* is meant the names or attributes of the Deity, they are of two categories, the *Asmaul jalaliyyah* or "terrible attributes" and the *Asmaul jamaliyyah*, "amiable attributes." For a full account see Hughes, *Dict. of Islam* articles DA'WAH and MAGIC.

3 فَقَدَ مَاتَ شَهِيدًا *Faqad mata ṣhahīdan*. These words give the date 945 H. MS (B) appends the date in figures.

4 Footnote variant حوسه *Jausah*

5 The text reads رماهي *ramahe* which has no meaning. A footnote variant is given زهاني *zahabe*, which means water oozing from the ground. This is the reading of MS (B). MS (A) reads رهاهي *rahae*. We should read رهاهي *rahabe*, in the sense of a canal or aqueduct. See Elliott and Dowson IV, 370n.

other, Humāyūn one day sent Mulla Muḥammad 'Azīz,¹ who was an old friend of Shīr Khān, as an ambassador.² Shīr Khān was at that moment with his sleeves³ rolled up, and with a spade in his hand, in spite of the heat, was busy preparing the fort and entrenchments.

When Mulla Muḥammad came near he washed his hands, and having ordered a *shāmiāna*⁴ to be pitched, sat on the ground unceremoniously, and after hearing the King's message said, "Take this one message from me to the King and say: 'You yourself desire war, but your army does not, I on the other hand, do not desire war,⁵ but my army does: for the rest the decision is the King's.' " Then he sent Shaiḫ Khaliḥ,⁶ one of the descendants of the venerable Shaiḫ Farid Ganj-i-Shakkar, *may God sanctify his soul*, who was the spiritual guide of Shīr Khān, to Humāyūn, and made overtures of peace to him, representing that he was willing to give up to Humāyūn's representatives the whole country with the exception of Bangāla, and would have the *Khutbah* and *sikka* established in Humāyūn's name. This agreement was ratified between them by an oath on the Divine Word, and Humāyūn's mind was at peace with regard to Shīr Khān.

A bridge was ordered to be thrown across: but Shīr Khān was plotting treachery and deceit.

Verse.

Make the camel leap from the room of the deceit of the world,
because out of craft,

In that room where they speak of peace the camel is clad in
armour.

I flee from the camel of the heavens and the room of the earth,
Because there are maddened camels surrounding that room.

The following morning he surprised and attacked the army of Humāyūn, without giving them time to draw up in line. After a short skirmish Humāyūn's army was defeated, and the Afghāns

¹ MS. (A) reads محمد يارغري Muḥammad Yarḡharī. MS. (B) reads محمد پرعزیز Muḥammad pur 'Azīz.

² Read ایلچی گیري for ایلچی گري. MSS. (A) (B).

³ Omit را MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ شامیانہ *Shāmiāna*, a kind of marquee consisting of a flat awning supported by four poles and having no side curtains.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) omit جنگ. See Elliot and Dowson IV, 371 and note 2.

arriving first¹ at the head of the bridge broke it down, while their artillerists and archers seated in boats kept the army under a perfect hail of fire, drowning² them in the ocean of destruction. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā was overwhelmed by the tempest of death, and Humāyūn urged his horse into the water and was in dread of drowning, in fact was on the point of drowning, when a water carrier³ came to his aid and rescued him from that whirlpool of destruction. Then he turned towards Agra. Shīr Khān wrote⁴ this verse upon that event:—

Thou givest sovereignty to Farid the son of Hasan,⁵

Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fishes

Although the master (Ustād) has [this second verse]—⁶

One thou exaltest and givest him sovereignty,

Another thou castest down from his throne to the fishes⁷

This event occurred in the year 946 H. and to commemorate it the following chronogram was written

*Salāmat barud Padshāh kase.*⁸

And Shīr Khān after the victory turned back, and came to Bangāla, and after fighting several engagements⁹ put to death Jahāngīr Qull Bēg with all his following. In that country he read the *Khuṭbah* in his own name, and assumed the title of Shīr Shāh,¹⁰ and in the following year proceeded with a vast army

¹ *پیشتر* *pīshṭar* (Text) MSS. (A) (B) read *بیشتر* *bishtar*, in great numbers.

² MSS. (A) (B) *می ساختند*

³ Named Nizām according to Firāšta, who says that as a reward Humāyūn permitted him to occupy the throne for half a day. Briggs II 87

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) *گفت که*

⁵ Shīr Shāh was originally called Farid Khān, and his father's name was Hasan Khān.

⁶ MS. (A) omits these words. The text has a footnote saying that the above is the reading of two MSS, but that the correct reading is

اگرچه مصرع نانی این بیت استار دارد

No authority exists for such a reading

The verses in question are by Firdausi.

⁷ Here the reading of MS (A) is followed which reads

دگر را ز شاهي بپاهي دهی

⁸ MS (B) adds the date in figures (946)

⁹ MSS (A) (B) omit *نشکال*. See Elliot and Dowson, IV, pp 376-378

¹⁰ Abbās Khān tells us he had assumed the title of *Haqrat* ۱۰۱۸

intending to capture Āgra. Kāmran Mirzā, prior to the affair of Jausā, after hearing of the victory of Shir Khān and the rebellion of Mirzā Hindāl against Humāyūn, returned from Qandahār to Lāhor, and leaving there came to Āgra, which he reached in the year 946 II. Mirzā Hindāl himself, before the arrival of Mirzā Kāmran, in the absence of Humāyūn, laid siege to Dihlī, in which Mir Fakhr 'Alī and Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir had fortified themselves; but not meeting with any success joined hands with Mirzā Kāmran. Mir Fakhr 'Alī also came in and had an interview with him, but Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir would not leave the fort. Eventually Mirzā Hindāl separating from Mirzā Kāmran proceeded to Alwar. When Humāyūn heard these tidings, he became still more despondent,¹ till that eventful defeat took place:² after the defeat at Jausā³ he proceeded by forced marches, accompanied by a few horsemen, and arrived unawares at the tent of Mirzā Kāmran in Āgra. The Mirzā also knew nothing of his coming; both brothers upon recognising each other burst into tears.⁴ Afterwards Hindāl Mirzā and Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā and his sons, who had for a time shewn hostility, came in and offered their submission for certain considerations: Their faults were pardoned and they sat in consultation. Mirzā Kāmran ostensibly had this intention, that, inasmuch as the army of the Panjāb had gathered fresh force, Humāyūn should grant him leave to proceed against Shir Khān and endeavour to take vengeance on him, while the King should remain in ease and tranquillity at the Capital. When Humāyūn declined to accede to this proposal, the Mirzā put forward a claim to proceed to⁵ the Panjāb, and urged an infinity of reasons, giving colour to the suggestion that a refusal would cause him insupportable annoyance. Accordingly Humāyūn acceded⁶ to all his requests, saving only his return; and Khwāja Kalān Bēg was exerting his efforts to procure the return of Mirzā Kāmran to the Panjāb: so that this argument was carried on for six months and nothing was settled.⁷ In the meantime Mirzā Kāmran was taken ill with a complication

¹ MSS. (A) (B) بیشتر.

² MS. (B) حادث گشت.

³ Text چوسا Chausā.

⁴ MS. (A) گوردند.

⁵ MS. (A) به.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) اجابت نمودند.

⁷ Omit the words دار گیر MSS. (A) (B).

of severe diseases,¹ and when the diagnosis was arrived at that the source of the disease was a poison, which had been poured into his life's cup by the hand of circumstance, he was led by the whisperings of interested advisers² to entertain suspicion against Humayun, and imagined that perhaps it was he who had administered³ poison to him. Ill as he was he returned to Lahor, and in breach⁴ of his former agreement that he would leave the whole of his army at *Āgra* in the service of the king, took the whole of it⁵ with him, with the exception of two thousand men whom he left under the command of *Sikandar Mīza* *Haider* the *Mughul* and *Dughlat*⁶ *Kashmiri* also remained at *Āgra*, and were kindly treated. *Shir Khan* waxed bold at the success of these hypocrisies, and towards the close of the year⁷ aforesaid reached the bank of the *Ganges*, and despatching a⁸ force under his son *Qutb Khan*, sent him across [the *Ganges*]⁹ against *Kalpi* and *Itawa*. *Qasim Husain Sultan* *Uzbek*, in concert with *Yadgar Nasir Mīza* and *Iskandar Sultan*, after a fight in the vicinity of *Kālpi* put to death the son of *Shir Khan* with a large number¹⁰ of his following, sending their heads to *Agra*.

Humayun started to oppose *Shir Khan* with a large force composed of some hundred thousand cavalry, and crossing the river of *Qanauj* encamped in face of his enemy for the space of one month. The army of *Shir Khan* did not comprise in all more than five thousand¹¹ cavalry. It was under such circumstances that *Muhammad Sultan Mīza* and his son fled a second time from the king, and the reinforcements of *Mirza Kamran* also took flight to *Lahor*, and the *Mughuls* of the King's army were scattered in

1 امرای متضاده *Amraz i mutazaddah* Lit. Diseases of opposite tendencies i.e. those diseases the treatment of one of which tends to aggravate the other

2 نگهده های عرصه گویان MSS (A) (B)

3 MS (B) اند / 4 MS (B) بحالت for بحالی

5 Read here همه را همراه خود برد MSS (A) (B) instead of و تدمه را الج
Text

6 Read و دعالت MS (A)

7 MS (B) reads wrongly در حراسان for در آخر سال

8 MSS (A) (B) نامی ساحدند 9 MSS (A) (B) omitt گنگ

10 MSS (A) (B) جمع کثیر

11 MS (B) says پنجاه هزار *pañjah / zar* fifty thousand

all directions. The rains now came on, and inasmuch as the camp of Humāyūn's army was on low lying ground, he desired to march from there and encamp on the high ground. At this very time ¹ Shir Khān drew up his troops, and came out to give battle. This engagement took place on the day of the 'Āshūra, the 10th of Muḥarram 947 H., and a chronogram was found for it in the words Kharābī-i-mulk-i-Dillī.² The greater number of the Mughul soldiers refused to fight³ and took to their heels, while a small body of them who engaged in fight, strove manfully in battle,⁴ but things had gone beyond control, and it was of no avail. The king rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover the king while crossing the river Ganges became separated from his horse, and by the help of Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince's most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindūstān with the title of A'zam Khān),⁵ escaped from the water and returned to Āgra; but seeing that⁶ the enemy's army was coming up in pursuit, he could not remain there,⁷ so made his way to the Panjāb with all speed.

At the commencement of Rabi'ū-l-awwal of this year all the Sultāns and Amīrs of the Chaghatai tribe⁸ assembled for conference in Lāhor. Hypocrisy was still the order of the day, and Muḥammad Sultān and his sons fled from Lāhor to Multān, while Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā Yādgar Nāṣir thought it advisable to proceed to Bhakkar and Tatta. Mirzā Kāmran

¹ MSS. (A) (B) در همین حین.

² خرابی ملک دلی. These letters give the date 947 H.

³ *Jang nā kardā*. MS. (A) omits ترتیب *tartīb*.

⁴ MS. (B) reads مردانه وار کوشش و کشش دادند.

⁵ Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atka Khān, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī. See Āin-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, p. 321 (No. 15).

The word *Atka*, *Atikā*, or *Atākā* is a Turkī word, signifying precepteur instituteur, père de lait (Pavet de Courteilles).

The wife of Shamsu-d-Dīn was appointed *anakah* or wet-nurse to Prince Akbar at Amarkōt.

⁶ MS. (A) omits چون. ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read اینجا قرار نتوانستند گرفت.

⁸ For a full account of the Line of Chaghatai, see Ney and Elias *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, pp. 28 et seqq. MS. (B) writes چغتای.

prayed that this conference might speedily be dissolved so that he might go to Kabul. After long consultation Humāyūn sent Mirzā Haidar with a large party who had accepted service in Kashmīr, to that district. It was agreed¹ that Khwāja Kalān Bēg should follow Mirzā Haidar, and that Humāyūn himself also should proceed thither after the conquest of Kashmīr.

When Mirzā Haidar arrived at Naushahra² which is a well-known place, he entered that country with the concurrence of certain Kashmīris and conquered it and on the 22nd of Rajab of this same year he gained possession of that country. Khwāja Kalān Bēg had gone to Siālkoṭ. When tidings reached the king that Shih Khān had crossed the river at Sultānpur and had arrived within thirty *krohs* of Lahor, Humayun, on the first of the month of Rajab in the aforesaid year, crossed the river of Lāhor, and Mirza Kāmran, after breaking his solemn vows, agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humāyūn as far as the neighbourhood of Bahira, and Khwāja Kalan Bēg made forced marches from Siālkoṭ, and joined Humāyūn's camp. Mirzā Kāmran together with Mirza 'Ashari, separating³ from the king, proceeded in company with Khwāja Kalan Bēg towards Kabul, while Humāyūn proceeded towards Sind. Mirzā Hindal, and Mirza Yadgar Nasir also, after accompanying him for a few stages, left him, and after a few days returned, by the counsel of⁴ Amir Abūl Baqā. On the banks of the Indus such great scarcity prevailed in the camp of Humayun, that one *sir*⁵ of the smaller millet⁶ could sometimes not be bought even for an *ashrafī*⁷. The greater part of the army perished owing to this scarcity, while others died from want of water, till at last Humāyūn with a small number passed on to the districts of Jaisalmir,⁸ and the country of Marwar, where strange⁹ incidents

¹ MSS (A) (B) مقرر ساختند

² Nowshera

³ MSS (A) (B) supplying از.

⁴ MS (B) reads به صحبت, in company with ⁵ About two pounds

⁶ غلہ حواری *Ghalla jawari*. This is the Hindustani, or rather, the Panjabi name. In Persian it is called ارزان *arzan*.

⁷ The proper average price of this grain being six *dam* per *man* of forty *sirs*, the above represents an enhancement of price represented by the ratio 1 6,000

⁸ MS (A)

⁹ Omit و غریب MSS (A) (B)

occurred. After undergoing great hardships and distress, which it is the invariable custom of the Heavens to inflict, he betook himself to 'Irāq and having obtained reinforcements, Shāh Tahmāsp gained possession of Qandahār and Kābul, and collecting a great army re-conquered Hindūstān. This exploit will be described in its proper place if the Most High God will it so.

SHĪR KHĀN IBN I ḤASAN SŪR

Whose name was Farīd and his title Shīr Khān, ascended the throne of empire under the above title, which he assumed. The
357. chronogram *Kharābī-i-Mulk-i-Dillī*¹ was invented² to record that year.

Inasmuch as he, by favourable circumstances and his own cleverness and bravery, rose from the rank of Bēg³ to royal dignity, it is essential to give a brief account of his career. The father of Ḥasan Sūr, Ibrāhīm by name,⁴ in the time of Sultān Buhlūl, came to Hindūstān from⁵ Roh, by which is meant Afghānistān, entered the service of Sultān Buhlūl, and was stationed in the vicinity of Hissār Firūza and Nār-nūl. After his death (his son) Ḥasan became a servant of Jamāl Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar, and was granted the *jāegīr* of the *pargana* of Sahsarām and Khawāspūr, dependencies of the fortress of Eastern Rohtās.⁶ He had five hundred cavalry under his command. In consequence of the unkindness of his father, and the jealous enmity of his brothers,⁷ of whom there were seven, he left his

¹ These letters give the date 947 H. (1540 A.D.) MS. (B) adds the date in figures.

² MSS. (A) (B) with یافتند for شد as in the text.

³ The text reads از بککي MS. (B) از هککي MS. (A) از یککي.

The first seems the only intelligible reading in the sense in which it is translated.

⁴ Omit ک MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ The text and both MSS. read رده Radah it should be روه Roh. See Firishta Bo. text, p. 412, also Elliott and Dowson IV, 308.

⁶ Rohtās *Shargī*. Rohtāsgarh in the Shāhābād district of Bengal. The other Rohtās is in the Panjāb. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII, 78.

⁷ The text reads برادران اعیانی *barādarān-i-a'yānī*. Uterine brothers. MS. (A) reads اخيافي *Akhyāfī* brothers by the same mother, but a different father. From the context it is clear that Badāoni means all the sons of Ḥasan Khān by his four wives. (Steingass), see E and D IV, 310.

home and giving up the service of Jamal Khān spent some time in Jaunpur in the acquisition of science, and in perfecting himself¹ in knowledge, until he had read the *Kafiyah*² with its commentary and other epitomes, besides acquiring by heart the *Gulistān*, *Bustān*, *Sikandarnama* and other works. He used to go the round of monasteries and colleges, associating with the learned doctors and *Shaykhs* of that country, and busied himself with the improvement of his character. After some time he was reconciled to his father, and was entrusted by him with the management of his *jāgirs*. This he carried out with equity and impartiality, using clever devices³ for the punishment of rebels, and kept them in check.⁴ Later on circumstances again led to an estrangement between Farid and his father, and going to Āgra with his own brother,⁵ he elected to enter the service of Daulat Khān,⁶ one of the chief commanders⁷ of Sultan Ibrāhīm, and laid a complaint against his father and brothers⁸ before the Sultan.⁹ The Sultan however, was displeased at this and said, This is a disgraceful and inhuman state of things that a father should be displeased with his son and that the son should complain against him.¹⁰ Upon the death of Hasan, Daulat Khān made a representation to the Sultan, and obtained his desire in securing those *parganas* for Shīr Khān. There he remained for some time,¹¹ and eventually was led by the enmity of his brothers to enter the service of Bihār Khān, the son of Daryā Khān Luḥānī,¹² who had read the *Khutbah* and issued the *sikka* in his own name in Bihar, and had assumed the title of

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¹ There is a little variation in the reading here. MS (B) reads

تحصيل علم و کسب فضائل MS (A) also reads فضائل *fazail* excellencies

² *Al Kafiyah* *fi'l nahw*. A celebrated work on Arabic grammar by *Shaykh* Jamāl d Dīn (Ibn al Hajīb), for an account of this work and its commentary see H. K. No. 9707

³ MS (A) لطائف الحیل

⁴ MS (A) صیغ نمود

⁵ Nizam Khān was the brother of Farid Khān by the same mother

⁶ Daulat Khān the son of Badhu was a commander of 12 000 horse and in great favour with Sultan Ibrahim (E. D. IV. 321)

⁷ MS (A) omits کبار

⁸ MS (A) omits دیگر

⁹ MSS (A) (B) supply و

¹⁰ Read here باشد پدر او ناراضی باشد MS (B).

¹¹ (MSS) (AB) بسر برد و

¹² بوجالی MSS (A) (B)

Sultān Muḥammad. This was at the time when Sultān Ibrāhīm had taken the field at Pānīpath, and Bābar Pādshāh had conquered Hindūstān and planted¹ the banner of sovereignty. Here he was well received, and as one day, when on a hunting expedition, he killed a tiger in the presence of Sultān Muḥammad, the title of Shīr Khān was bestowed upon him by the Sultān, who also appointed him to be tutor² to his son Jalāl Khān. After some time Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of the country of Chaund, made an attempt to turn Sultān Muḥammad against Shīr Khān, with the object of advancing the interest of his brothers, and having succeeded in getting an order from Sultān Muḥammad that the brothers were to have a share in the management of the *parganas*, sent Suleimān, son of Ḥasan Sūr who has been mentioned, accompanied by one of his servants named Shādī to Khawāspūr, and Bhaka the servant of Shīr Khān who was known as the father of Khawās Khān engaged in battle with Suleimān and was killed. The remainder fled, and came to Shīr Khān at Sahsarām. Shīr Khān had no longer the power to cope with Muḥammad Khān, nor the inclination to serve Sultān Muḥammad, he accordingly abandoned his position and *jāegīr*, and having no other resource betook himself to Sultān Junaid Birlās, who was holding the Government of Karra and Mānikpūr on behalf of Bābar Padshāh.

359. He remained in his service, and after presenting many valuable offerings, obtained a fully equipped army as reinforcement from Sultān Junaid, and fought with Muḥammad Khān, wrested from him the *parganas* of Chaund and other *parganas*, and took possession of them. Muḥammad Khān fled, and took refuge in the fortress of Rohtās. Shīr Khān, having wreaked his vengeance on his brothers, made apologetic overtures to Muḥammad Khān, addressing him by the title of uncle; having thus earned his gratitude he handed over³ the *parganas* he held as *jāegīr* to him on the same footing as formerly, and leaving Nizām his full brother in charge

¹ MS. (A) reads آختند for افراختند.

² اتالیغ *Atālīgh*, this word is Tūrkī. In its Arabicized it becomes اطالیق, but the other is the correct orthography. اتالیغ *Atā līgh* literally signifies the relationship of an *atā* or father.

According to M. Pavet de Courteille it signifies "Paternité : nom d'une dignité dans le Turkestan et le Kharisur, chef de tribu : qui élève une personne.

³ MS. (A) writes گذراند. MS (B) omits گذاشته.

of the *jāgīr*, went again to Sultan Junaid, whom he found just starting to pay his respects to Babar Padshah. Taking *Shir Khan* with him, Junaid enrolled him among the servants and well-wishers of the king's court. He accompanied Babar on the expedition to Chanderi. In accordance with Mughul habits and customs, and owing to the carelessness of the king in his management of the affairs of State, and the venality of the revenue-officers, and the utter disorder into which the affairs of the people had fallen, matters came to such a pass that if any person¹ had an object in view, he could quickly bring it to pass.² One day Babar on the occasion of a banquet, observed him behave in a way which deserved the royal censure,³ and demanded the punishment of *Shir Khan*. Those who were present at the banquet related the particulars of his independence and arrogant assumption, not omitting to mention some of his double dealings. *Shir Khan* accordingly became apprehensive of danger, and fled from the king's camp to his *parganas*, whence he wrote a letter couched in apologetic terms and sent it to Sultan Junaid, advancing as a pretext to cover his return,⁴ that since Muhammad *Khān* was led by feelings of hostility against him to induce Sultan Muhammad to send⁵ an army against *Shir Khān's* *parganas* because of his being in service with the Mughuls, and as he could not easily and quickly⁶ obtain leave of absence from Babar, he had accordingly taken this liberty and had at all hazards determined to rejoin those who wished well to the Sultan. 360. Thence he proceeded to Sultan Muhammad, where he was honoured by increased confidence and by suitable rewards, and was once more installed as custodian of his younger son Jalal *Khan*, whose whole affairs he took under his own management. After the death of Sultan Muhammad, he obtained absolute control of the whole country of Bihar and its dependencies.

He entered into a compact of friendship with *Malikdum 'Ālam*, the governor of Hajipur, one of the Amirs of the Wali

1 MS (A) supplies کسی

2 MSS (A) (B) supply می تواند کرد و after

3 MS (A) reads عذرت for عیبت text

4 MS (A) has لحاف with no dots

5 Omit می before باد MSS (A) (B)

6 MS (A) ترددی The text is correct

of Bangāla, who despatched an Amīr named Qutb Khān to undertake the overthrow of Makhdūm 'Ālam. Shīr Khān marched to the aid of Makhdūm 'Ālam, and ¹ after a fierce battle put Qutb Khān to death, taking as spoil elephants and treasure and many followers. Jalāl Khān and his tribe, who are Lūhānīs,² in spite of Shīr Khān, made over Bihār to the ruler of Bangāla and elected to serve under him, and leaving Shīr Khān to his fate, took care to secure their own safety.

The Bangālīs in the first instance sent Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of the Qutb Khān above mentioned, against Shīr Khān to wreak vengeance upon him. Shīr Khān used daily to fight with them from within the fort, but since the Bangālīs received large reinforcements, and no way of retreat remained open to him, he yielded to necessity and fought a battle with them in the open ³ in which he gained the day. Ibrāhīm Khān also seeing what had occurred went and joined his father, and Shīr Khān seized the whole of the camp of the Bangālīs ⁴ with their elephants and artillery, acquiring thereby great renown, so that he established a lasting and undivided control over the country of Bihār and raised himself to the dignity of a Sultān. He next wrested the fortress of Chinār together with its vast treasures from the sons of [Jamāl Khān Sārang-Khānī ⁵] ⁶ Tāj Khān, one of the Amīrs of

361. Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, who some years before had regained possession of it, and took in marriage his wealthy and beautiful wife who had vast stores of treasure. This fact also enhanced his grandeur and dignity, so that the desire for sovereignty daily gained more ascendancy over his mind, till at last certain powerful Amīrs of the Afghān Lodī faction summoned from Chitor Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, who, after raising Ḥasan Khān Miwātī and Rānā Sānkā to royal power, had induced him to fight with Bābar Pādshāh, and subsequently to his defeat ⁷ had remained in the fortress of Chitor, and seated him upon the throne in Patna.⁸ He accordingly came with a vast army and invaded the country of Bihār, and wresting it from Shīr Khān took possession of it. Shīr Khān was perforce compelled to

¹ MS. (A) supplies و.

² MSS. (A) (B) نوحانیان.

³ MS. (B) reads جنگ صعب, but the textual reading جنگ صف is correct.

⁴ MS. (A) بنگاله.

⁵ MS. (B) ساراحانی.

⁶ Not in MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) بعد از شکست.

⁸ MS. (A) omits در ولایت پٹنه.

submit, and entered his service, and taking leave came to Sahsaram Sultān Mahmūd passing by Sahsaram, after writing and making over to Shir Khān an agreement relating to Bihār,¹ thereby raising his hopes, despatched him to attempt the conquest of Jaunpūr and to engage in war with the Amirs of Humayun Padshah. He thus brought the whole of that province as far as Lakhnau into his own² power. The Amirs of Humayūn Padshāh could not stand against (Shir Khān), and proceeding to Kālinjai³ gave in their allegiance to him. Humayun marched to oppose Sultān Mahmūd, and Baban and Bayazid,⁴ who were with him⁵. When the two armies met Shir Khān, who had stood aloof from Sultān Mahmud for some days, again joined his force, and sent a message to Mir Hindu Bēg Quchin, Commander in chief of the Mughul army, saying that on the day of the battle he would make a flank movement and stand on one side. You and the Afghāns, said he, well know how utterly I abhor and detest the command of Sultān Mahmūd and Baban⁶ and Bayazid.

362

Verse

If I committed a fault, I have at all events made my road clear

Eventually he did as he had arranged, and Sultān Mahmud and Baban⁷ being defeated retired to the country of Patna, and made no further attempts to fight, till in the year 949 H (1542 A D) in the country of Orissa⁸ he encamped on the frontiers of the desert of non existence, and having gone to the appointed goal remained at rest. Humayun Padshah [after this victory]⁹ sent Mir Hindu Bēg as his agent to Shir Khān with a demand to him to yield up the fort of Chunar. He, however, made some lame excuse, so the king ordered several noted Amirs to precede him

¹ This agreement was to the effect that should Shir Khān render effectual assistance to Sultān Muhammad Lodi in recovering Jaunpur, the country of Bihar should be restored to him as a reward for his services (Firishta)

² MSS (A) (B) omit حود ³ MS (B) کالینجر

⁴ MSS (A) (B) read و بابا و بایزید Firishta says Baban and Bayazid

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read که همراه او بودند متوجه گشتند. The text is incorrect

⁶ MS (A) و بابا

⁷ MS (A)

⁸ The text reads wrongly اردسه

⁹ Not in MSS (A) (B) which write also میر هندو بیگ

and lay siege to that fortress, himself also¹ preparing to follow them. In the meanwhile Shīr Khān wrote a petition in which he pointed out his own sincerity and the favour shewn him by Baban, and recounted the deserving nature of his former services, more specially his opposition to Baban and Bāyazīd. This petition he sent by the hand of Qutb Khān, his eldest son, together with a large force, to Humāyūn Pādshāh. He sent also with Qutb Khān, 'Isā Khān Hajjāb, who was his *rakīl* with the powers of a *vazīr*, and he fleeing from Gujrāt joined his father in Bangāla. When Humāyūn Pādshāh altered his course towards Gujrāt, Shīr Khān himself had risen to great dignity and power, so that he engaged in open battle with Humāyūn on two occasions, and gained the day, as has already been mentioned. Shīr Shāh in the early part of the year of his accession laid waste the ancient city of Qannauj, and moving it from its original site re-established it on the banks of the river Ganges; it is now known as Shīrgarh. In the same manner he destroyed the fortress of Shamsābād and removed it to another place, calling it by the name of Rusūlpūr. Now, however, at the date of writing, it has been repopulated in its old position. And when he arrived at old Dihlī, which was founded by Sultān 'Alāud-Dīn, he destroyed that also, and established between the fortress of Dīnpaūh, which Muhammad Humāyūn Pādshāh constructed, and² Fīrozābād, an extensive city, and built round³ that fort a rampart of stone and mortar, having an extent of three *krohs*. On his arrival at Sultānpūr by continuous marches, the brothers of Humāyūn Pādshāh and the Chaghatai Amīrs quarrelled, and each took his own way as has been described, and Shīr Shāh himself,⁴ not giving them time to reassemble, came up in pursuit. In this year he issued a public proclamation that from the country of Bangāla as far as western Rohtās, which is a four months' journey, and also from Āgra to Mandū,⁵ at every *kroh* a *sarāi* (rest-house) and a mosque, and a well built of burned bricks was to be established and a Muazzin⁶ and an Imām.⁷ A Musulmān

¹ MS. (A) reads خود هم.

² MS. (A) supplies و.

³ MS. (A) reads here دوران قلعه را.

⁴ MS. (A) supplies خود.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) مندو.

⁶ The officer whose duty it is to call the Azān or call to prayer before each of the stated times of prayer. See Hughes' Dict. of Islām, Azān.

⁷ The priest who leads the prayers.

and a Hindu were also appointed to superintend the supply of water for each. A refreshment house was also kept stocked for the use of strangers and poor wayfarers. On both sides of the road also, large and lofty trees were planted in avenues, so that all travellers might go along in the shade of them. Traces of these still remain in most places up to the present time, though fifty-two years have passed since then. In his reign justice was so widespread that if, for example, an old man holding a golden tray in his hand had lain down to sleep whenever he felt inclined, no thief or ruffian would have dared to take it away from him.

Thanks be to God that the writer of this *Muntakhab* was born in the reign of so just a king, to use the words of the Prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*,¹ I was born in the reign of the just king, on the seventeenth of Rabi' u s sāni² in the year 947 H (1540 A D) but, in spite of this, would that the name of that hour and that day had been erased from the chronicles of years and months, so that I had not been obliged to leave the private chamber of non existence, where I dwelt with the inhabitants of the world of dreams and fancies, and to place my foot into this world of imaginary existence, and to suffer³ so many scars of various misfortunes, all of which are branded with the stamp, *He loses this world and the next*, the context is well-known

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Verse

My body bears a robe, surpassing splendid
My hopes for this world and the next are ended

Rubā'i

I came yesterday, and have accomplished nothing,
To-day my efforts have availed me nothing,
To-morrow I depart, having learned no single secret,
Better had been non-existence than this vain superfluity

And when one looks into the matter carefully one becomes aware that seeing that the Lord, the repository of the seal of the prophetic office, *upon him and his family may the peace and blessing of God rest*, says⁴ "Would that the Lord of Muhammad had not

¹ MSS (A) (B)

² 21st August, 1540

³ MSS (A) (B) read *ندایستی کشید* for *نداید کشید*

⁴ MSS (A) (B) omit *می* writing *فرماد*

created Muḥammad," it is not in the power of a weak-minded mortal (like myself) to draw a single breath in this valley (of desolation), and one fears lest such an attempt should lead to audacity in the way of religion, and lest its fruit should be everlasting destruction. *I entreat pardon from God of all that is an abomination to Him.*

What power has the clay that it should say to the potter

Why dost thou make me and why dost thou break me.¹

365.

After that Shīr Shāh reached the hill-country of Bālnāt. He built there the fortress of Rohtās as a protection for the army of Hindūstān against the Mughūl forces. Then he appointed Khawāss Khān to undertake the pursuit, and returned. While on the march he heard that a commander named Khizr Khān Sarak had become infatuated with rebellious notions and was behaving as though he were a Sultān. Shīr Shāh² accordingly bent his course thither, and Khizr Khān hastening to encounter him was taken prisoner. Shīr Shāh took possession of that country and conferred it by way of *jāegīr* upon several of his Amīrs, and appointed to the superintendence of the fort of Rohtās,³ Qāzī Faḡīlat the Qāzī of the army, who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāzī Faḡīhat.⁴

In the year 948 H. he came⁵ to Āgra, and in the year 949 H. proceeded to Gwālīār with the intention of conquering Mālwa.⁶ Abūl Qāsim Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn Pādshāh who had entrenched himself in that fortress, came in and had an interview

¹ Cf. Isaiah xlv. 9; Romans ix. 21. So also Omar Khayyām

از آب و گلم سرشته من چکنم
وین پشم و قصب تو سرشته من چکنم
هر نیکی و بدی که آید از ما بوجود
تو بر سر من نوشته من چکنم

Thou formedst me of clay. What help have I!

Thou didst this garment weave. What help have I!

Whate'er for good or ill from me proceeds

Is thy prescription, Thine! What help have I!

² MS. (A).

³ Omit شرقي MS. (A).

⁴ فضیلت *Faḡīlat* means excellence. فضیحت *Faḡīhat* means ignominy.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) باگوه آمد.

⁶ Omit قلعه MSS (A) (B).

with him, giving up the keys of the fort. Mallū Khān the governor of Mālwa, who ¹ was one of the slaves of the Khilji Sultāns, and held absolute and unlimited power in that province, offered his services to Shīr Shāh, and was honoured by splendid rewards. Shīr Shāh also had tents pitched for him close to his own tent, and prepared a hundred and one horses and other apparatus of pomp and dignity in his honour. In the meantime a suspicion arose in Mallū Khān's mind, and one night he tore his tent and escaped alone after the accustomed manner of slaves, and fled. Shīr Khān wrote the following:—

Verse.

You see how the chicken-hearted slave Mallū has treated me
It is a saying of Muṣṭafā "There can be no good in a slave."

Shīr Khān then nominated Hāji Khān Sultānī to the subjugation of the province of Mālwa, and Sazāwal Khān ² to administer the affairs of the district of Sawās; ³ Mallū Khān fought with Hāji Khān and Sazāwal Khān, and suffered a defeat from which he never recovered.

Every weakling who fights with one stronger than he,
Gets such a fall that he can never again rise.

And Khān-i-Khānān Sarwānī, ⁴ who was the ⁵ permanent Governor of the fort of Ranthambūr, yielded up that fortress to Shīr Shāh and came with his family to the township of Basāwar. It is said that some one introduced some poison into his cup. His tomb is in the suburbs of that township, in a pleasant spot, and is well-known at this time: 366.

Quatrain.

Death, thou hast desolated hundreds of homes,
In the kingdom of existence thou makest life thy spoil.
No jewel beyond price has come into the world,
But thou has borne it away and hidden it beneath the dust.

In this year Shīr Shāh ⁶ led an army against the fortress of Rāi Sen and besieged it, because Pūranmal the son of Silhadi, one of the Chiefs of Rāi Sen, had attacked the city of Chandorī, which

¹ Supply ۲۵ MSS. (A) (B).

² MS (A) supplies ب.

³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MS. (A) سروانی.

⁵ Omit ۲۵ before حاکم MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ MS (A).

is one of the chief cities of Hindūstān, and had put its inhabitants to death, and was keeping two thousand¹ women, Hindūs and Muslims, in his own *ḥarīm*. The following couplet was found to record the date of this siege :

Qiyām-i-bārgāh bāshad mubārak.

May the stability of the court be fortunate.²

After prolonging the siege for some time Shīr Shāh entered into a compact, and succeeded in dislodging Pūranmal³ by the intervention of Shāh-zāda 'Ādil Khān and Qutb Khān Nāib,⁴ and assigned him a place in his own camp, bestowing upon him a hundred horses, with a robe of honour and a sum of gold; and eventually by the advice of Mir Saiyyid Rūfī'u-d-Dīn Ṣafawī of Ij,⁵ which was given the title of *Muqaddasa* (Sacred) by Sikandar Lodī, broke his word, and caused Pūranmal together with his family and children to be trampled to death by elephants. Not a single man of those turbulent and rebellious Hindūs, who were
 367. near ten thousand souls, escaped in that battle. Their women and men either⁶ became food for the edge (*jauhar*) of the sword or fed the flames of the fire called *jūhar*, a well-known word in the Hindī language. This chronicle, from that day forward, remained as a record upon the pages of Time, *may God be merciful to its author*. This event occurred in the year 950 H., and⁷ after some time he girded up his loins for a holy war to uproot the pestilent infidels of the country of Mār-wār, and led a vast⁸ army against Rāi Maldeo⁹

¹ MS. (A) omits دو.

² قیام بارگاہ باشد مبارک. The letters give the date 949 H. MS. (B) gives this date in figures.

³ MS. (A) reads دیورمال Deorimal and omits از انجا.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit پائین.

⁵ Died at Āgra in 954 or 957, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B). I, 523.

The text reads erroneously ایلچی *Ilchī*-e. MS. (A) reads انجی *Injī*, and MS. (B) reads ایلچی *Ichī*. We should read ایلچی *Ijī*, in the sense given in the translation. Ij is stated by Yāqūt to be a city rich in gardens and other advantages. The Persians he says pronounce it ایک *I'k* (*Mu'jamu-l Buldān*, I, p. 415).

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) یا.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) و.

⁸ Lit. exceeding in its numbers the ants and locusts.

⁹ MS. (B) omits رای.

the leader of the Rāis of Hindūstan who held sway over the country of Nagor and Jaunpur, and was a powerful opponent of the Muslims, and inasmuch as one of the maxims of Shir Shāh, from which he never departed,¹ was to throw up an entrenched position round his army, no matter how few the enemy might be, as soon as Māldeo arrived in the vicinity of Ajmir with fifty thousand picked cavalry trained and experienced in war, intent upon slaying or being slain, and confronted Shir Shāh, he, finding it impossible to make trenches and ramparts because of the sandy soil, held a conference with his experienced and veteran Amirs. No one of them however could devise a way to effect that object. Suddenly Maḥmud Khān, the son of 'Ādil Khān,² who was grandson to Shir Shāh, notwithstanding his youth said, "Let Shāh 'Ālam order the *banyaras* (grain sellers) of the army to fill sacks with sand and arrange them round³ the army." This idea⁴ highly commended itself to Shir Shāh, and he immediately placed his turban upon the lad's head, and bestowed upon him in perpetuity the treaty territories.

In the end Heaven did not favour his designs, and Islam Shāh⁵ after reaching kingly power, made this unfortunate boy the very first of his family, heirs to the kingdom, to have his name blotted out from the page of existence, in accordance with the saying *Al mulku 'aqim*⁶ (The kingdom has no heir), and that treatment which he meted out to them, vindictive Time measured again to his posterity.

Verse

If thou hast done evil remain not secure from calamity,
For the nature of things brings about requital

In short Shir Shāh, who⁷ would not give the head of one of his soldiers for a kingdom, and to whom the Afghans were⁸ far dearer than can be expressed, was by no means willing to involve

1 MS (A) omits حالف

2 MS (A) reads پسر عادل حان MS (B) حان عادل

3 MS (A) reads for گرد و گرد

4 MS (A) reads اس رای او omitting سوار

5 MSS (A) (B) read سليم شاه الملک عقیم⁶

7 MS (A) omits چوں

8 MSS (A) (B) read بود

his army in calamity with the ignorant, boar-natured, currish¹ Hindūs. Accordingly he devised an artifice, and wrote fictitious letters purporting to emanate from the generals of Māldeo's army, to himself, couched in enigmatical language,² the substance of them being that there would be no need for the king in person to superintend the fighting, when the armies were drawn up for battle, because they themselves would take Māldeo alive and deliver him up, upon the condition that such and such places should be given them as a reward. Having done this he so arranged that those letters fell into Māldeo's hands, with the result that Māldeo became utterly suspicious of all his generals,³ and, in the dead of night⁴ fled alone without looking behind him; and, notwithstanding that his generals denied their complicity with oath upon oath, saying that they never could have been guilty of such dastardly conduct,⁵ and that this was all the handiwork of Shīr Shāh in his desire to raise dissensions⁶ between them, it was of no use, and had no effect upon Māldeo's mind. Kanhaiyā,⁷ who was his minister and agent, abused Māldeo in violent terms, and taking four thousand resolute men devoted to death, or even more than this number, came down upon the army of Shīr Shāh, with the intention of surprising them by night, but missed his way, and after marching the whole night, when morning broke became aware that he had left the camp far in rear.⁸ After striving to the utmost of their powers, when they had abandoned all hope of life, at the very moment when the army of Shīr Shāh came in sight, as a result of their own stupidity, by the good luck of Shīr Shāh or by the superior good fortune of Islām, the infidels in a body dismounted from their horses, and renewing their vows of singleness of purpose and

¹ سبکسار with a footnote variant found in MS. (B).

² MS. (B) omits نوشت. ³ امرای خویش MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ شبشب MSS. (A) (B). ⁵ MS. (A) omits واقع نشده و.

⁶ Lit. to cast the stone of discord in our midst. MSS. (A) (B) read درمیان ما (Text). MS. (A) reads و این حيلة for و این جمله.

⁷ This name is given on the authority of Firishta (Bo. text, p. 427). Our text and both MSS. (A) (B) read گویا *Goyā* which does not appear to be possibly correct. Brigg's II, p. 122, calls him Koonbha. Kanhaiyā is a proper name among Hindūs, and is one of the names of Krishna.

⁸ Firishta merely says they missed their way and reached the enemy's camp in daylight. (Bo. text, *loc cit*).

mutual assistance binding¹ their sashes together and joining hand to hand, attacked the army of the Afghāns with their short spears, which they call *Barchha*,² and with their swords. *Shīr Shāh* had given orders saying that if any man ventured to fight with the sword with this swinish horde, his blood would be on his own head. He accordingly ordered the elephant troops to advance and³ trample them down. In rear of the elephants, the artillery and archers gave them a taste of the bowstring, and admitting them to the banquet of death, gave them the hospitality of the land of extinction. The bright surface of the world's page was polished, and freed from the dark lines of the land of infidels, and not one of the infidels got off with his life, nor was a single Muslim lost in that encounter.⁴ A poet of Basawar, whose *takhalluṣ* is *Faizī*,⁵ wrote this verse on that subject

Suddenly check to the king happened to Muldeo
It would have been checkmate had not the piece
*Kanya*⁶ protected him as 'Irā'⁷

It is said that after this victory *Shīr Shāh* on several occasions used to say, "I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindustan⁸ for a handful of millet." Returning thence and making over the fortress of Rantambhur to his son 'Adil *Khan*, he gave him leave for a few days to visit the fort, and put the garrison in order, when he was to follow his father. The writer has heard from a trustworthy source, that one day while on that expedition *Muṣṭafī Rāfi' ad-Dīn*, the renowned and unique traditionist now pardoned and absolved, who has been already mentioned, said to *Shīr Shāh*, "All my ancestors were⁹ authors of authoritative compositions and used to give instructions in the two sacred

1 The text reads *فوطه در فوطه بافتند* but we should read *بافتند* *bāfta*

2 *Barchhā* A Hindi word meaning a small spear

3 MSS (A) (B) read *پائمال کردند*

4 MS (B) writes needlessly *يك كس صانع نشد*

5 See *Āin-i Akbarī* (B) I 490 for a full account of the poet *Faizī*

6 I read here *كنيا* for *گويي*, see n 7 page 478

7 *عري* for *عري* MSS (A) (B) *عري* *Irā* is that piece at chess which is interposed between the king and a Rook to protect the king from check by the Rook see J R S A xiii p 49 (Bland on the Persian game of chess)

8 MS (A) supplies *را*

9 MS (A) *بوده اند و*

370. cities.¹ I alone of all my family have become so helpless and powerless that in search of the gold and fame of Hindūstān I am blindly wandering. I beseech your Majesty to grant me permission to depart, so that at the end of my days I may be able to relight the lamp of those venerable ancestors of mine.

Seeing that I was not worthy to succeed those mighty intellects who have gone before me,

My hands have spoiled many books, my ignorance has wasted many parchments.²

Shīr Shāh answered, I should have no objections to make on this score, were it not that I have kept you with me for a special object, which is this that I intend in a short time by the help of God, *He is blessed and exalted*,³ to clear the heart-delighting plain of Hindūstān of the thorns of infidelity, and shortly to reduce the few forts which remain, with very little difficulty, and passing along the seashore to fight with⁴ those Qizilbāshes who oppose the progress of the company of pilgrims⁵ to the holy temple (of Makkah) and have given rise to bigoted interference with the established religion and the orthodox followers of Muḥammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*,⁶ and to send you thence with a mission bearing letters to the Sultān of Rūm, in order that, having knitted the bonds of religious brotherhood between us, you may bear to him a request on my behalf to be entrusted with the service of one of the two sacred temples, *may God increase their dignity*. Then I coming up from one direction [and the *Khwandgār*⁷ from the other], may clear out the Qizilbāsh from between us, because⁸ as soon as the Sultān of Rūm attacks him, he will move with all rapidity in this direction, and when the Sultān of Rūm withdraws his forces, he will

¹ Makkah and Madīnah. ² دفاتر Dafātīr.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read بعون ایزدی تبارک و تعالی.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) با.

⁵ MS. (B) reads حجاج و جوار. Regarding the Hajj or pilgrimage to Makkah, see Hughes *Dict. of Islam*, art. Hajj.

⁶ A footnote variant اللهم انزل المقعد المقرب بالقيامة is evidently the interpolation of some devout copyist.

⁷ MS. (B) omits the words in square brackets.

⁸ MS. (A) چه.

again return to the place he came from, whereas if we surround him from both directions with this army and the large following we have in Hindūstan, together with that powerful force and its artillery,¹ his resisting power will be nil,² and on carefully considering over this matter I can think of no person more fitted to carry³ this message than yourself, and simply in view of the attainment of this object⁴ I cannot entertain the idea of your leave 371.

It must not be forgotten that it is by no means improbable that this same good intention may be the cause of the salvation of that faithful king from the fire (of hell) although he fell into the fire,⁵ in the Day of Reckoning, for the Almighty, *may He be glorified and exalted*, is satisfied with little and very bountiful, and the story of 'Amr ibn al-Lai⁶ [who for all his vast army and equipment, which gave him the pre-eminence over all kings of Iraq in the four quarters of the globe, was always regretful because he had not been present at the slaughter of Imam Husain, *may God Most High be pleased with him*, so that he might have smitten and destroyed the⁷ followers of Yazid,⁸ and of his having a vision in which he was walking in the gardens of Paradise] is well known say, *every man acts after his own manner*,⁹ that is after his own desire

Verse

My brother thou art all desire naught else
All the rest of thee is but bone and fibre
If a rose is thy desire, thou art a rose garden,
If a furnace is thy desire thou art its fuel¹⁰

¹ آتش باری MS (A)

² We should probably read here معلوم for معدوم

³ MS (A) reads ادى for او ⁴ MS (A) reads عرس

⁵ See next page for the account of Shīr Shah's accident at the siege of Kalinjār

⁶ See Ibn Khalliqān (Da Slane) IV pp 301 et seqq

⁷ MSS (A) (B) omit بلند

⁸ Yazid the son of Mu'awiyah the second Khalifah of the house of Umayyah. He is celebrated in Muslim history as the opponent of Husain who was killed at Karbala A H 61, see Hughes Dict of Islam

⁹ See Qur'an XVII 86

¹⁰ MS (A) reads همة for همة MS (B) reads همة

And in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.) Shīr Shāh invested the fortress of Kālīnjar, which is one of the strongest and most famous of the forts of Hindūstān, and with great energy and skill in a short time prepared galleries, and used to make daily attacks upon the bastions; ¹ and by the time that the galleries had advanced near to the walls of the fort, and the mines were ready, attacking on all four sides he made the condition of the garrison very precarious. Shīr Shāh from the position where he was standing, gave orders to hurl grenades filled with gunpowder into the fort. This they did, and by chance one of those grenades struck the wall of the fort, and recoiling with great force exploded. Its fragments fell among the other grenades, which exploded, burning Shīr Shāh severely from head to foot. And inasmuch as he was badly scorched, ² and Shaiḵh Khalīl the son of his spiritual guide, and the learned Maulānā Nāẓimu-d-Dīn ³ also were fellow-sufferers with Shīr Shāh in this explosion, ⁴ Shīr Shāh as he ran using his hands to cover his nakedness, ⁵ took refuge in a tent which they had pitched for him in (front of) a bastion, ⁶ where he lay unconscious. Whenever he recovered consciousness a little ⁷ he shouted to his men encouraging them ⁸ to seize the fort, and if any one came to see him he signed to him to go and fight, so that in his absence the Amīrs ⁹ in command in the trenches worked harder than if he had been present, and

¹ The text reads here مورچلہا with a footnote variant مورچہا. MS. (B) reads مورچہا. MS. (A) however has a totally different reading ملجارہا for which I can see no meaning, but we should probably read مرحلہا "bastions" which would be consonant with both the text and MSS. (A) and (B). This supposition is the more probable as some lines further on we have MS. (B) reading مرحل, MS. (A) مورچل, and the text مورچل. See note 6.

² يلمع *Yulma*. The meaning of this word is given in Faẓlu-llāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary as *Chīze ki mūye ān kanda bāshad*, that which has lost its hair.

³ MS. (A) reads مولانا ناظم.

⁴ MS. (B) reads درین سوزشی و شورش.

⁵ Both MSS. (A) (B) read هردو دست پس و پیش گرفته. This is a common expression to denote utter wretchedness and poverty.

⁶ The text reads مورچل. MS. (A) مورچل. MS. (B) مرحل, see ante n. 1.

⁷ MS. (A) می آید.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read here فریاد زده مودم را الخ

⁹ MS. (A) امرای مورچل.

behaved with the utmost gallantry, and coming to close quarters with the garrison, brought matters to a fight with knife and dagger and did full justice to the demands of endeavour and manliness. The writer heard a story from a most trustworthy source, that on that eventful day of assault, in which the deeds of every individual assailant were conspicuous, and the standards and faces could be easily distinguished one from another,¹ I saw, said he, a soldier armed *cip a pie*, who had not previously been seen nor was ever after seen, clothed from head to foot in black, wearing a plume² of the same colour upon his head,³ and urging and encouraging our men in the battle. Then he entered one of the galleries and made his way into the fort. I searched for him everywhere after the battle, but in vain, I could find no trace of him.⁴ The men in the other trenches also gave the same account saying, we saw several horsemen wearing these clothes who kept advancing in front of us till they entered the fort and vanished.

Verse

If thou hadst not been on the side of religious law, Heaven 373
itself would have girt its loins,
If thou hadst⁵ been on the side of the faith, the Gemini
would have ungirt their sword

A report became current that, in that battle, certain men from the invisible world had come to the aid of the Muslims. And Shir Shah suffering and distressed as he was from time to time enquired for tidings of victory. The air was terribly hot, and although they sprinkled him constantly with sandal and rose water, it was utterly useless⁶ to relieve the scorching heat whose intensity increased hour by hour.

¹ The text reads *و علامات و صورتها از یک دیگر متمایز بود* MS (A) read is for *سورن* - صورتها MS (B) reads *سورن*. The reading of the text is adopted.

² Fazlulhab Khan gives a word *یالو* *Yala* in the meaning of *علم* *alan* a standard or ensign.

³ MSS (A) (B) agree with the footnote variant *بلو بهان رنگ* omitting the words *مادوس و عمامه* found in the text.

⁴ MS (A) *حسبیم بیابیم*

⁵ In the first line MSS (A) (B) read *نه* for *نه* (Text). In the second line MS (A) reads *نه* for *نه* (Text).

⁶ The text reads *فانده از الهاب اجل نداشت* MS (B) reads *اجل* for *اجل* but the correct reading appears to be *اصل نداشت* MS (A).

Verse.

A breast which is consumed by the fire of separation
Sandal ¹ can afford it no relief.

At the very moment of hearing the good tidings of victory he yielded up his life ² to the Lord, the Giver of life, the Receiver of life. The following stanza was written to record the date of his death :—

Shīr Shāh, he in dread of whom
The lion and the goat drank at the same source
Left the world ; the wise sage pronounced
The date of his death. *Zī ālash murd* ³ (he died from the effects of fire).

His corpse was taken to Sahsarām where was the burial-place of his fathers, and there buried. The period of his military command was fifteen years, and of his Sultānate five years.

It is said that on one occasion when he was looking in a mirror, he exclaimed, "Alas ! that I obtained my kingdom at the time of evening prayer."⁴

¹ *سندل Santalum album*. Useful in headache, Sontheimer II, 138. There are three kinds according to the *Maḥẓanu-l-adwiyah*. The white sandal called in Hindī *Chandan* ; the yellow sandal called in Hindī *Malāgīr* ; the red sandal called in Hindī *Rakat Chandan*. This latter is the wood of *Pterocarpus santalinus* (Red sanders). It is generally called *Debī Chandan*, it is used, not for headache, but after being offered at the shrine of Kālī is used to mark the forehead of the worshipper. The others both *Chandan* and *Malayāgīr* (so called because it comes from Malayālam or Malabar) are used as a powder mixed into a paste with water to apply to the forehead as a cure for headache. They are also used in *pūjā* or worship by the Hindūs, who have a saying

Chandan, dhūp, dīp, malayāgīr
Prem sahīṭ Thākur nahalwāṭn.

With (gifts of) Chandan, frankincense, lamps, and malayāgīr
I will lovingly bathe the Thākur (Lord).

² Omit عاريتي MS. (A).

³ ز آتش مرد. These letters give the date 952 H. This date is given in figures in both MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ That is to say so late in life. Firishṭa says : Whenever he looked in the glass and saw his white beard, he used to say, "It was near evening before I attained to empire."

MSS. (A) (B) writes دروغ کہ پادشاهی الخ

Verses.

My heart! like *Khizr*¹ take and drink the water of life,
 Like *Sikandar* come and conquer land and sea
 If thou entertainest any longing for the cup-bearer and wine,
 Take the cup of *Kauşar*² from the hand of the *Hūrī*³ and
 drink.

The fame of thy greatness and glory and majesty
 Has reached the *Koh-i-qāf*, go thither and hear its tale. 374.
 If thou art sitting, for instance, on the throne of *Solomon*,
 One day like the ant creep into the recess of a cave and hide
 there;

Two or three days like the spider, spin in the deserted corner
 of the world the strands of desire and take thy place there.
 Every beautiful-faced one,⁴ whose beauty is unapproachable
 With that one, to thy heart's content,⁵ take thy delight.
 This world is a dream in the opinion of the wise,
 Do thou at last see this dream and take it
 Thy life, O *Qādir*, is as a fairy-tale of enchantment,
 Thou hast heard the tale, take the spell of enchantment
 When the hand of Death tears⁶ the sleeve of thy existence
 Raise thy hand, and seize the skirt of the true Friend (God)

ISLEM *SHĀH* IBN *SHĪR SHĀH SŪP*,⁷

Who is *Islem Khān*. on the fifteenth of the month *Rabī'u-l-Awwal* in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.), acting upon the summons of the *Amīrs*⁸ of *Bhatta* came by forced marches from the neighbourhood of *Patna*,⁹ and by the co-operation of *ʿIsā Khān Ḥajjāb* and the other men of influence and power,¹⁰ succeeded¹¹ to the imperial throne in room of his father, with the title of *Islem*

¹ Al *Khizr* See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, p 272

² *Qurʾān* cviii 1-3 See Hughes, *op cit*, p 263.

³ The women of Paradise *Qurʾān* lv. 56-78

⁴ MS (A) reads *برخورد نرو* for *برخورد نرو*

⁵ *نوازی دل* footnote variant *دل نوازی* MS (B)

⁶ *درد* (Text) MS (A) MS (B) reads *دهد*

⁷ MS (A) omits *سور*

⁸ A footnote variant *امرای بهت با بلغار* MS (B)

⁹ MS (A) *بهت Bhatta*

¹⁰ *اهل حل و عقد*

¹¹ MSS (A) (B) read *گشت* for *نشست* (Text)

375. Shāh, and the son of Mulla Aḥmad Junaid,¹ who is well known,² found this verse of the sacred word:³ "And already we have written in the Psalms, after the admonition that 'the earth shall my righteous servants inherit,'" ⁴ to give the date of his accession. He wrote a despatch to his elder brother 'Ādil Khān and sent it to him in Ranthanbūr, of which the following is the substance. "Although the succession was really your right, still as you were at so great a distance there was a danger, nay a certainty of the occurrence of disturbances here before you could arrive. Accordingly with a view to keep down insurrections, I will take charge of the army for a few days as your deputy, and after you arrive I shall have no alternative but to submit to and obey you." Leaving Kālīnjar he made for ⁵ Āgra and in the vicinity of the township of Kūra Khātampūr,⁶ Khawāṣṣ Khān arrived from Sihrind which was his *jāegīr*, and yielded a forced allegiance, because he was more inclined to favour the accession of 'Ādil Khān as compared with Islem Shāh; a splendid banquet was held and he was anew placed on the throne. Afterwards when fresh despatches from Islem Shāh reached 'Ādil Khān, he referred the question of his coming to the following four persons upon whose advice and opinion as to its expediency he made his action dependent: Quṭb Khān Nāib, 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī, Khawāṣṣ Khān, and Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,⁷ all of whom were great Amīrs, men of eminence belonging to his family. Islem Shāh sent this body of men to him bearing an agreement by which he undertook to allow 'Ādil Khān to depart to his *jāegīr* after the first interview, and to deliver to his control any place in Hindūstān which he might select. 'Ādil Khān acting upon the advice of these Amīrs proceeded from the neighbourhood of Ranthanbūr to Fathpūr,

¹ MSS. (A) (B) جند *Jund*.

² MS. (B) omits مشهور.

³ Supply ل MS. (A). See Qur'ān xxi, 105.

⁴ Psalm xxxvii, 29. 'The righteous shall inherit the land and dwell therein for ever.'

The date is given by the words من بعد الذكر *i.e.*, that which follows الذكر. The value of الذكر being 951, that which follows is 952 H.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) عازم آگره شد.

⁶ Kora (*Corah*) Town in Fathpur district, N.-W. P., on the old Mughul Road from Agra to Allahabad. See Tieff, Vol. I, p. 235 and map, Vol. III. See also Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* viii, p. 295.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) جلو *Jalā*.

otherwise called Sikri, and Islem Shāh¹ left Āgra and came to Shikāpur,² where the royal palace is at present, to receive him, and when they met they first fulfilled the duties of condolence, and evinced great cordiality, and after a short time set out together for Āgra. Islem Shāh had plotted treachery against 'Adil Khan, and had consequently made a stipulation that not more than two or three persons should be left in the fort with 'Adil Khan. This however was not carried out, and a large body of followers accompanied him, accordingly Islem Shāh was constrained, in order to avoid suspicion, to treat 'Adil Khan with extraordinary³ fawning and flattery, saying 'I have taken care of these unruly⁴ Afghans so far by artful means,⁵ now I make them over to you''

Verse

Subject the intoxicated and riotous one to the warning glance of the cup bearer⁶

Having placed him upon the throne he himself assumed an attitude of submission and obedience, and from motives of worldly wisdom was most punctilious in the observance of courtesy.⁷ Although 'Adil Khan was in the flower of his youth, and of great bodily strength (many well known tales of his strength are told), nevertheless, since he was fond of ease and was well aware of the craft and subtlety of Islem Shāh and his⁸ ways of dealing, would not agree to that procedure, rose to his feet and setting Islem Shāh on the throne again with all honour and ceremony,⁹ swore allegiance to him, and offered him congratulations upon his accession, with the customary offerings¹⁰ and oblations. Islem Shāh, in accordance with the compact which had been made¹¹ sent 'Isa Khan and Khawass Khan to accompany 'Adil Khan, and having confirmed Bānua to him as a *jaagir*, permitted him to proceed thither. Two months later he appointed Ghazī Mahallī, who was one of his confidential attendants, to go and arrest 'Adil Khan.

¹ Omit ۱۲ MS (B)

² MS (A) سنکاپور Sankapur

⁴ MS (A) بی سو

³ MS (A) reads فوق الحق

⁶ MS (A) ما سرحوشیم

⁸ From Hafiz See ole commencing بلطاف الجدل Diwan: Hafiz News

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⁷ ملایمت MS (A) reads ملازمت

⁸ MS (B) supplies او

⁹ Re d تعظیم مراسم MSS (A)(B)

¹⁰ MS (A) وثار کرد و ایتار واقع شده

¹¹ MS (B) omits بود

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'Adil Khān, however, heard of this, and fled from Baiāna taking refuge with Khawāṣṣ Khān in Miwāt. Khawāṣṣ Khān then summoned Ghāzī Maḥallī, and bound him with that same golden chain which he had brought for 'Adil Khān, and having gained over to his side all ¹ the Amīrs, set out for Āgra with a large army. Quṭb Khān and 'Isā Khān also, who were two of the chief nobles of the State, ² with whose concurrence the compact ³ had been made, were annoyed at this breach of faith on the part of Islem Shāh, ⁴ and with great management summoned 'Adil Khān at a time agreed upon, namely at day break after the *Shab-i-barāt*, ⁵ so that they might own allegiance to him. It so chanced that 'Adil Khān and Khawāṣṣ Khān, having arrived at Sikrī on the *Shab-i-barāt*, ⁶ spent that night as a vigil in the service of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, in voluntary prayers ⁷ and benedictions, so that their departure for Āgra was delayed long past the time agreed upon, and it was breakfast time ⁸ when they reached the outskirts of Āgra. Islem Shāh who was alarmed, ⁹ spoke very courteously to Quṭb Khān and the rest of the Amīrs, and permitted them to go and present themselves before 'Adil Khān. His ¹⁰ object was to get rid of his opponents. and that very instant to start alone ¹¹

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read عامه امرا.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit امرا.

³ MS. (A) قول وقرار.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read رنجیده بتقریب instead of بواسطه الخ.

⁵ The fifteenth day of Sha'bān. A day of great rejoicing among Muḥammadans. Muḥammad ordered his followers to keep vigil during this night, to repeat a hundred prayers and keep the next day as a fast day. See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*.

Briggs in his translation of *Firishta* says, "as it was the night of the Koorban festival," and in a footnote says, "this fast is kept in commemoration of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham." The translator however is at fault here, as the original says و چون شب براه بود (Bo. Text, p. 431) and *inasmuch as it was the Shab-i-barāt*.

⁶ MS. (A) in error شب بر آب.

⁷ نوافل و ادعية. *Nawāfil wa ad'iyah*. *Nawāfil* are voluntary prayers which may be omitted without sin, as distinguished from *Farz* which are prayers enjoined by God, and from *Sunnah*, prayers founded on the practice of the Prophet.

See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. Prayer.

⁸ چاشتگاهی *Chāshṭgāhe*.

⁹ مضطرب گشته MS. (A) (B).

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits او and also را after مخالفان.

¹¹ Insert تنها after ساعت. MS. (A) (B) instead of as in the text.

for the fortress of Chunār, seize the treasure which was there, and after collecting the necessary equipment for an army to return and again engage in war. 'Isā Khān Hajjāb warned him of the folly and absurdity of this project, and prevented him from sending his Amīrs to his enemy and from starting for Chunār. Eventually Islem Shāh, accompanied by a party of his own bodyguard, and two or three thousand old and trusty retainers, left Āgra with all haste and came out in force to fight, first recalling those Amīrs¹ whom he had sent,² saying "I am by no means confident that 'Ādil Khān will not deal treacherously with you. You had better return quickly and rejoin me, because the question between³ him and me can only be settled by the sword."

Verse

In this case messengers and despatches can avail nothing,
The two edged sword will make this matter clear.⁴

The Amīrs, however, who were friendly to 'Ādil Khān, on seeing Islem Shāh take the field, refused⁵ to return to his side and entered the ranks of the more powerful army, a severe battle ensued before Āgra, and 'Ādil Khān was defeated⁶ and fled alone toward Bhatta.⁷ Khawāṣ Khān and 'Isa Khān Nijāzī, who had a strong regard and unbounded loyalty for each other, took the road to Miwāt and the township of Iṣṣāzpur, engaged the force which had been sent in pursuit of them, and overcame it, but eventually, not having power to resist the army of Islem Shāh, proceeded to the hills to the north of Hindustan, which⁸ are called (the) Kumaon (hills), and took refuge with the Rājās of that district. Qutb Khān Naib, having been appointed to attack them, kept continually ravaging the country at the foot of the hills. In the meantime Islem Shāh proceeded to Chunār, and sent the treasure which was there to Gwalior, and on his return, when he reached the township of Kārah Khatampur, while engaged in playing *chaugān* with Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,⁹ who was one of the married Amīrs of the Afghans, and had been¹⁰ an adherent

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1 MS (A) امرای 2 Omit فرسناد MS (B) 3 MS (B) omits صاب

4 This order of the hemistichs is given in MS (A)

5 MS (A) نارمانده

6 MSS (A) (B) شکست رانده

7 MSS (A) (B) omit روت و

8 MS (A) omits را

9 MSS (A) (B) حلو

10 MS (A) بوده

of 'Adil Khān, and a great object of suspicion to Islem Shāh, by some treacherous device persuaded him to come to his camp, and cast him into chains together with his brother Khudādād, making them over to an Afghān who had a blood feud with them, and having put them to death under the cloke of vengeance, proceeded to Āgra, [and from thence to Gwālīār which he had made his capital],¹ and setting himself to slay and eradicate a party who were favourable to 'Adil Khān, girded up his loins in enmity against them, and swept them one by one from the board of the world like so many pieces in the game of draughts or chess. Qutb Khān also took fright, and fled from the foot of the Kumāon hills to Lahore, taking refuge with Haibat Khān, to whom Shīr Shāh had given the title of A'zam Humāyūn. Haibat Khān in obedience to a summons from² Islem Shāh, sent Qutb Khān in chains to him. Islem Shāh sent him together with Shāhbāz Khān Lūhānī,³ who was brother-in-law to Shīr Shāh,⁴ and Barmazīd Kor who was the *Dajjāl*⁵ of that sect, and the Hajjāj⁶ of his age, and thirteen or fourteen other Amīrs⁷ and Amīrs' sons, to the fortress of Gwālīār, where most of them quitted the body in imprisonment.⁸

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[Among them was Maḥmūd Khān, son of 'Adil Khān, who in his seventh year had counselled Shīr Shāh to throw up a rampart of sand, in consequence of which Shīr Shāh had made him his heir-apparent, as has been related. Another was Kawāl Khān Ghakkar who will be mentioned shortly].⁹

And in this year Salīm Shāh summoned A'zam Humāyūn from

¹ Not in MSS. (A) (B).

² بموجب طلب.

³ MS. (B).

⁴ Firishta says که شوهر خواهر سلیم شاه بود و بر مزید کور و چند کسی دیگر who was sister's husband to Salīm Shāh, with Barmazīd Kor and some others. Bo. Text, 432.

Briggs translates this, "the king's brother-in-law, who was deprived of his sight," mistaking *Barmazīd Kor*. (Briggs II, 132.)

⁵ دجال *Dajjāl*. The *Masīhu-d-dajjāl* or lying Christ, the last of the impostors whose appearance was predicted by Muḥammad.

⁶ See ante, p. 12 n. 1.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit نامی.

⁸ The text reads بداری تفنگ by gunpowder. MSS. (A) (B) omit these words.

⁹ This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a footnote to the text states that it is found in one MS.

Lahor, but he advanced some excuse¹ for not coming in person, and sent Sa'id Khān his brother, who was renowned for courage and sound judgment². Islem Shāh received him with the utmost show of favour, and made much of him, advancing him to the highest place of intimacy, but inwardly cherished the intention of putting an end to him, at last one day, having summoned him to a private interview within the palace, he shewed him the heads of the Amirs who had been immured alive in the walls, for instance Zain Khān Nizārī³ and the others, saying Do you recognize these persons, who they are? He mentioned the names of some whom he recognized. Previously to this he had thrown⁴ the abovementioned Amirs, men of ability, into a chamber in Gwalior, and setting fire to it with gunpowder had burned them all except Kawāl Khān Ghakkai, who remained under the protection of the All cherisher safe in a corner of the room⁵. [It is said that the following was the reason of his escaping, the sister of Kawāl Khān, who had been united by marriage to Islem Shāh, became aware of the conference and sent word to her brother, saying This very night they intend to blow up the prisoners with gunpowder. She also sent from inside (the palace) four quilts stuffed with cotton, and several skins of water. Kawāl Khān poured quantities of water upon the quilts, and under pretence of taking a bath betook himself into a corner, apart from his friends, and rolling himself up in the quilts had gone to sleep when they set fire to the room, and all were burned to ashes, but he alone remained alive beneath the quilt. In the morning Islem Shāh came to inspect that prison house, and seeing Kawāl Khān alive said It is right for me to release you seeing that fire had no power over you]⁶. Then Islem Shāh having made him⁷ take an oath that he would never again oppose him, released him, and appointed him to assist the Governor of the Panjab to conquer the country of the Ghakkars [where he arrived with all his army]⁸. In short Sa'id Khān, who had been a witness of this sudden death, gave orders in obedience

¹ MS (A) مذر

² ممانات MS (B) reads ممانات

³ MS (A) omits ناري

⁴ MS (A) omits آب

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read simply در گوشه حانه

⁶ This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a foot note to the text states that it is found in one MS

⁷ MSS (A) (B) omit نار

⁸ Not in MSS (A) (B)

to which post horses were tied up along the road to Lāhor, so that he travelled the distance between Āgra and Lāhor within three nights. Day by day the scale turned more and more in favour of the Niyāzī faction, and Ā'zam Humāyūn read the *Khutbah* in his own name in Lāhor. Islem Shāh returned from that same camp and came to Āgra, and summoning a vast army from all sides marched for the Panjāb. Sazāwal Khān came from Mūlwa to join this movement, and was received very graciously, and after bringing forward certain important matters took leave, while Islem Shāh, after halting for a few days in Dīhli and ordering his army, set out for Lāhor.¹ Ā'zam Humāyūn and Khawāṣṣ Khān, and 'Isā Khān² Niyāzī as well, (who had come down from the hill country to join him), came from the Panjāb with armies strong as the hills to receive Islem Shāh. In the early part of the³ winter time a fierce battle was fought in front of⁴ the township of Ambāla, and on the evening preceding the day on which the battle was to be fought, Ā'zam Khān had asked Khawāṣṣ Khān: After the victory who will be selected as the successor to the throne? He answered: It may be that it will be 'Ādil Khān who is the eldest son of Shīr Shāh⁵ and is really fit to rule. It appears that the Niyāzī faction said,⁶ The kingdom is not by inheritance, but *He who conquers, takes the booty*.⁷ It is a foregone conclusion, what sense is there in this that we should strike with the sword and the kingdom should come to others.

Khawāṣṣ Khān, who was heart and soul attached to the cause of Shīr Shāh, was displeased at this claim of theirs, consequently when the battle began to rage, he refused to fight,⁸ and standing aloof left the battle field together with 'Isā Khān Niyāzī. The Niyāzī faction fought right manfully, without yielding a foot of ground, and were near carrying away the centre⁹ of Islem Shāh's

¹ MS. (A) reads و.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit عیسی خان a footnote to the text states that the words are in one MS.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read only در ایام زمستان. In the winter time.

⁴ در ظاهر MS. (A).

⁵ MS. (A) supplies باشد.

⁶ نیازیان گفته باشند.

⁷ من غَابَ سَابَ man ghalaba salaba.

⁸ The text reads جنگ ها کرده but this is manifestly wrong, and the reading should be جنگ نا کرده as in MS. (A) (B).

⁹ MS. (A) omits قلب.

army, but in the end¹ pluck told,² and then efforts were of no avail

Verse

Thy wound which utters presage of thy death
When it feels thy salt closes its lips

And Sa'id Khān, the elder brother of Ā'zam Humayun, attended by a body of men fully armed and equipped, disguised in such a way that no one would know him, came in under the pretext of offering congratulations, with the intention of putting an end to Islem Shāh, and with that object asked repeatedly, where is the Padshāh that I may offer him my congratulations on his victory. An elephant driver of one of those elephants which had surrounded Islem Shāh recognised the voice of Sa'id Khān, and struck a blow at him with his spear, but he³ made his way in safety through the crowd of elephants, great as it was,⁴ and foiled in his purpose made his escape, the Niyazi faction fled 382 and came to Dhanakot,⁵ which is near Roh,⁶ and the remainder were plundered by the Kawars, while some were drowned in the nullahs of Ambala. Islem Shāh pursued as far as Western Rohtās, and despatched Khwaja Wais⁷ Sirwani with a large army to oppose the Niyazis, and returned towards Āgra. Leaving Āgra he went⁸ to Gwahar, and made it his capital⁹. When Khawāṣs Khan and 'Isa Khān Niyāzi, who had made common cause, left the battle field 'Isa Khān went to the hill country,¹⁰ [while Khawāṣs Khan with five or six hundred cavalry¹¹ fled to Lahor], [and (Islem Khān)]¹² Islem Shāh appointed Shams Khan

¹ MS (B) reads آخر for عاقبتش

² نیک کار خود کرد The word 'pluck' seems the best equivalent for the Persian نیک nimak which means literally salt and secondarily spirit courage. It may also mean however that Islem Shāh's men were 'true to their Salt'.

³ The text reads و here which quite loses the sense. Read او MS (B)

⁴ Omit حلقهٔ ملال MSS (A) (B)

⁵ MS (A) دهنکوب Dhanakob

⁶ MS (A) رده Radah

⁷ MS (A) اویس Auais

⁸ MS (A) رفته MS (B) رفت ⁹ MS (A) (B) آن را پای تحت ساخت

¹⁰ We should follow the text here. MS (A) omits the words خان دایم and goes on راجه دایم کو در آمدند omitting the passage in square brackets which follows.

¹¹ MS (B) کس

¹² MS (A) ایسم شاه

Lūhānī as Governor of Lāhor; and at a time when Shams Khān had come out for some undertaking¹ to a distance of thirty *krohs* from Lāhor, Khawāṣṣ Khān,² with three³ or four hundred cavalry, each individual man of whom could have withstood an army, advanced with the idea of taking Lāhor, and encamped⁴ in the grove of Kāmran Mirza. The inhabitants of Lāhor shutting themselves up in the fort held the city till the arrival of Shams Khān, and Khawāṣṣ Khān, having cut down the lofty trees⁵ of Safidār and Chinār⁶ of that grove, had set about making *Sātūr*⁷ and ladders, when⁸ his cavalry brought news that Rāi Ḥusain Jilwānī and other Amirs of Salīm Shāh's party with an army of thirty thousand cavalry had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lāhor. Khawāṣṣ Khān, after a conference with 'Isā Khān, abandoned the siege, and went out some five or six *krohs* to meet (his enemy), and with five hundred veteran cavalry well tried in war hurled himself against that wall of steel. Rāi Ḥusain said to his men, leave the way open so⁹ that this black calamity may pass through our midst. Accordingly¹⁰ he made a breach in the line of Salīm Shāh's army, and attacked them again from the rear and threw them into confusion. At this juncture he received a wound in the knee which bore him from his horse to the ground, but his opponents had not sufficient enterprise to come up to him and take him prisoner, and he was openly borne off the field upon a *charpoy*.¹¹

¹ MS. (A) بجہت مہمی.

² MS. (A) سردار.

³ MS. (A) سیصد.

⁴ MS. (A) فرود آمدند.

⁵ MS. (A) درختہای.

⁶ The *Safedār*. سفیدار is the white Poplar or Abele. The *Chinār* has been already mentioned.

⁷ MS. (A) ساطور. This word is not given in any of the dictionaries. The only word I can conjecture it may possibly be meant for is the Turkī ساتو *Sātu*, which means the roof of a house (P. de C.) in which case it would have a meaning of a shelter under which to approach the walls, like the Roman *Vinea*, which consisted of a roof resting upon posts eight feet in height, made sufficiently light to admit of its being carried by the soldiers. The roof was formed of planks and wicker work.

⁸ MS. (A) کہ سواران.

⁹ MS. (A) reads کہ راہ دهند.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads از میان بدر رود.

¹¹ I have retained this word in its English dress as being one so familiar to all who know India. The چہار پای *chahār pāi* is simply an oblong wooden frame on four legs (as its name implies) fitted with a bottom of string, matting

Rāi Husain forbade his men to give pursuit, and Khawāṣ Khān went off in safety towards Nagarkot]¹ whence he proceeded to the foot of the Kumaon hills. The final issue of his affairs will be related shortly² in its own place if God, *He is exalted*, so will it. The Niyazi faction set their hearts upon the government of Kashmir, but by the craft of the Kashmiris were enticed into bye ways, and eventually reached their rest in the corner of destruction, as will be mentioned, if God, *He is exalted*, so will it.

And in the year 954 H (1547 A D) an Afghan named Usmān, whose hand Sazawal Khān had cut off for some reason, one day laid an ambush in Agia, and at the entrance to a road aimed a blow at Sazawal Khān and wounded him. Sazawal Khān went to the camp, and represented that this attack had been made at the instance of Salim Shāh, he then took his way to Malwa. Islem Shāh pursued him as far as Banswala, but seeing that Sazawal Khān was hidden among the Zamindārs of Sarai,³ Salim Shāh left 'Isa Khān Suri with twenty thousand cavalry in Ujjain, and reached the capital. In the early part of his reign Islem Shāh detailed five thousand cavalry for the chief *sardars* of Hindūstān. Among them Mubārīz Khān, the son of Nizam Khān⁴ Sur, who was the cousin and wife's brother of Islem Shāh, and eventually received the title of Muhammad 'Adilī, was appointed as a commander of twenty thousand to the vicinity of Ajawan in the Sarkār of Sambal, in order that Khawass Khān and the other Amirs might not be able to raise disturbances in that province, and he appointed as his deputy Pīrāndh Khāzāk⁵. He had also given orders at the beginning of his reign that between every two resthouses built by Shāh Shāh which were at intervals of one *kroh*, another rest house of the same pattern should be built, with a temple, and a dwelling place, and a *co* *dort* for water, and that a buttery and kitchen containing food both cooked and uncooked, for the use of travellers,⁶ both Hindu and Musulman, should be

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or a broad tape called *nīwar* in common use as a bedstead and everywhere known as a *charpoy*. See Lule and Bunnell Glossary, s v

¹ The portion included in double square brackets is omitted from MS (B)

² MS (A) مذکور کردہ حوائد شد ³ Footnote variant سرود Sarud

⁴ MS (A) writes نظام خان سور

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read حرک *Khazak* as in footnote variant. The text reads

حرک *Khazrak*

⁶ MSS (A) (B) supply مسافر

always open. Among other commands of his was this, that the *madad-i-ma'ash*¹ and *aimah* grants of the whole of the protected² provinces of Hindūstān which Shīr Shāh had given, and the rest-houses which he had furnished, and the pleasure-gardens he had laid out,³ should remain just as they were, and should not be altered in the slightest degree. Another order was, that all the *Pātars*⁴ should be taken by force from those Amīrs who kept *Akhāras* (these are well known in Hindūstān). He also seized⁵ the elephants in the same manner, and did not leave in the possession of any one any but a wretched female elephant fit only for carrying baggage, and gave⁶ orders that the red tent was confined solely to his own use. Another order was this, that he brought the whole country under his own personal control,⁷ and in accordance with the regulations and custom of the *dāghī* system⁸ which Shīr Shāh had instituted, the soldiery were paid in cash. A further step was to send written orders to all the *Sarkārs* containing comprehensive instructions on all important points of religion, and all political and civil questions,⁹ entering into the minutest essential detail,¹⁰ and dealing with all regulations which might be of service to the soldiery and civil population, to the merchants and other various classes, and which the authorities were bound to follow in their jurisdiction.

All these points were written in these documents whether agreeable to the religious law or not,¹¹ so that there was no necessity to refer any such matters¹² to the *Qāzī* or *Muftī*, nor was it proper to do so.¹³

¹ See Āin-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, 268, 272, regarding the tenures of land called respectively *madad-i-ma'ash* and *aimah*.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit ممالک.

³ MSS. (A) (B) ساخته بودند. ⁴ Dancing girls, see ante, p. 250 (Text) n. 4.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) omit گرفت. ⁶ MS. (A) کرد.

⁷ خاصة خود ساخت MS. (A).

⁸ See Āin-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, 242. Under the *dāghī* system every Amīr began as a commander of twenty, and when he brought his full complement of twenty horses to be branded (داغ *dāgh* signifies a brand), he was to be promoted to the next higher grade, and so on.

⁹ MS. (A) omits the words معاملات و. MS. (B) omits مهمات.

¹⁰ نقیر و قطمیر ضروری *Naqīr o qiṭmīr-i-zarūrī*. *Naqīr* means the small groove on the date stone, *qiṭmīr* is the thin pellicle which covers the datestone.

¹¹ MS. (A) خواله موافق نه. ¹² MS. (A) ابواب. ¹³ MS. (A) بایستی کرد.

Also the Amirs of five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand, used every Friday to pitch a lofty tent supported by eight poles,¹ and bring the shoes of Salim Shāh together with a quiver which he had given to the *sardārs*² in front of the throne, and first of all the commander of the troops, and after him the *Munsif*, that is to say, the Chief Commissioner (*Amīn*) followed by the others in due precedence, with bowed heads and every expression of respect would take their seats in their appointed places. Then a Secretary would come and read aloud that order, chapter and verse, which occupied eighty sheets of paper more or less. Any question which presented any difficulty was referred by them in conclave to the various provisions and rulings of that document, by which it was finally decided, and if it should so happen that any Amir acted in contravention of that order, the Secretary used to write a report of that action and despatch it to the Court, and the disobedient Amir would forthwith be visited with punishment together with his family and relations. This procedure remained in force to the end of the reign of Islem Shāh. The writer of this *Muntakhab*, in the year 955 H (1548 A D), when he was of tender age, went to the country of Bijwara, one of the dependencies of Baiāna, with the army of Farid Taran, Commander of five thousand, in the company of his maternal grandfather, *on him be the mercy of God*, and witnessed these customs and rules of practice. And in the year 954 H or in 955 H, God knows which, Khwāja Wais Sirwāni, who had been commissioned to proceed against A'zam Humāyūn³ [fought a battle with the Niyazis in the

¹ This is a conjecture. I have failed to find the word سرفه *Surgha* in any dictionary. It sounds like a Turki word. There is a word in the Turki language سوغما *Sughma* or سوقما *Suqma* (Fazlullah Khan) meaning *pillar colonne* (P de G) and it is quite possible that in copying the word *س* has been written for *و* and the *م* omitted by oversight. We should then have سرفه as in the text and MSS. The meaning is reasonable: eight poled shamianas being very commonly used.

² MS (A) has a different reading to the text here. It reads بود ترکشی که سردار داده بود upon a tray which he had given to the *Sardar* instead of با ترکشی که سرداران داده بود.

³ MS (B) omits the words from نامزد to همانوں, the copyist having mistaken his place after the first occurrence of the name A'zam Humayun.

vicinity of Dhankot,¹ and was defeated. A'zam Humāyūn] having taken a strong force pursued him as far as Sihhind. Islem Shāh sent a large army against the rebels, and at last they fought another battle in the same country, and on this occasion also the

386. Niyāzis suffered defeat, and some of their women were captured and sent to Gwālīār. Islem Shāh dishonoured them, and made over to the harlots in his camp the banners and tents and all the tokens of dignity of the Niyāzis who had fallen into his hands, and naming one Sa'id Khān, and another Ā'zam² Humāyūn, and a third Shahbāz Khān, in this way he distributed titles. Moreover he gave them drums which they used to play at their doors at the time of the *naubat*,³ and the prostitutes used to give themselves airs⁴ and used to say *Sag-i-falakam*.⁵ This class used to come every Thursday evening, in accordance with the custom of the harlots of Hindūstān, to pay their respects to Islem Shāh, and the heralds and chamberlains used to call out with a loud voice, O King cast a gracious glance hither, for a certain Khān Niyāzi, and Bahmān Khān are here to invoke blessings on thee. This used to annoy the Afghāns who were all of one tribe and of one mind, so that an intense disgust for him had sprung up in their hearts. Some assert that his conferring the titles of the Niyāzis and giving the ensigns and drums was on the first occasion.⁶ God knows the truth. And Ā'zam Humāyūn, who on the second occasion was defeated, was not able to gird himself again to war, and the Niyāzi party being scattered asunder grew daily weaker, and at first took refuge with the Ghakkars in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, making the hill country adjoining the Kashmīr territory their asylum. Islem Shāh, in order to remove the cause of the mischief, marched with a large army, and reaching the Panjāb took up a strong position in the northern hill range, and by way of guarding his head-quarter post built five

387. forts: viz., Mānkot and Rashīdkot and the others. For a space of

1 MS. (A) دھنکوب Dhankob.

2 MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.

3 نوبت Naubat. Music which is played daily by the band appointed for the purpose at stated hours. See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I. 51.

4 طبل علا طبل علا Footnote variant, also MSS. (A) (B) Text reads طبل علا Tabl-i-ulā (nawākhtan). To beat the drum of self-conceit.

5 سگ فلکم Sag-i-Falakam. "I am the dog of the sky," a parodied expression taken from the astronomical *Shīr-i-falak*, the constellation Leo.

6 On the occasion of their first defeat.

two years he kept the Afghans¹ employed in carrying stone and lime, and had such a hatred of the whole tribe that he heaped² the dust of infamy and oppression on their heads. At this time he did not give them even the smallest coin³ by way of recompense. A party of them, however, who had obtained exemption from this labour,⁴ he detailed to oppose the Ghakkars, and they engaged in continuous warfare with them.

The Ghakkars in appearance like the tribe of 'Ād,⁵ daily fought with the Afghans, and by night entered their camp like thieves, and used to carry off whomsoever they might find, woman or man, freed man or slave, and keep them in bonds with the utmost rigour, and sell them. The Afghans⁶ dragged them in the dirt, and gave them the nickname of *Ruswāi* (disgraced), but no one had the power to represent this state of things to Islem *Shah* till at last one day *Shah* Muhammad Farmālī,⁷ who was one of the most noted Amirs for wit and good humour in Hindustan, and was also a specially favoured and forward boon companion said, "My Lord the King! Last night I saw in a dream three bags descend from heaven, in one of which was dust, in another gold, and in the third⁸ paper. The dust fell upon the head of a soldier, the gold went to the house of the Hindu *daftari*,⁹ and the paper remained in the royal treasury." Islem *Shah* was pleased with this speech, and promised that after his return to Gwalior he would make his accountants draw up an account of the soldiers' pay, and pay them in gold. As it happened that order was never carried out, for in those same days death seized him by the collar.

Verse

Attend to my wants to day for that draught is of no avail
Which is given to *Sohrāb* after his death.

In the end, the affairs of the Niyazis came to this, that when 388

¹ MSS (A) (B) omit دیونزاد

² MS (A) رجته

³ MS (A) یک فلس و حیل داد *Yak fals o jital na dad*. The text reads *fulus*. The *jital* is an imaginary division of the *dam* used only for purposes of calculation. Its fictitious value is only the thousandth part of a rupee. *Āin i Akbari* (B) I 31.

⁴ Read تا *نامزد کرده* MS (A) MS (B) *نامزد کرده*. The text is wrong.

⁵ See Sale's *Koran* p. 4

⁶ MSS (A) (B) خط بینی کشیدند

⁷ MS A قرتاعلی

⁸ MS (A) دردگری

⁹ A scribe, clerk

their strength¹ was broken, and they came into Kashmīr, the Kashmīris, who are² born traitors and deceivers, first of all invited the Niyāzis from Rājūrī after inflaming them with spurious ambition for kingdom, and in the end their guides leading them astray³ brought the tribes of Kashmīr to oppose them, and at a hint from Islem Shāh held the head of the pass against them. The women even of the Niyāzis in defence of their honour girded on quivers, (among them were the mother and wife of Ā'zam Humāyūn),⁴ and fighting with the Kashmīris were attacked by a hail of stones which literally covered them, and not a soul escaped. It is said that in the reign of Shīr Shāh a body of the Afghāns of the tribe of Sanbal invited the Niyāzis to Dhankot under treaty, and put two thousand of them to death in obedience to the orders of Shīr Shāh, putting their wives and children to the sword. Five years later the same thing happened to them,⁵ and in this house of retribution they received the reward of their deeds, hand for hand. And⁶ in these narrow passes they put all three brothers to the sword, sending their heads as an offering to Salim Shāh. They also sent for him a girl from there. A part of this story has been elegantly told in the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*,⁷ the composition of which is ancient though its arrangement is modern; and at the time when Islem Shāh, had sent troops against the Ghakkars and the Jānoha party who were strongly entrenched on the banks of the river Behat, he himself was occupied in building the fortress of Māngarh;⁸ and Kāmran Mirzā, after fighting many battles with⁹ Muḥammad Humāyūn Padshāh, fled from Kābul and took refuge with Salim Shāh, in the hopes that he would give him reinforcements which would enable him to capture Kābul, in the (vain) expectation that the water which had flowed away would return¹⁰ to its source. When Islem Shāh heard this tidings, he selected from his army the notorious Humūn¹¹ Baqqāl, who in those

1 Footnote variant صورت. 2 MS. (A) آمده اند. 3 MSS. (A) (B) پس خیم.

4 Omit که MSS. (A) (B).

5 همان آشی در کاسه ایشان بود. *Hamān āsh dar Kāsa-i-shān būd.* Lit. The same broth was in their cup.

6 MS. (A) supplies و.

7 *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, see p. 8, n. 3.

8 Text مال گڑه Mālgarh. MSS. (A) (B) مان گڑه Māngarh.

9 با MS. (A).

10 MS. (A) omits باز.

11 Footnote variant هیمون *Haimūn*. The text reads هیموی *Haimūe*.

days, in virtue of his capacity for extorting taxes, had been promoted from being overseer of the market to a post of confidence, and sent him with another body of Afghāns to the neighbourhood of Rohtas to meet Mirzā, and although Islem Shāh in his own mind thought this a reason for increased confidence in Mirzā, being led to this by the want of confidence¹ he had in the Afghāns as a tribe, and the entire trust he reposed in Humān, still Mirzā himself made light of this, and² recognising that there were dragons in the very first draught of the cup was unwilling to come in person.

Verse

Now indeed thou repentest but thy repentance profiteth thee nothing

Nevertheless, in spite of this Mirzā still believed that possibly Islem Shāh would overlook everything, and would treat him with honour and respect when the time of meeting arrived. However, on the day of public audience, he himself entered with arrogant assurance, and sitting on the seat of a Farvān or a Shaddad,³ gave orders to Sarmast Khān⁴ the Afghān, a Da'ud Zai,⁵ who held the office of *Bārbaḳ*,⁶ in accordance with which he directed Mirzā to perform the customary salutations like the servants of the ordinary public. He accordingly performed the *Kornish*,⁷ and those diabolical men⁸ out of sheer inhumanity seized Mirzā roughly by the nape of the neck, and shouted aloud several times saying, Your Majesty!⁹ He pleased to cast a glance hither, for Kāmran the Muqaddam zāda of Kabul invokes blessings. Islem Shāh after ignoring him for some considerable time, cast a haughty glance in the direction of Mirzā,¹⁰ and uttered a hypocritical 390.
"Welcome" He then ordered a tent and canopy to be erected

¹ Footnote variant and MS (A) اعتمیدی

² MS (A) و تو قیل اول خم وردی

³ Shaddad the son of 'Ad see ante, p. 291 n. 6

⁴ MS (A) omits خان

⁵ MS (A) omits داود زئی

⁶ *Bārbaḳ* باربک The chief attendant of the darbar or public audience

⁷ *Kornish* کوریش A mode of salutation in which the palm of the right hand is placed on the forehead and the head bowed. It signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility. See *Āin-i Akbari* (H) I 168

⁸ MS (A) دیو مردم ⁹ MS. (A) پادشاه ¹⁰ MS (A) (B) جانب میرزا کردو

for Mirzā near to his own tent, and bestowed upon him a horse and a robe of honour, and a slave girl and a eunuch so that they might spy into his affairs. He used also to summon the Mirzā from time to time, and hold converse with him regarding poetry, but their intercourse was always disagreeable, and the Mirzā was worried by those incessant ceremonial visits and shew of politeness, till he grew sick of his life, and was watching a favourable opportunity to make his escape. Moreover the Afghāns used to make jibes ¹ at him in the Hindī tongue, and when he appeared in *darbār* used to say ² *Moro mī āyad* ³ (Here comes the peacock). The Mirzā enquired from one of the attendants, in the presence of Islem Shāh, "What do they mean by *Moro*?" He answered, "It is the name they give ⁴ to a man of great dignity." The Mirzā replied, ⁵ "At that rate Salim Shāh is a first rate *Moro* and Shīr Shāh was a still finer." Salim Shāh consequently gave orders that no one was ever to use that word again, ⁶ nor to indulge in pleasantries at the Mirzā's expense. At last one day Islem Shāh called upon the Mirzā for a verse of poetry, when the Mirzā recited this *maṭla'* off hand:

Gardish-i-gardūn-i-gardān gardanānrā gard kard
*Bar sar-i-ṣāhib-tamāzān nāqīṣān rū mard kard.*⁷

The revolutions of the circling heaven have brought low the mighty,
 And have made worthless men to lord it over men of intelligence.

Islem Shāh fully caught the meaning of this verse, and gave secret orders to his attendants to keep the Mirzā under open arrest. The Mirzā, however, by the help of the *zamīndārs*,⁸ made an arrangement with one of the hill Rājas, and persuaded him, by holding out inducements of various kinds, to station post-

¹ MS. (A) (B) هزل. ² MS. (A) اک.

³ मोरो *Moro* is the Prākṛit form of the modern Hindī मोर *Mor*, a peacock.
 MS. (B) reads مور و مرغ یعنی. *Moro*, that is to say, a bird.

MS. (A) reads مور و یعنی مرغ, so also footnote variant to text.

⁴ MS. (A) omits میگویند.

⁵ MS. (B) omits گفت.

⁶ MS. (B) reads نگویند for بگویند.

⁷ Read اهله تمیزان صاحب تمیزان MSS. (A) (B). ⁸ MS. (B) زمینداري.

horses along the banks of the river Chinab. One night he emerged from his tent with a woman's *chālir*¹ drawn over his head. The guards imagined that it was one of the women of his *harem* and offered no interference.

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The Mirza crossed the river with his horse and saddle and succeeded in reaching the Rājā. From there he proceeded alone clothed in a *burqa*², and taking a *jilaudār*³ with him, was escorted⁴ by some of the Rājā's subjects till he arrived in the vicinity of the village of Ghari Khū,⁵ on the bank of the river Behat, and rested there one night. Inasmuch as that village is near Sultānpur the residence of Sultān Ādam Ghakkar, at a distance of three krohs from the fortress of Rohitās, some one went to Sultān Ādam and informed him that a Mughlī woman was encamped at such and such a place, attended only by one *jilaudār* and that her intention was to proceed on the following morning. Sultān Ādam sent messengers to make enquiries, and then proceeded⁶ in person, and had an interview with the Mirzā, who by persistent entreaty prevailed upon him to give a promise that he would send him in safety to a place of refuge. Sultān Ādam accordingly wrote a letter to Muḥammad Humayun Pādshāh, who had recently arrived in that neighbourhood, begging him to spare the Mirzā's life.⁷

The Pādshāh wrote an order in accordance with this request⁸ of his, and sent it to him, but eventually, two years later, he again seized the Mirza, and⁹ after blinding him with a lancet

1 چادر *chadar* A garment worn by women over the head and body

2 نرقع *Burqa*² Here the author probably means the garment covering the head and body completely and having only a small latticed opening for the mouth and similar openings for the eyes worn by Afghan women when out of doors. See Lane *Modern Egyptians* for a description of the *burqa*² proper, which is a kind of veil.

3 حلو دار *Jilaudar* An attendant whose duty it is to run beside the horse. Abul Fazl says some of them will run from 50 to 100 kroh (100 to 200 miles¹) a day. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I 138.

4 Text بدرقی With a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. However MS (A) reads بدرقی correctly.

5 MS (A) MS (B) reads گهری *Ghari Ju* 6 MSS (A) (B) آمد و

7 Real with MS (A) میرزا for نمیرزا (text) 8 MSS (A) (B) مسؤل

9 MS (A) supplies و

proposal, and folk began to entertain increased suspicion against him, and both small and great talked openly about him. Shāh Muḥammad summoned these two holy men into his own private dwelling for safe custody, and took great pains to entertain them. One night, not long afterwards, an armed band entered his¹ house by the upper story and martyred both father and son who were engaged in their night's devotions. They then left the house, and in the morning the governor of the city came and enquired of Shāh Muḥammad how this had occurred. He absolutely denied any knowledge of the circumstances, and stated that he had no idea who the murderers were; then he prepared a report of the affair under the Great Seal, and sent it together with a despatch to Islem Shāh at his camp. Islem Shāh thereupon sent to Dihli Maḥdūmu-l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu-llāh of Sultānpūr,² who was *Shaiḥu-l-Islām* and *Ṣadru-ṣ-ṣudūr*, to investigate this matter, and also despatched circular letters summoning the Chief 'Ulamā of the time, for example Miyān Ḥātim Sanbalī, Miyān Jamāl Khān Muftī, and others. This conflict lasted two months after this time, and after great argument and enquiry it was with tolerable certainty conjectured³ that the murderers were agents of Shāh Muḥammad.⁴ This result was reported to

394. Islem Shāh, but before any reply could be received Shāh Muḥammad, who had sunk from so high dignity to the depths of disgrace, could not endure the anxiety, underwent venesection and took sour milk in addition, and endured voluntarily humiliating penance. Report also says even more than this, but, every one knew perfectly well that all these austerities and self-inflictions, were the outcome of hypocrisy and deceit, and not inspired by religious motives.

Thou hast forsaken the world for the sake of the world.

Quatrain.

This long time thou hast made thy tongue like a sword,
So that thou givest the attributes of a lion to one who is but
a dog.

Thou turnest upside down the storehouse of falsehood
In order to satisfy thy own hungry belly.

¹ MS. (A) omits *او*. ² See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Blockmann) I, Biography VII.

³ MS. (B) reads *مقتوم شد*.

⁴ MS. (B) *محمّد شاه*.

This event took place in the year 956 H. Another important incident was the affair of Shaiikh 'Alai Mahdi of Baiāna,¹ which closely resembles the affair of Sidi Maula,² which took place during the reign of Sultan Jalālu d Dīn Ibrūz Shāh, in fact the proverb, *One shoe is like its fellow*,³ is exactly applicable here.

The following is a brief exposition of this affair. The father of the aforesaid Shaiikh 'Alai was called Hasan, and was one of the great Shaiikhs of the country of Bangala, and on his arrival from Bangala on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy city of Makka with his younger brother Shaiikh Naṣīrullah, who was one of the most eminent of the 'Ulamā, came from there to Hindustan and took up his abode in the province of Baiāna. The words *Ja'a nasru llahi wal fath*,⁴ were found to give the date of that event. The elder brother gave his attention to *irshād*⁵ and *hidāyat*, and the younger⁶ to *fatawa*⁷ and instruction in religious knowledge⁸.

Shaiikh 'Alai, who was the most orthodox of the sons of the Shaiikh the tablet of whose forehead was from early boyhood distinguished by the marks of nobility and uprightness, and the evidences of a youth to be spent in the worship of God and in following the ordinances of the prophet of God, may the peace and blessing of God rest upon him, in the service of his venerable father devoted himself to the acquirement of exoteric and esoteric sciences, and to the improvement of his character disposition and behaviour, and in a short time⁹ having read all the routine works by the aid of his natural quickness of apprehension and clear intellect, engaged in tuition and instruction.

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¹ See Ain i Akbari (Blochmann) I, Biography V, seqq.

² See Beale (Oriental Biog. Dict.), p. 240.

³ حدو اقلد بالقل They also say حدو اقلد بالقل, i.e. one feather of the arrow is like another. See Freytag Prov. Arab. I 345. As we say As like as two peas.

⁴ جاء نصر الله والفتح. The letters give the date 930 H. The words mean

The victory of God and conquest has come to pass.

⁵ ارشاد Irshād Orthodoxy هدايت Hidayat Guidance direction.

⁶ MSS (A) (B) both omit حورد but the text seems probably correct.

⁷ فتوى fatwā Religious or judicial rulings.

⁸ MS (A) omits the words علوم دس.

⁹ MSS (A) (B) فوت.

Verse.

Continual learning is requisite with application and exertion,
 Always by day argument and by night repetition.
 Piety, asceticism, worship and reverence,
 Without these, all acquisitions are wondrous vain.

After the death of his revered father, having abandoned the ordinary conversation and giving up all connection with the delusive phantoms of the world, he set himself to follow consistently the paths of obedience and austerity, firmly occupying the prayer carpet of the Shaikhs, and used to engage in the direction and instruction¹ of seekers of the right way. Nevertheless he still retained a residue of evidences of worldly desires, and in accordance with the saying, "The last thing to leave the head of the just is the love of glory,"² seeking as he did to claim superiority over his fellow-men, he was unwilling that any other Shaikh in that city should share his dignity; this he carried so far that on the day of the festivals, from his excessive jealousy³ and envy, he caused one of the leaders of the contemplative⁴ and ascetic⁵ Shaikhs of the Sūfī party to descend from his litter, thus inflicting a grievous blow to his dignity. He used to arrogate to himself alone the dignity of Shaikhdom. His other brothers, who in respect of years and experience were his superiors, used also to yield submission to him and pride themselves upon it.⁶

In the meanwhile Mīyān 'Abdu-llah, a Niyāzī⁷ Afghān, who was at first one of the most noted lieutenants of Shaikh Salim Chishtī of Fathpūr, and who eventually with his permission proceeded on a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, and performed various kind offices and favours for him, taking part with Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr,⁸ *may God sanctify his holy resting-place*, who had claimed to be the promised Mahdī, and adopting the manners of a Mahdī, on his return from the Hījāz took up his

¹ MSS. (A) (B) write تلقين وارشاد.

² "That last infirmity of noble minds."

³ Badāonī here uses غبطة *ghibtat* in a sense opposed to its classical meaning which is emulation unmingled with envy.

⁴ MS. (A) reads ممتروسم for متروسم in the text.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read متقشف for متقشف in the text.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read میکروند.

⁷ See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I, v.

⁸ See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I, iv.

abode in Biānah, and making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men on the borders of a tank, used to cast water upon his head, and when the times of prayer came round, used to gather together certain of the labourers, howers of wood and drawers of water who had to pass by that way, and compel them to form an assembly for prayer,¹ with such a degree of enthusiasm, that if he met any man disinclined for the meeting he would give him a few coins² and encourage him, thus not allowing the reward of the assembly³ to escape him

When Shaiḥ 'Alai saw his conduct he was greatly pleased,⁴ and said to his own followers, This is religion and true faith which Miṣyān 'Abdu-llah Niyāzi has, whereas the path in which we are held is nought but idolatry and infidelity⁵

So long as a hair's breadth of existence remains to thee⁶

The danger of idol-worship still remains for thee,

Thou sayest I have broken my idols and my *Zunnār*, I am free,

This idol however, thy slavery to self conceit, remains to thee

Abandoning the customs of his forefathers, and giving up his claims as a Shaiḥ and a leader of religion, trampling under foot his self esteem and conceit, he devoted himself to the care of the poor of his own neighbourhood, and with the utmost self mortification and humility gave himself up to the service of those whom he had formerly⁷ vexed, and abandoning his *madad i ma'āsh*⁸ and his alms house and monastery,⁹ entering the valley of self-renunciation and abnegation, bestowed¹⁰ all his worldly possessions

¹ MSS (A) (B) omit نماز

² MS (A) پولی چند

³ Concerning this it is said "The prayers which are said in multitudes increase the rewards of those said alone by twenty seven degrees" See *Mishkātul Maṣābiḥ* (Mathow) xxiv 1

⁴ MS (B) بسیار خوش گردید

⁵ عزت پرستی و ریاکاری نیست *Juz but parasti o zunnardari nist* The term *Zunnar* [Gk. *ζωνδρον* (Golius) or *ζωνδριον* (Freytag)] is applied to the belt or girdle worn by the Christian or Magian. It also applies to the Brahminical thread and thus the wearer of any of these is to Muslims an infidel

⁶ MS (A) reads سابقاً ⁷ MS (A) تا يك سومي تو از هميني باقي است

⁸ Lands given for benevolent purposes see *Āin i Akbari* (B) I, 270

⁹ MSS (A) (B) omit لنگر

¹⁰ MSS (A) (B) read نثار و ايتار کرد

even to his books upon the poor, and said to his wife,¹ "The pains of the search after God have gotten hold of me, if thou canst endure poverty and hunger come with me in God's name, but if not take² thy portion of these goods; and take the reins of choice into thine own hands, and go thy way."

Follow my fortunes, or else depart far from me

She of her own accord was highly pleased with this determination of his.⁵

397.

There are some women who perform perhaps even better than men the duties of religion,

Just as in boldness the lioness surpasses the lion.

Then approaching Miyān 'Abdu-llah, with all respectful submission to him, he took instruction in the ceremonial observance of *Zikr*⁴ in the manner which obtains among that sect.

The interpretations of the Qur'ān, and the delicate points and minutiae and true meanings of that sacred book were easily revealed to him, and a large number of the friends and companions who were in accord with him, and believed in him, some of them unmarried and some with families, chose companionship with him even at the risk of their lives, and following the path of his guidance with the foot of reliance in God, three hundred householders, abandoning all other source of gain and traffic, agriculture and skilled labour, spent their time with him. And whenever anything was given by Providence they used to divide it justly, apportioning to each individual an equal share. If nothing came,⁵ comforting themselves with the sacred word, "Men whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God,"⁶ even had they died of hunger, they would not have uttered a sound, and if any person abandoning his vow made according to their mutual compact engaged in any lucrative occupation, of a surety he would expend a tithe of it in the

¹ MS. (A) reads جليله. ² MSS. (A) (B) بردار The text reads wrongly برآور.

³ This line is omitted from MS. (B).

⁴ ذکر. *Zikr*. The religious ceremony practised by the various religious orders of Faqirs. See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. *Zikr*.

⁵ I read here وإلا MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ Qur'ān xxiv. 37. رِجَالٌ لَا تُلَهِیْهِمْ تِجَارَةٌ وَلَا بَيْعٌ عَنْ ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ.

service of Almighty God Twice daily after the morning prayer and another prayer, great and small would gather in that assembly, and listen to an exposition of the Qur'an Shaykh 'Alai had such a marvellous power of attraction that when he was expounding the Qur'an almost every one who heard him, of his own accord withheld his hand from all worldly occupation, and elected to join that assembly,¹ abandoning his family and relations and children, enduring the hardships of poverty, hunger and religious warfare never troubled himself again about his work or gains, and if he had not that degree of fortitude, his penitence and repentance of his sins and iniquities would certainly have availed nothing, while many a one thought it his duty to empty his cooking vessels at nightfall of all the necessities of life even to salt and flour and water, and let them remain upside down, and they kept nothing in the way of means of existence by them, from their extreme faith in the providence of Almighty God, and the saying "Each new day brings a new provision" was the basis of their practice

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A short account of this sect is given in the *Najātu r-rashīd*² which should be consulted³

In spite of this they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them⁴ as a protection against their enemies, so that anyone who was unacquainted with the truth of the matter would be apt to think they were wealthy, *The ignorant think them to be rich because of their modesty*⁵ And whenever they saw any irreligious or forbidden action either in the city or the market, they went and called the offenders to account by main force,⁶ and admitted no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it, they aided every magistrate of the city who acted in conformity with their religious tenets and principles⁷ in carrying out his

¹ MSS (A) (B) insert *یا* after *صحت*

² *نجات الرشید* *Najātu r-rashīd* A MS of this work is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No E 204 Its author is Badaoni

³ MS (A) reads *داک*

⁴ MS (A) reads *نار*

⁵ Qur'an ii 274 *تَحْسِبُهُمُ السَّامِلُ اَعْبَاءٌ مِنَ الْعَقَفِ*

⁶ MS (A) reads *گرفتہ* for *رفتہ*

⁷ MS (A) reads *در امداد او می کوشید*

measures, while no one who was opposed to their views could [stand against them. Matters came to such a pass that fathers left their sons, brother left brother, and wife left husband] ¹ and entered the charmed circle of the Mahdī, voluntarily submitting to poverty and extinction. Miṣyān ‘Abdu-llah when he saw that Shaikh ‘Alā’i had lost his influence with rich and poor alike, and that his day was over, was much vexed, and speaking with gentleness and moderation, said by way of advice, The time cannot away with affairs of this kind, and truth nowadays has become more bitter than colocynth. It were wiser for you to quit this vale (of iniquity) and either retire into obscurity or determine upon a journey to the Ḥijāz.

Verse.

Alas! for him who escapes not from public turmoil,
 Alas! for him who sets his heart upon the men of this world.
 The hand of the faqir holds no other coin but that of leisure,
 Alas! for him if he abandons that also.

399.

Shaikh ‘Alā’i,² retaining that selfsame habit and conduct³ which he always had, accompanied by six or seven hundred families, set out for Gujrat in the hope that in the companionship of the chiefs⁴ and leaders of this sect he might learn the customs of the inmates of cloisters.⁵ At the time of his arrival at the township of Basāwar from Baiāna, my late father took me, the writer of these pages, to do homage to him. In consequence of my tender years, his form remained fixed in my memory as a dream or a vision. On his arrival at Khawāspūr which is near Jodhpūr, Khawāṣṣ Khān who had been appointed to that district, at first came out to receive him and joined the circle of his adherents: but in consequence of his devotion to musical entertainments and pastimes,⁶ whereas now every Thursday night Sūfis used to assemble in his house, and Shaikh ‘Alā’i forbade music and other prohibited⁷ pastimes, and enjoined⁸ that which

1 MS. (A) زن از شوهر. The words in brackets are omitted in MS. (B).

2 MS. (A) omits علانی. 3 MS. (B) omits و حالت.

4 MS. (A) reads wrongly باغبان.

5 Insert in the text را after دواير MSS. (A) (B).

6 MSS. (A) (B) بساع و صفائي مقيد بود. 7 MSS. (A) (B) مناهي و ملاهي.

8 MS. (B) reads wrongly اوامر for آمر.

was lawful and opposed that which was forbidden by law, accordingly their association was not agreeable, besides which opposition and disagreement arose with regard to the upholding of the rights of the soldiery The saying—

*Verily speaking the truth will not leave me a single friend*¹

is a well known proverb Shaiḥ 'Alā'ī in consequence of certain opposition which arose, turned back in the middle of the journey and returned to Baiāna, and at the time when Islem Shāh had taken firm possession of the throne of power in Āgra, and the rumours regarding Shaiḥ 'Alā'ī reached his ears he sent for Mir Saiyyid Rafi'ū d Din the traditionist, and Miyan² Abul fath of Thanesar and other learned doctors of Āgra, and summoned Shaiḥ 'Alā'ī from Baiāna, at the instigation of Maḥdumu-l mulk Maulāna 'Abdu llah of Sultanpur He accordingly, accompanied by a party of select³ companions, all of whom wore mail and were fully armed, came to the Court, and paying no heed to the customary observances of kingly assemblies,⁴ greeted the whole assemblage in the manner appointed by the laws of Islam⁵ Islem Shāh acknowledged his salutation with indignation, as the appearance of the Shaiḥ greatly displeased⁶ him and his courtiers

Maḥdumu l Mulk had fully persuaded Islem Shāh that Shaiḥ 'Alā'ī was a revolutionary who laid claim to being the Mahdī, and that the Mahdī himself would be king of the whole world consequently as he presumed to revolt he was deserving of death 'Isa Khan⁷ Ḥijab who held a very confidential post, and the other Amirs, when they saw Shaiḥ 'Alā'ī in this displeasing attire, with ragged clothes and worn out shoes said to Islem Shāh "This fellow, in this condition and with this miserable appearance, wishes to take away the kingdom from us do he imagine that we Afghāns are all corpses!"

Prior to the convening of the assembly for discussion, Shaiḥ 'Alā'ī in accordance with his invariable custom, had expounded a

1 أَنْ قَوْلَ الْحَقِّ لَمْ يَدْرِكْ لِي صَدِيقًا

2 MSS (A) (B) میاب

3 MS (B) omits مخصوص

4 MS (A) reads می نایندد for می باشد and omits سلام.

5 Omit و MSS (A) (B)

6 MSS (A) (B) نمود

7 MSS (A) (B) supply حان

few verses of the Qur'ān, and delivered such a profitable discourse, in most elegant language, comprising a criticism of the world, and a description of the last judgment, and contemptuous remarks regarding the learned men of the time, and all their faults and failings,¹ that it had the most profound effect² upon Islem Shāh and the Amirs who were present in the assembly, notwithstanding their hardness of heart, so that it brought tears to their eyes and left them amazed and confounded. Islem Shāh then rose from the assembly, and giving the matter his own attention sent refreshments from inside the palace for the Shaikh and his companions.³ The Shaikh, however, refused to touch⁴ the food himself, and moreover when Islem Shāh entered⁵ he did not pay him any respect, and merely said to his friends: Any one who chooses may eat of it. When they enquired of him the reason of his abstaining from eating the food he replied: "Your food is due to Muslims because you have possessed more than was yours by right, contrary to the dictates⁶ of the law of Islām." Islem Shāh notwithstanding this repressed his anger, and referred the enquiry into the truth of that dispute,⁷ and the decision of that contention to the 'ulamā.

01. Shaikh 'Alā'i vanquished every one of them in argument by virtue of his quickness of intellect and clearness of apprehension, and whenever Mir Saiyyid Rafi'u-d-Dīn (who died in the year 954 H.) was engaged⁸ in citing the traditions which existed relating to the appearance of the promised Mahdī, and the signs by which he would be known, Shaikh 'Alā'i used to say, "you are a Shāfi'ite by religion⁹ and we¹⁰ are Hanifites, the fundamentals of your traditions are different from those of our's;" How can we accept¹¹ your explanations and interpretations on this question? Nor did he spare¹² even Mulla 'Abdu-llah himself in his criticism of a single point, saying to him, "you are one of the learned men of the world and a thief of religion, and you engage in so many

¹ MS. (A) خطائيات.

² MS. (A) بسیار مؤثر افتاد و.

⁴ MS. (A) تناول کرد.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) بخلاف حکم شرع.

⁸ MS. (B) writes علامت آن وارد شده شیخ omitting میشد.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) مذهب.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads قبول داریم.

³ MS. (B) همراہیان.

⁵ MS. (A) هنگام در آمدن.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) آن مبحث.

¹⁰ MS. (B) و یا.

¹² MS. (B) reads و میگذاشت.

illegal practices that you have put yourself outside the pale of equity, so that even to this time the sound of pipe and tabor may be plainly heard issuing from your house, and in accordance with the true traditions of the prophet, *upon him be peace and blessing*, a fly which settles upon filth is by degrees better than learned men who have made kings and emperors the object of their ambition and gad from door to door

Terre

*Learning which exists for the sake of palace and garden
Is like a lamp to the night loving thief*

In accordance with these premisses he uttered so many scathing satires [on those who preach but do not practise, citing in support of his arguments examples from the Quran and Traditions] that Mulla 'Abdu llah was not able to say a single word in defence. One day in the midst of the argument it happened that the learned Mulla Jalal Bihni² of Agra having turned up that tradition which relates to the description and evidences of the promised Mahdi,³ read as follows,⁴ *Ajallu l jablah*⁵ on the form of the *afalu-l tafzil* derived from *jalal*. Shaikh 'Alvi smiled, and said, "Good Heavens!" You have given yourself out to the world as a marvel of learning, and yet you cannot read with a proper pronunciation, you have no knowledge of the delicacies,

¹ Omits در MS (A) ² Not in MS (B) which reads امانت می آورد

³ MS (A) reads تهيم Tihim

⁴ Regarding the Mahdi, see Blochman *Am & Akbar* I, iii

⁵ MSS (A) (B) چلیں خواند کہ

⁶ The text here runs:

کہ اجلّ الحیمہ بفتح حیم و تشدید لام بصیغۃ تفصیل مشتق از حلال -

MS (A) reads more correctly - بصیغۃ افعیل الجلیل -

Ajallu l jablah would have no accurate meaning. *Jalal* meaning greatness.

The superlative form with the article is applied to God **الْأَحَدُ** Al Ajallu

The form **أَفْعُلُ** *afalu* is called the **صیغۃ تفصیل** or form of superiority, i.e., the comparative, or, combined with the article the superlative

سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ *Subhan Allah* (lit.) *I raise be to God!* A common mode of expressing surprise or astonishment

and subtleties and minutiae of the science of tradition.¹ The real reading is *Ajlāu-l-jabhah*² which is the form *Afa'alu-t-tafzīl* from *jalā*, not from *jalāl* which is your own name."

402. He was abashed and said not another word.³ They likewise relate concerning Shaiikh Mubārak⁴ that he was an ally⁵ of Shaiikh 'Alā'i in this assembly, and from that day⁶ he became known⁷ as Mahdawī, and Islem Shāh being deceived⁸ by his speech and explanations used to say "You must have been in the habit of expounding the meaning of the Qur'ān," he also gave a message to the Shaiikh in these words "Give up this claim of yours to be the promised Mahdī,⁹ and renounce this pretension secretly¹⁰ in my hearing, and I will make you chief overseer of religion in the whole of my dominions, and whatever lawful orders you have been in the habit of issuing without my authority, continue henceforth to issue these same commands with my permission. Otherwise, the 'Ulamā of this time have given their decision that you should be killed and gibbeted, but I will revise their sentence, for I am not willing that your blood should be shed. The Shaiikh, however, who had been successful at every step, and in this easy pretension and partial object of attainment had got beyond the power of even Islem Shāh,¹¹ cared nought for.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit حديث.

² اجلى الجبهة *Ajlāu-l-jabhah*. Most wide of forehead. That is to say having that degree of baldness which is termed جال *jalā*, i.e., baldness of the fore part of the head. See Lane. *Lex. s. v.* اجلى.

³ وديگر مردم نزد MS. (A) reads incorrectly نزد وديگر مردم.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) have و before the word شيخ.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) correctly read ممد *Mumidd*. The text has محمد *Muham-mad*.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit روز reading ازان باز.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit مشهور شد.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omit به read فریفته بیان.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) read گذشته before باز آى.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads آینه for آهسته.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads بودیم for بودیم.

any ruler and addressed¹ him in these words, "why should I change² my own belief at your bidding "

If thou desirest safety, reproach is right

If safety is lost, reproach is a mistake

In the meantime tidings reached Islem Shāh³ daily "To day such and such an Afghān⁴ general has gone over to the following of the Shāikh and sided with him, giving up all worldly considerations "

The following day Bahmān and Mulla 'Abdu-llah spent every moment in urging Islem Shāh to put the Shāikh to death At last Islem Shāh gave orders for his expulsion,⁵ and forbade him to remain in his kingdom, and ordered him to go to the Dakkan Shāikh 'Ala'ī who had for years⁶ desired to travel in the Dakkan and to see how the Mahdawi ideas were progressing there, hearing this good tidings recited⁷ the text *Verily God's earth is wide*⁸

Then he arose and started without delay for that country

Qāsim, curtail thy speech, arise, and take thy way,

Cast the sugar to the parrots, cast the carcase to the vultures

403

On his arrival at Handiā,⁹ which is the frontier of the Dakkan, Bihār Khān, who was entitled Ā'zam Humāyun Suwānī, the governor of that place, kept him for some time in his own family, and having embraced his tenets used to go daily to hear his preaching, and half¹⁰ his army, nay more than half, sided with him, this news was brought to Islem Shāh by runners, and roused his indignation Maḥdumu-l Mulk took great pains to paint the event in glowing colours, and misrepresented it to Islem Shāh so that orders were issued summoning Shāikh 'Ala'ī Just at this

¹ Omit می MS (A)

² MS (A) تعیرمی دهم

⁴ MS (A) افعان

⁶ MS (B) omits باز

³ MS (A) نسليم

⁵ MS (B) اخراج او كرد

⁷ MS (A) خواند و

⁸ Qur ān iv 99 قَالُوا أَلَمْ تَكُنْ أَرْضَ اللَّهِ وَاسِعَةً فَتُهَاجِرُوا فِيهَا They said

was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein F

⁹ See *Imp Gaz* V 309 Handiā is on the Narbada in the Hoshangabad District of the Central Provinces MS (A) reads هندوہ Hindūciya and رسد for رسد

¹⁰ MS (B) شمس

juncture Islem Shāh had left Agra for the Panjāb¹ with the intention of quelling the disaffection of the Niyāzī faction; when he arrived opposite to Baiāna at the halting-place of Bahrsūr, Makhdūmu-l-Mulk said to Islem Shāh "we have earned a few days respite² from the lesser evil" by which he meant Shaiikh 'Alā'i, "but the great evil, that is Shaiikh 'Abdu-llah Niyāzī, who is the instructor of Shaiikh 'Alā'i and the spiritual guide of the Niyāzī faction, and always remains in the hill country of Baiāna accompanied by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped, and raises disturbances there, is still flourishing." The fire of the anger of Islem Shāh, who was thirsting for the blood of the Niyāzīs, was fanned into flame by this breath³ of suggestion, and he ordered Miyān Bahwa Lūhānī⁴ the Governor of Baiāna, who was one of the special adherents⁵ of Shaiikh 'Abdu-llah, to produce the Shaiikh. Miyān Bahwa went to the Shaiikh and said: It seems to me to be the best course for you to hide yourself for a few days in accordance with the saying "one should avoid misfortune" and migrate from this city to some other place, then perchance the king will forget⁶ all about you and never make an attempt of this kind again,⁷ and you will have met the emergency,⁸ while I for my part shall have a good excuse.

Verse.

404.

Fear not a misfortune when the night intervenes between it
and you.

Shaiikh 'Abdu-llah would not agree to this suggestion⁹ of his, and said, "this is an arrogant monarch and Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is always watching for an opportunity. If they go still further away and then send for me it will cause me great annoyance; for this reason, seeing that he is only ten *krohs* distant, I had better interview him now, and as for the question of mastery here and there, it will be all one whether it is to be now or in the future, since whatever is predestined will come to pass."

Man proposes and God disposes.

¹ MS. (B) omits پنجاب.

² MSS. (A) (B) read خلاص یافتم.

³ MS. (B) reads نفیث.

⁴ MS. (A) نوخانی.

⁵ MS. (A) گروندگان.

⁶ MS. (B) فراموش کند.

⁷ MS. (B) reads حروف for حروف.

⁸ MS. (A) باشند.

⁹ MS. (B) omits نه.

Verse

The reins of affairs are not in the hands of one who looks to advisability,

Yield the reins into the hands of Fate, this is the advisable course

Accordingly he set out by night from Buana, and had an interview with Islem Shāh in the morning as he was mounted ready to march, and greeted him with 'Peace be to you.' On the instant Miyan Bahwa seized him by the nape of the neck and bent his head down saying: "My friend the Shāikh this is the way they salute kings." The Shāikh looked savagely in his direction and replied: "The salutation which is in accordance with the *sunnat*,¹ and which is that which the friends of the Prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to make,² and which he, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to give them in response, is this very form of salutation, I know no other." Islem Shāh, with evident aversion asked: "Is this the master of Shāikh 'Alā'ī?" Mulla 'Abdu llah who was lying in wait for him said: "The very man." By order of Islem Shāh he was at once seized and most unmercifully beaten with sticks and kicked and cuffed, the Shāikh as long as he retained consciousness kept repeating this text of the sacred word: "Lord forgive us our sins, and our extravagance in our affairs, and make firm our footing, and help us against the misbelieving folk."³ Islem Shāh enquired what he was saying Mulla 'Abdu llah said: "He is calling you and the rest of us unbelievers, Islem Shāh becoming exceeding wroth waxed still fiercer in his efforts to punish and torture him,⁴ and kept his retinue standing⁵ an hour longer while they cudgelled him, and when he thought that the breath had left⁶ his body— 405.

1 MS (B) omits گرفتہ and کہ after گفت

2 MS (A) سلام میگفتند 3 MSS (A) (B) کتابت

4 The سنة *sunnat* is the traditional law of Muhammad

5 MS (A) omits کردند MS (B) reads کرده

6 MSS (A) (B) insert گفت

7 Qur an ju 141 See Palmer's Translation

8 MS (B) omits ملا 9 MSS (A) (B) read تعدب و عقوبت

10 MSS (A) (B) omit اورا اسنادہ MS (B) reads سولاری

11 MS (A) مدقطع شد

One single breath was left as a mediator (between Life and Death),

That mediator also rose and departed.

he desisted, and went on his way.

A spark of life however remained¹ in the Shaiikh, so they wrapped him in a raw hide, and kept him warm for a night and a day before a fire, till he recovered. This occurrence took place in the year nine hundred and fifty-five. When he had regained his health he left Baiāna, and commenced travelling, and spent some time in Afghānistān (Rūh), and some time among the Afghāns of Pattan in the Panjāb,² on the confines of Bajwāra between Ambér and Amritsar,³ and was in the habit of saying:⁴ This was the fruit of consorting with argumentative people.

Oh ye lords of contemplation, all my trust is in you,
But ye masters of discussion. I'll have none of you.

Finally he came to Sirhind,⁵ and giving up all connection with the manners and customs of the Mahdawī party (moreover he turned all the Mahdawī party from that faith) began to deal with all the followers of Islām according to the tenets of the orthodox school, till eventually in the year 993 H., at the time when the Emperor was on his way to Benares, he summoned Shaiikh 'Abdullāh and granted him a portion of *maḍad-i-ma'āsh*⁶ land in Sirhind with remainder to his children. And in the year 1000 H., he bade farewell to this transitory world at the age of ninety or thereabout.

Rubā'ī.

If the courser of the sky give the reins into your hand,
And if the world gives you wealth as the dust under your feet -
If your wisdom surpasses the wisdom of Aflātūn,⁷

406. These are all as nought, at last you must die.

After that Islem Shāh had overcome the Niyāzī faction, and had

¹ MS. (A) omits مانده.

² MS. (A) پتن پنجاب در سرحد. Pāk Pattan or Ajūdhan.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read here مابین انیرو انبرسر. MS. (A) adds ناین before صبر.

⁴ MS. (B) همین می گفت.

⁵ MS. (B) omits بسرهند آمده.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ Plato.

returned to Āgra, Mulla 'Abdu-llāh set about inciting him,¹ and giving him a song which reminded him of former intoxications, again induced him to summon Shaiikh 'Alā'i from Hindiya, and to order punishment to be executed upon him, and spared no pains to remind him in the vilest possible way, that Shaiikh 'Alā'i had been condemned to banishment, whereas now Bahār Khān had become his disciple and follower, and the whole army had shewn their leaning towards him. Seeing that his own relations had sought absolution from him and had adopted his faith, there was great probability of disturbance in the kingdom. Accordingly Islem Shāh summoned Shaiikh 'Alā'i thence, and used still more strenuous exertions than before² to bring matters to a satisfactory settlement, and knowing as he did the ambitious nature of Shaiikh 'Alā'i, and recognising that there was no other man among the learned men³ of Dehli and Āgra capable of settling this dispute, he therefore directed Shaiikh 'Alā'i to be sent to Bihār to Shaiikh Budh⁴ the learned physician, in whom Sher Khān had the very utmost confidence, and who is renowned for the authoritative commentary which he wrote upon the *Irshād-i-Qāzī*,⁵ and bade him act in accordance with his directions.⁶ When Shaiikh 'Alā'i went thither, he heard the sound of singing and musical instruments proceeding from the rooms occupied by Shaiikh Budh the physician, and saw in his assembly certain other things repugnant both to the natural feelings and⁷ to religious law⁸ also, the very mention of which is disgraceful, so felt constrained to enjoin⁹ what was lawful and to forbid what was prohibited. Since Shaiikh Budh was very infirm¹⁰ and aged, and was not strong enough to speak, his family answered for him that certain customs and observances which have obtained vogue in Hindustān are of

1 MSS. (A) (B) محسّر شدہ. 2 Omit خود. MS. (A).

3 MS. (B) omits ۱) after دیگر and inserts it after اگر.

4 MS. (A) reads شیخ حداد Shaiikh Hadah (?)

5 See Hājī Khalifah, 522. *Irshād*.

6 MS. (A) reads فتویٰ او. MS. (B) reads عمل می نمایند.

7 MS. (B) شریعتی.

8 MS. (B) دینند.

9 MS. (A) reads امر معروف و نہی منکر نہ کرد which is the exact opposite of the reading in the text.

10 MS. (B) omits فانی and reads قدرت for قدرت and احقارشی for احقارشی.

407.

such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatever, worldly injury, and loss both bodily and spiritual¹ would inevitably result to the prohibitor, also that the women of Hindustān who as a class are worthless, consider that loss as the result of restrictive measures, and for that reason become infidels. In any case legalising incontinence was probably a less sin than legalising infidelity.² Shāikh 'Alā'i said that this is an iniquitous conjecture,³ as is proved by the fact that, whensoever worldly loss according to their belief is the result of the interference⁴ with some prohibited pleasure, and the injunction to obedience is held by them to be the cause of personal death and injury to their property and position, they have not even the fundamental properties of Muslims, so that their conformity to Islām need not even be considered. Seeing that the argument concerns the validity of Nikāh,⁵ why should one regret⁶ the fact of their not being Muslims? for it is said, *That which is based upon iniquity is most iniquitous of all.*⁷ That class therefore stand condemned. Shāikh Budh the physician however,⁸ having regard to equity became their apologist and entered a plea for them, praising⁹ Shāikh 'Alā'i and treating him with the utmost courtesy and respect.

First of all he wrote a letter to Islem Shāh in the following terms, "Seeing that the Mahdawī question is not indissolubly bound up with the faith of Islām, and very great difference of opinion exists as¹⁰ to the veritable signs by which the Mahdī is to be distin-

¹ The text varies from the MSS. (A) and (B) which read *دنیوی و بدنی و جانی* while MS. (B) omit *بمانع*.

² We should read here

بهر حال در تجویز فسق شاید از تجویز کفر بزرگتر باشد MSS. (A) (B).

³ MS. (A) *قیاس فاسد*.

⁴ MS. (B) reads wrongly *تعبیر* for *تعبد*.

⁵ *نکاح Nikāh*. The marriage contract. A marriage contracted between a Muslim man and a Hindu woman is invalid in accordance with the injunction of the Qur'ān. The issue of such a marriage is however held to be legitimate. Under no circumstances can a Muslim woman marry any but a Muslim. For fuller discussion of this subject, see Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. Marriage.

⁶ MS. (B) reads *کرد* for *خورد*.

⁷ *البناء علی القاسد افسد*.

⁸ MS. (B) reads *و* for *اما* and omits *در مقام انصاف*.

⁹ MS. (B) reads *کرده* for *نموده*.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits *باب*.

guished, it is accordingly impossible to convict Shaiḥh¹ 'Alā'i of infidelity and impiety At any rate, all doubts regarding him should be removed Here books² are very scarce, whereas there are sure to be many³ books in the library of the learned men of your country, let them settle the truth of the matter "

The sons of the Shaiḥh impressed upon him that Makhdūmu l-Mulk⁴ was the Ṣadru s sudur,⁵ and said, " This opposition of theirs to him has undoubtedly been the cause of your being summoned At your great age it is far from wise for you to undertake so long a journey, and to undergo the severe fatigue incidental to it " They accordingly cancelled his first letter⁶ and, whether he would or not, secretly wrote another letter⁷ as if from Shaiḥh Budh, couched in terms of flattery of Mulla 'Abdu llah, and sent it to Islem Shāh, saying, " Malḥdumu l Mulk is one of the most discriminating of the learned doctors of the day What he says is the truth and his decision is the sound decision "

At the time when Islem Shāh was encamped in the Panjab 408 Shaiḥh 'Alā'i arrived at the camp of Bin Bau when Islem Shāh read the sealed letter of Shaiḥh Budh the physician, he called Shaiḥh 'Alā'i to come close to him and said to him in a low tone of voice, " Do you only⁸ say to me in my own ear that you are penitent for having made this claim, you shall then be accorded complete liberty to go where you will⁹ and do as you please " Shaiḥh 'Alā'i however refused¹⁰ to give ear to his proposals and paid no heed to him, Islem Shāh in despair¹¹ said to Mulla 'Abdu llah, I leave him in your hands¹² This he said and gave orders for him to receive a certain number of stripes in his own presence¹³ Shaiḥh 'Alā'i

1 MS (B) omits مق

2 MS (A) reads و اینکا کتب کمدای است

3 MS (B) omits سیار

4 MS (B) reads مخدوم

5 The Ṣadru s sudur is the chief judge of all religious questions among Muhammadans He was also known as Ṣadr i kni or Ṣadr i jahan See Āin Akbari (B) I 271

6 MS (A) reads دوشده اول اورا مسح کرده

7 Insert تو دانی after حقی MS (B)

8 MS (A) reads تو تنها در گوش من بگو

9 MSS (A) (B) insert و before فارع النال

10 MS (B) reads مانوس شده

11 تو دانی و اس Let You know and this fellow, i.e. the matter is one between you and him

12 MS (B) inserts تأمره after تو دانی, not as in the text

himself had a wound in his neck, the result of an operation for the pestilence which raged in that year throughout the whole of Hindustān, and had destroyed the greater part of the people.¹ This wound had to be kept open by a tent,² in addition to which he was suffering from the fatigue of his journey, and had hardly a breath of life left in him, so that at the third lash his lofty soul quitted its humble frame and took its flight to the abode promised in the words "*In the seat of truth, in the presence of the powerful king*"³ and rested in the pleasant places of which it is said "*Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard neither hath it entered into the heart of man.*" And after his death they tied his delicate body⁴ to the feet of an elephant, and trampled him to pieces⁵ in the street of the camp, and issued orders forbidding the burial of his corpse,⁶ and appointed agents (to see to this). At that very time a vehement whirlwind arose and blew with so great violence, that people thought that the last day had arrived,⁷ and great lamentation and mourning⁸ was heard throughout the whole camp, and men were in expectation of the early⁹ downfall of the power of Islem Shāh.

And they say that in the course of the night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shāikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was so to speak entombed in flowers.

After this event¹⁰ the power of Islem Shāh lasted barely two

¹ MS. (A) أكثر خاليق. The bubonic plague appears to have been the epidemic here referred to.

² قتيله MS. (A) reads قبيله.

³ Qur'ān lviv. 55. The full quotation is

إِنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ فِي جَنَّاتٍ وَنَهَرٍ فِي مَقْعَدٍ صَدُوقٍ عِنْدَ مَلِكٍ مَقْدَرٍ

Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers, in the seat of truth, with the powerful king.

⁴ MS. (B) reads بدن.

⁵ MS. (B) reads پاره پاره.

⁶ MS. (A) reads دفن نکنند.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read قیام قیامت.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read غلغله و ماتم.

⁹ MS. (B) omits عنقرب.

¹⁰ A footnote to the text reads MS. (A) omits قضیه دولت اسلیم شاهي الخ
و بعد ازین دولت اسلیم شاهي.

The textual reading appears to be wrong.

years. It was in fact an exact counterpart of the affair of Sultān 409. Jalālu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh Khiljī after the execution of Sidi Maula,¹ save that the decay of the kingdom of Salīm Shāh was even more rapid than that of Jalālu-d-Dīn. People considered Mulla 'Abdūllāh, who was always vexatious to the holy men, to be the cause of all this heart-burning, and this was really the case.

This event took place in the year 957 H. (1550 A.D.) the writer of these pages was at that time ten years of age, and invented the two following chronograms: The first is *Zākīru-llāh*, the second *Saqāhum rabbuhum shārāban*.²

Among the events which happened in the reign of Islem Shāh was the murder of Khawāṣṣ Khān, of which the following is a brief account. When Khawāṣṣ Khān, after the battle with the Niyāzī, fled to the foot of the hills, Islem Shāh appointed to that district Tāj Khān Karrānī who was the brother of Suleimān Karrānī, and the most learned and able of the whole Afghān line, and wrote a command from his camp at Bin Bāū, that they were to induce Khawāṣṣ Khān, even if it were by means of treaty oaths, to come down from the hills, and put an end to him. However Tāj Khān was unable to effect³ anything owing to the impregnability of that mountain retreat, and accordingly sent Khawāṣṣ Khān the message of Islem Shāh promising him safety.⁴ He, relying upon the word of a Muslim, came⁵ and had an interview with Tāj Khān, who instantly⁶ had him put to death and sent his head⁷ to Salīm Shāh at the township⁸ of Bin (Bāū), and after burying his body⁹ at the township of Sarastu, in the neighbourhood of Sambal, transferred it thence to Dihli. This event happened in the year 959 H. (A.D. 1551). As a chrono-

¹ MS. (A) reads کشتن.

² ذاکر الله *Zākīru-llāh*. ساقاوم ربهم شرابا *Saqāhum rabbuhum shārāban*.
The mindful of God. May their Lord give them to drink a draught of wine.

Each of these gives the date 957. H.

³ MSS. (A) (B) کاری نخواست ساخت.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) insert و.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) آمد و.

⁶ MS. (B) omits و تاج خان.

⁷ MS. (B) omits را and reads سلیمان for سلیم.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omits قصبه.

⁹ MS. (A) وجده.

graphical record they invented the words *Musibat ba'alam shud*,¹ that is to say, A calamity for the world.

410. One of his magnanimous acts was the following. On his arrival at Kalpi in the company of Shir Shāh he gave two *laks* of rupees to the sweetmeat sellers of that city so that they might send sugarcane to Rautanbhor without intermission. In the same way also he gave money to all the mango gardens of Baiāna, so that they might send mangoes day after day² to the halting-places for the poor and necessitous.

In the meantime Shir Shāh died, and Salim Shāh appointed persons who recovered the sum of twenty-four thousand rupees³ which remained of that money, and on receiving it put it into the treasury.

In this same year Shaikh 'Abdu-l-haiyy, the son of Shaikh Jamālī Kanbāwī of Dihli,⁴ who was adorned with excellencies of science and poetry,⁵ and was a devout man,⁶ and the boon companion and specially favoured intimate of Islem Shāh, delivered up the life entrusted to his keeping, and Saiyyid Shāh Mir of Āgra invented the following chronogram :—
He said —

My name in itself would furnish the *tārīkh*

At such time as 'abd (the slave) was not in the midst of it.⁷

Among the events which happened during the time that Islem Shāh was encamped at Biu was the following. One day in the

¹ A footnote to the text says that these words give the date 989 and that therefore there is some mistake.

It appears that the real reading should be مصیبت بعام شد *musibat ba 'ām shud*, which would give the correct date, and this is in fact the reading in MS. (A). The text should accordingly be corrected in accordance with this, and we should translate, A general calamity.

² MSS. (A) (B) روز بروز.

³ MS. (B) omits هزار and reads را after روپیه instead of او as in the text.

⁴ MS. (A) دهلی.

⁵ MS. (A) reads شعری for شعری.

⁶ صاحب سخاوت MS. (B) reads صاحب سخاوت a generous man.

⁷ The lines run thus : گفت نامی همی شود تاریخ بنده وقتی که در میان نیود.

If we take the name شیخ عبدالحی and remove from it the centre word عبد 'abd which means a slave we find the remaining words give the date 959 H.

interval between two times of prayer Islem Shāh was sitting at ease upon his roadster,¹ and was proceeding with a small escort from the camp to visit the fort of Mān Gāh,² which lies at a distance of five or six *krohs* or thereabouts, in accordance with his usual custom, when suddenly a man sprung up in front of him and blocking the road, holding a sword concealed in his armpit like the proverbial *Taabaṣa Sharran*,³ under pretence of seeking redress (for some grievance) came forward and aimed a blow at him. Salim Shāh, however, with great adroitness caught the blow upon the head of his whip. The handle of the whip was cut through and a slight wound was inflicted upon his face. When the man raised his arm to strike a second blow Salim Shāh sprang forward and hurled himself upon that ruffian, and wrested the sword from his hand. At this instant Daulat Khān Ayyār, the son of Sayyid Khān, who was the chosen intimate and bosom friend of Islem Shāh, galloped up and dealt a blow at that 411. miscreant. Others also came up and enquired from him the reason for his action. Salim Shāh did not approve of this⁴ and said: 'This wretch will destroy the houses of numberless people, lose no time in taking due vengeance on him'. However he recognised that sword as the one he had given to Iqbal Khān. Thus Iqbal Khān was one of the scum and off-scourings of Hindustan who had rendered Shīr Shāh several services. He was so exceedingly ill-favoured,⁵ mean-looking, and odious in appearance that they used to call him *Rahmatu-llahi*, which in Hindustan is the term

¹ Read راجوار for رندار

² MSS (A) (B) مل كنه

³ تائب شرا. The surname of Ḥibāt bin Ḥibor bin Saḡyan al Fahmī, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, who was so called according to some because the sword never quitted him, or because he put beneath his arm pit (ابط) a quiver of arrows, and took a bow, or put beneath his arm pit a knife and came to an assembly of Arabs and smote some of them, see Lane s v ابط. According to the account in the *Ag̃l̃nī*, he acquired his name from having slain a lion in a dark night in the midst of a violent storm of thunder and lightning; when morning came he brought the lion to his companions under his arm, and they said, *Laqad l taabaṣa sharran*; "Verily he has put destruction under his arm."

⁴ MSS (A) (B) زحمي نرجاحت MSS (A) (B) راصي نه شده گفت

⁵ MS (B) omits نسيار MS (A) omits برد inserting it after محقر

'applied to a weaver.¹ Islem Shāh himself ² had raised him from the very lowest of the low, and had given him a position of intimacy with the highest, so that he made him the envy of the noble Amīrs,³ and would not permit him to be out of his sight for one moment. From that day forward, when he recognised that sword, he deprived him of his rank, so that ⁴ he made him an example⁵ of the saying: *Everything returns to its original state*; but in spite of the incitation of the Amīrs of the Afghāns that he should put him to death, he replied, "I am heartily ashamed to destroy the man of my own training."⁶

Verse.

Water cannot swallow down wood, knowest thou why?
It is ashamed ⁷ to destroy that which it has reared.

Islem Shāh, who had for this same reason become distrustful of Afghāns, now became afflicted with complications of his disease, and increased the opium in his wine,⁸ and the snake-bitten one drank a draught of poison,⁹ and thirsting for the blood of the Afghāns, became more than ever ¹⁰ set upon eradicating them. The crisis was as though it was saying to him:

Verse.

Thou hast laid a foundation, which will destroy thy family,
Oh, thou whose family is destroyed, what a foundation thou
hast laid!

1 جولاہہ *jūlāha*. MS. (A) reads جوالاسا. Either reading may be accepted. If we read جولاہہ as in the text the translation will be as above, with the implied meaning of that stupidity for which weavers are proverbially noted. See Fallon's Dictionary s.v. جالاہا.

If we read جوالاسا the meaning will be dull, apathetic, stupid.

² MS. (A) inserts خود and omits اورا inserting this after آورده.

³ MS. (A) omits خود here. ⁴ MS. (A) گرفت تا.

⁵ MS. (A) omits مظهر. ⁶ MS. (B) تربیت for تربیت.

⁷ MS. (A) reads شرمش for شرمش. MS. (B) omit ز.

⁸ MS. (A) سراب.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) سازده. The meaning appears to be that the opium he took as an anodyne acted as a poison, and increased the effects of the disease from which he was already suffering.

¹⁰ MS. (B) بیشتر از بیشتر.

After these events Islem Shāh returned¹ towards Gwālār, which he had made his metropolis, and had arrived at Dihli² when tidings arrived that Muhammad Humāyūn Padshāh had reached the banks of the Indus, with the aim of conquering Hindustān. Islem Shāh just at the³ very moment when this tidings arrived, 412 had applied a leech⁴ to his throat, but instantly took it off, dashed some water upon his head,⁵ and binding up his throat with linen rags⁶ ordered his army to proceed, and⁷ the first day covering three *krohs*, encamped, and the rank and file of his army who were at the last gasp from drunkenness, involuntarily followed him as though led by a halter round their necks. Certain of the Vazirs who were well-disposed to him⁸ represented that inasmuch as a powerful foe had come against him, and his soldiery were worthless, it would be just as well if orders were given for their pay to be issued to them. Islem Shāh replied that if⁹ he were to give them money at that particular time they would attribute it to his being weak and in straits, so I will wait, said he, till my return after this victory,¹⁰ when I will give them, with one stroke of the pen, two years pay. The soldiers had patience and without a murmur awaited what fortune Providence would bring them, at the same time expecting some sudden calamity,¹¹ and in spite of their state of unpreparedness arrived at the encampment. When it was reported to Islem Shāh that the artillery was ready, but that, as the bullocks¹² for the gun carriages had been left at Gwālār, they awaited his orders, he replied, 'What possible use are such a crowd of thousands of infantry and cavalry, are they to get their monthly pay for nothing?' accordingly he made them all do

¹ MS (A) omits *نموده* here and inserts it after *نود* in the next line

² MSS (A) (B) omit *توجه نموده چون* MSS (A) (B) read

ندشلی رسیده بود که خبر

³ Read *در آن ساعت که اس خبر رسید* MSS (A) (B)

⁴ *رلور گلو چسپا دیده بود* MS. (A) reads *رلور* probably a copyist's error for *رلور* or *رلور*

⁵ Omits *با* MS (A)

⁶ *لته* *latta* MS (A) reads *ملیند* (?)

⁷ Insert *و* MS3 (A) (B)

⁸ MS (A) insert *بعد* before *بعضی*

⁹ MS (A) put *اگر* before *وقت* *در آن وقت* not after it as in the text.

¹⁰ MS (B) omit *نارگشته*

¹¹ MS (A) reads *واقعه* for *آفت* MSS (A) (B) read *نوده* for *نودند* می نودند

¹² Text *گاواں اراده* MS (A) reads *گاواں* MS (B) *عراغه*

the work of bullocks,¹ and ordered them to drag the gun carriages, thus proving the truth of the following:—

Verse.

These whom you see are not all human beings,
Most of them are tailless oxen and asses.

Some of the large mortars were of such a size that it took one or two thousand men, more or less, to drag each one.² At this rate of speed they reached the Panjāb in the course of seven days. Humāyūn Pādshāh in person, in accordance with certain advantageous plans he had formed, advanced as far as Banbhar,³ at the skirt of the mountain range to the north of the Kashmir frontier,⁴ and then returned towards⁵ Kabul. A short resumé of these events will be given in its proper place if the Most High God so will it.⁶

Islem Shāh also upon hearing this tidings⁷ fled⁸ with all haste from Lāhor to Gwālīār. In the course of his retreat arriving in the neighbourhood of the township of Anberī,⁹ he was occupied in hunting, when a band of ruffians,¹⁰ at the instigation of certain of the Amīrs, blocked his path, and meditated doing him harm, but a messenger arrived who informed Islem Shāh of this design, and he consequently entered the city by another road,¹¹ and after putting to death¹² a number of men, among whom were Bahāu-d-Dīn and Maḥmūd and Madā,¹³ who were¹⁴ the fountain heads of the rebellion attempted by the

¹ Omit دختر. MSS. (A) (B). MS. (A) reads اعتبار کرده.

² The text reads که هر کدام را هزار هزار کسی دو دو هزار کسی کمتر و بیشتر. MS. (A) inserts after کسی and omit the second کسی replacing it by و.

³ At the foot of the Alidek range. See Rennell's map, Tieff., Vol. III: Behnbur. MSS. (A) (B) read بنهر Banbhar. The text reads بنهر Banhar.

⁴ MS. (A) omits از حد کشمیر. ⁵ MS. (B) reads به کابل to Kābul.

⁶ MS. (A) inserts انشاء الله تعالى between خود and مذکور.

⁷ MS. (A) omits خبر.

⁸ MS. (A) فرار.

⁹ This is the reading of the text: but MSS. (A) (B) read انتري Antarī.

¹⁰ لوندان Text MS. (B) reads لوانید. ¹¹ MS. (A) براهی دیگر.

¹² MSS. (A) (B) رسانیده.

¹³ MS. (B) omits these last names and reads وغیره and others.

¹⁴ MS. (A) بودند for بود.

mutineers, imprisoned all persons against whom he entertained suspicion, afterwards putting them to death. Then he threw open the doors of the treasury and issued a public order directing the issue of two years pay to the soldiery,¹ and sent written despatches to the Amirs of five thousand and ten thousand to this effect. Some of the troops received the pay, others did not. At this very time the army of Fate, who is the most powerful of all powerful foes, made an onslaught upon him.² *

Verse.

That man owned a single ass, but had no pack saddle,
He found a pack saddle, but in the meantime the wolf had
made off with the ass.³

⁴ Among the forces which overthrew him was, it is said, a carbuncle which appeared in the neighbourhood of his seat, others assert that it was cancer.

He was beside himself with pain and⁵ had himself bled, but without relief. Whilst in this state of distress and prostration, he used from time to time to say, 'I had no idea that God was so extremely powerful,'⁶ and while in this condition, as long as he retained consciousness he ordered Daulat Khan to sit facing him, and would not cast a glance in any other direction save on his face alone.⁷ 414.

Verse

Mahmud gives not a soul to the Angel (of Death)
Until he sees him in the form of Ayāz

Notwithstanding the fact that he had lapsed into unconsciousness, he would now and then open his eyes, and these words would

¹ MS (B) سپاہیان

² A footnote directs attention to a suggested variation in the text by placing *کہ* after *سپاہ اہل* instead of before those words. This is the reading found in MS (A) and is obviously correct.

³ A proverbial saying of this kind is—

جب چنے تھے تب دانت نہ تھے جب دانت ہوئے تب چنے نہیں.

When I had perse I had no teeth, now my teeth have come I have no pease.

⁴ Omit *و مقدمہ* MS (A)

⁵ Insert *و*

⁶ MSS (A) (B)

⁷ MS (B) omits *در* before *جانب* MS (A) reads *حالہ* for *جانب*

come' to his lips 'Where is Ajyāra.'² They say also that although he found it excessively difficult to turn from one side to the other, yet he would not consent to their giving Daulat Khān the trouble of coming in front of him, but he would say, 'Please turn my face in his direction.'

One day he saw that Daulat Khān was absent and asked 'where can he be?' They replied he has probably gone to the house of one of his relatives. Then he knew that to all appearance he was playing a time-serving part with others. At that moment Daulat Khān arrived and Islem Shāh quoted this verse:—

Thou knowest my value, how faithful I am³

Stay! before thou seekest the companionship of other friends.

It is reported on excellent authority also that Islem Shāh had ordered⁴ the treasury-officer that he should give Daulat Khān every day for his personal expenses as much as a *lak* of tankas, as a matter of course and unasked,⁵ but that if asked for a larger sum he should produce it for his use. At last seeing that his condition became more grave day by day, nay, hour by hour, his physicians despaired of relieving him.

Verse.

In one small detail the whole of the philosophers have been found wanting,

For what can man do against the Eternal decree.⁶

When the natural causes of the pulse depart from the fundamental movement,⁷

1 MS. (B) میگذشت.

² Daulat Khān Ajyāra, who has been before mentioned. MSS. (A) (B) read احيارة Ajyāra, but the text reads (ق) حيارة Haiyāra with a note of interrogation. Ajyāra is the right reading.

³ For چسانم MS. (A) read جانم. ⁴ MSS. (A) (B) حکم کرده بود.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read نه پرسد for نا پرسید.

⁶ کن فیکون. Qur'an II, iii.

بَدِيعُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَإِذَا قَضَىٰ أَمْرًا فَإِنَّمَا يَقُولُ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ

The originator of the heavens and the earth, when he decrees a matter he doth but say unto it, BE, and it is.

⁷ The modifying causes of the pulse are classified by Sadidī thus: (1) ماسک *māsik* or constant such as animal force in the heart and vessels, (2)

The foot of Aflātūn himself becomes fixed in the mire of helplessness.

When the conduct of nature turns towards disorder,
The Qānūn¹ of Bu 'Alī lies useless in the hand.

415.

At last he left this world of regrets, wounded by countless sorrows, and abandoned his kingdom to the desire of his enemies. The duration of his reign was nine years. His body was taken to Sahsarām and buried by the side of his father. This event occurred in the year 961 H,² and by a coincidence it happened that in the course of this (self same) year³ Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujrat, who had adorned the throne with justice⁴ and equity and the fear of God, drank the cup of martyrdom at the hands of his servant Buihan⁵ Nizāmu-l Mulk Bahri,⁶ the king of the Dakhan, also took his way to the ocean of non existence, and Mir Sa'yyid Na'matu-llāh, whose poetical name was Rusulī,⁷ who was one of the incomparable learned men and a close companion of Islem Shāh, wrote this chronogram :—

Verse

At one time came the decline of three emperors,
Whose justice made Hindustān the abode of safety

معبر *mughayyir* or variable, such as age sex, sleeping or waking, exercise, bathing—others of this class are external or accidental, such as, feverishness, and inflammations. The pulse says, he is necessary for the quieting of the natural heat, and for dispelling vapours. It is opposed by rigidity of the vessels and weakness of the animal powers. See Sadidi, p 54, et seqq

١ قانون في الطب *Qanun fi ṭibb*, canon medicine by the celebrated Shāikh Abu 'Alī Ḥussain bin 'Abdu llah commonly known as Ibn Sina (Avicenna) See Hajī Khalifah, No 9354

Abu Sina was a famous Muhammadan physician who was born in Bukhara, and died at Hamadan in July 1037 A D 427 A H

(H K says 428 A H) See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p 20

٢ MSS (A) (B) both write *و شئت* omitting *ويك* which is added in the text

٣ در مدت تك سال MSS (A) (B) ٤ MS (B) reads *نصبت*

٥ The text reads *لا بردان له* a punning comment on the servant's name, which will not admit of translation

٦ See Beale O B D for an account of the Nizam Shāhi dynasty

٧ MSS (A) (B) the text reads *رشواتي* *Rishwati*

One was Mahmūd the Emperor of Gujerāt,
 Who, like his empire, was still in the pride of youth;
 The second was Islem Shāh, that mine of beneficence,
 Whose beloved son¹ was Sher Khān;
 The third was Nizām-ud-Mulk Bahāi
 Who as Emperor was seated on the throne of the Dakhan.
 If you ask of me a *tārīkh* for the death² of these three³
 Emperors?
 I answer *Zawāl-i-Khusrūn*.⁴

416. Islem Shāh notwithstanding his not having read poetry had many apt quotations in his memory, and being a clever critic, used constantly to practise the art of versification with Amir Saiyyid Na'mat Rusūli,⁵ and used to compose many elegant verses and to enjoy listening to those of his fellow poet. Moreover he was highly esteemed by the learned and religious men⁶ of his time. They say that when he reached Alwar on his way to the Panjāb, he one day caught sight of Mulla 'Abdu-llāh of Sultānpūr⁷ who was at some distance coming towards him; addressing his attendants he said: "Have you any idea who this is who is approaching." They replied: "Who is it, please inform us."⁸ He said: "Bābar Padshāh had five sons, of whom four⁹ left Hindustān and one remained." They said "and who is that one?" He replied: "This Mulla who is approaching." Sarmast Khān said: "What is the use of keeping up connection with such a vicious person?"¹⁰ He replied¹¹ "What can I do, when I can find¹² no better than he?" And when Mulla 'Abdu-llāh came up he ordered him to sit upon his own throne, and bestowed upon him a bead-roll of pearls, valued at twenty thousand rupees,¹³ which had at that moment arrived as

1 MS. (A) reads عزیزش.

2 MS. (A) این هرمه.

3 زوال خسروان *Zawāl-i-Khusrūn*. The decline of the Emperors. The letters of *Zawāl-i-Khusrūn* give the date 961 H. See note 2 *supra*.

4 MSS. (A) (B). The text as before reads *Rishwatī*.

5 MS. (A) omits و ملحا.

6 MS. (A) omits را.

7 MSS. (A) (B) فرمای.

8 MSS. (A) (B) چهار.

9 Text reads متفنی. [MS. (A) reads مفتن seditions. MS. (B) reads متغنی parasitic.

10 MSS. (A) (B) گفت.

11 MSS. (A) (B) نمی یابم.

12 Omit به before بیت. MSS. (A) (B).

aimed at securing¹ the goodwill of great and small: and he had made arrows tipped with² gold of a money value of five hundred *tankahs* and used to throw them. Whatever³ poor person's house they used to fall at, he then bestowed that amount in money upon him and used to take back the *katiba-bāgh*, this sinful habit however quickly⁴ came to an end after a few days.

Verse

Inorganic matter is one thing: spontaneous growth is another.

Verse.

If the tears flow down upon the cheeks,

True weeping is easily distinguished from false .

The rank of *Vazir* and *Vakil* was bestowed upon one *Shamsher Khān*, a slave who was the younger brother of *Khawass Khān* and *Daulat Khān*, the "new-Muslim," a protégé of the *Luhāni*⁵ faction. He also gave uncontrolled authority to *Himūn* the greengrocer, of the township of *Rowārī* in *Miwāt*, whom *Islem Shāh* had gradually elevated from the position of police⁶ superintendent of the *bārās* and confirmer of punishments, and had by degrees made into a trusted confidant⁶. He now gave him the superintendence of all important affairs both military and civil.

Inasmuch as 'Adli had originally been accustomed to the profession⁷ of music and dancing, and was fond of a life of ease and luxury, and was otiose in his habits, he was by no means fitted for the conduct of military affairs, or the duties of civil administration; superadded to this was the murder of *Firūz Khān* and his unbounded confidence in *Himūn*. Accordingly these Amirs who were of true *Afghān* descent, evinced a great repugnance to obey him, and aroused such widespread feelings of

¹ MS. (A) ساخت

² Text کتیبه باش. MS. (A) کنه باش MS (B) کنه باش ها.

The reading of the text is unintelligible. We should read کنه دای in the meaning of a bamboo shaft. *Firahita's* reading is quite clear he says

So Text, p 430 کنه دایسی که پیکان آن یک توله طلا بود

That is, *Katah*, a bamboo shaft, whose head was one tola of gold

³ MS (A) reads هر فردی.

⁴ MS (A) زود بطرف شد

⁵ MS (A) برحان

⁶ MS (A) صاحب اعتبار

⁷ MS (A) reads پیشگی for پیشه

shame, that hardly had a month passed since his accession, when on all sides rebellions arose, and they became rulers of their several clans. Sedition awoke from its heavy slumber, the bonds of kinship with Sher Shāh and of orders passed by Islem Shāh snapped asunder, and disorder reigned supreme :

Verse.

When the heart of the times writhes, the bond of fellowship snaps,

When a flaw appears¹ in the string, the pearls are scattered.

One day when, having summoned the most renowned Amirs to the durbār hall of the fort of Gwālīār, 'Adli was engaged in distributing *jāgīrs*, he ordered that the Sarkār of Qanauj should be transferred from Shāh Muḥammad Fārmali, and given in perpetuity to Sarmast Khān Sarbanī, [Shāh Muḥammad was ill],² whereupon his son Sikandar, who was a brave, handsome, and well-built youth spoke fiercely with regard to this *jāgīr*. Shāh Muḥammad however admonished³ him in gentle terms and forbade him to speak thus, but he answered his father "Once Sher Shāh placed you in an iron cage and kept you a prisoner for some years, while Islem Shāh made you the captive of his kindness and by intercession and influence obtained your release. Now the Sūr faction are attempting to destroy us, and you do not understand their infamous design ;⁴ thereupon he began to abuse Sarmast Khān with all the petulance of youth and the arrogant pride of race and said : "Now our affairs have come to such a pass⁵ that this dog-seller⁶ is to enjoy our *jāgīr*." Sarmast Khān, who was a tall, powerful man full of energy, placed his hand upon the shoulder of Sikandar intending to make him prisoner by underhand means, and said : "My boy, why are you saying all these bitter things," Sikandar however perceived his intention, clapped his hand to his dagger, and struck Sarmast Khān such a deadly blow over the shoulder blade, that he fell on the spot unconscious and died. Sikandar Khān also made some others of those⁷ hell-dogs so heavy of head

¹ MS. (A) reads *آه دپدید*.

² MS. (A) adds the words in brackets *و شاه محمد بیماری داشت*.

³ MS. (A) *نصیحت می نمود*.

⁴ MS. (A) omits *را*.

⁵ MS. (A) *بجای رسیده*.

⁶ MS. (A) *از این سگ فروش*.

⁷ Text *دوزخیان*. MSS. (A) (B) read *دور چنان*.

and sleep stricken¹ that they will never wake² till the morn of the great assembly, and certain others remained so intoxicated that they spent the remainder of their lives in recovering from it³

Verre

420

Thine eye which was wonderful in slaying thy lovers
Would slay one and cast its glance upon another

It was currently reported that from the time when⁴ the dagger was first invented in Hindustan no person can have ever used it in the way that Sikandar Khan did. A tumult arose among the people, and 'Adli fled and entered the women's quarters and put up the chain on the inside. Sikandar after that he had killed some and wounded⁵ others, at last made towards 'Adli and⁶ aimed a blow at him with a sword which however struck a plank of the door. Had he attacked him in the first instance he would have despatched him. The Amirs of 'Adli's party shewed themselves in their true colours that day as most of them cast away their swords⁷ and took to flight, and were going about distractedly, till at last, after Sikandar had done as much mischief as salt in the yeast⁸ they attacked him simultaneously from all sides. This contest went on for three or four hours when⁹ Sikandar fell to a blow from the sword of Ibrahim Khan¹⁰ Sūi sister's husband to 'Adli, and Shah Muhammad was struck down by the sword of Daulat Khan Lubani,¹¹ both of them taking then way to the city of non existence. It so happened that on that day before the assembly of that meeting Taj Khan Kairani, the

¹ MS (A) سرگراں و خواب آلودہ MS (B) read سرگرداں

² MS (A) ندر نشود

³ Read here بعضی دیگر شرگیر ماندند This is the reading of MSS (A) (B) and is far preferable to the reading in the text

⁴ MS (A) read اران و عیان که MS (A) مستروح صاحب.

⁵ MSS (A) (B) نمود و

⁷ MS (B) reads اکثری از سردوارهای خود را انداختند Most of them threw themselves from the walls This is also the reading given in a footnote variant to the text

⁸ The addition of salt to yeast is said to check its fermentative powers

⁹ MSS (A) (B) و ¹⁰ MS (A) omits حار

¹¹ MS (A) روحای

brother of 'Amād and Suleimān, who eventually became the autocratic¹ ruler of the province of Bengal, and gave himself the title² of Ḥaẓrat Ā'alā, having left the audience hall of 'Adli was going outside the fort, when on his way he met with Shāh Muḥammad Farmalī. They asked³ after each other's affairs, and Tāj Khān said: "I see signs of mischief, and consequently I am removing my manly footsteps outside this circle,⁴ and am going outside. Do you too come with me and follow my lead,⁵ for the scale has turned.

Verse.

When you see that your friends are no longer friendly,
Consider that flight is an opportunity to be seized.

But inasmuch as the hand of death had seized the skirt of Shāh Muḥammad and was dragging him to the grave,⁶ he would not consent to this advice and went to 'Adli.

Verse.

When the appointed time of the quarry comes it goes towards
the huntsman.

And that which was written in his fate befel him; Tāj Khān in full daylight fled from Gwālīār towards Bengāl and 'Adli sent an armed party in pursuit of him, and⁷ himself also started to follow him, in front of the township of Chhapramau⁸ in the district of Qanauj an engagement took place between the two parties. The stars in their courses fought for 'Adli, and his army

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read صاحب استقلال and MS. (A) reads بیگانہ for صوبہ بنگالہ.

² MSS. (A) (B) و خطاب داد و should be omitted.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read پرسند which is better than the textual reading پرسیدند.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read (B) میروم }
(A) میرویم } ازین دایره بدر نہادہ بیرون.

⁵ MS. (A) reads wrongly ممکن for بکن.

⁶ MS. (A) reads شہ شامہ محمد را and MSS. (A) (B) read کشان کشان.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) و خود نیز.

⁸ MS. (B) چہرا مؤ. The text is without dots. MS. (A) reads چہرا مؤ Chherāman.

was victorious,¹ and Tāj Khān turning in flight made the best of his way to Chhinār,² wherever he found the authorities favourable to 'Adli he made prisoners³ of them, and laid hands on whatever cash and valuables he could find. A hundred head of elephants also fell into his hands. Thus he proceeded till he joined hands with Sulaimān and 'Imād and Khwāja Ilyās who held away over certain *parganas* on the banks of the Ganges and other places. Then he openly sounded the note of rebellion. 'Adli arrived at Chunār,⁴ and the Karrānis on the banks of the river⁵ Ganges came out to fight with him. Himun asked for a *halka* of elephants, that is to say, a hundred elephants, and fought a desperate battle with them gaining a victory. And 'Adli while in Chunār intended to seize⁶ Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of Ghāzi Khān Sur, one of the cousins of Sher Khān, but the sister of 'Adli, who was married to him, became aware of this intention, and brought him down by a secret passage⁷ from the fort. Ibrāhīm Khān made his way towards Baiāna and Hindun which was his father's *jāgir*. 'Adli despatched 'Isa Khān Niyāri after Ibrāhīm Khān, and they fought a battle⁸ in the vicinity of Kalpi, the breeze of victory fanned the standards of Ibrāhīm Khān, and he gained the day. Then having assembled a large following, and entering that country, he proclaimed himself sovereign.⁹ 'Adli thereupon disengaged himself from the Karrānis, and came against Ibrāhīm Khān to attack him, and when he arrived near the river Jon, Ibrāhīm Khān made overtures,¹⁰ and sent a message saying "If Rāi Husain Jilwānī,¹¹ and Bihār Khān Saiwānī, to whom Islem Shāh gave the title of Āzam Humayun, with some others¹² of the Amirs noble and renowned, will come and reassure me,¹³ then will I in reliance upon their assurances agree to make

422

1 The textual reading is wrong, omit *نہ* reading with MSS (A) (B)
فوج او غالب آمد

2 MS (A) حنار. MS (B) چنار. 3 دستگیر ساخته MSS (A) (B)

4 MSS (A) (B) 5 در بای گنگ MSS (A) (B)

6 MS (A) مقید سارہ.

7 MS (A) reads *مجبوری از بالای قلعه* which is better than the text

8 MSS (A) (B) جنگ کرده. 9 MSS (A) (B) دم از استملاک رد

10 MS (A) omits *در میان* 11 MS (A) reads *حلوائی*

12 MS (A) omits *دیگر*. 13 MS (B) reads *دو دهن*.

submission to you." 'Adli¹ accordingly sent them, and no sooner had they arrived than they gave in their allegiance to Ibrāhīm Khān, giving him the title of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and thus putting² a different complexion upon the dispute, raised the standard of insurrection against 'Adli.

The *Khutbah* was read in the name of Ibrāhīm Khān in Āgra and certain other districts, while 'Adli, realising that he was not able to cope with him, left Gwāliar for Bhatta, and thence returned towards Chunār³ taking with him⁴ large amounts of treasure, many elephants and a large following.

423. After the death of Islem Shāh, at the time when the kings of clans arose,⁵ Ahmad Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Shāh, who had to wife the second sister of 'Adli, a man of distinguished bravery and endurance, sat in conference with⁶ the Amīrs of the Panjāb, and implanted in their minds all sorts of evil notions regarding 'Adli and of his unfitness, (they being already ill-disposed towards him) and with the aid and assistance of Tātār Khān Kāsi,⁷ and Ḥabīb Khān, and Naṣīb Khān Tughūjī, who had attained this title from Sher Shāh,⁸ declared open war against 'Adli, and⁹ assuming the title of Sultān Sikandar and reading the *Khutbah*, and entertaining hopes of still further increase of power¹⁰ proceeded to Dihli and Āgra.¹¹

On the other hand, Ibrāhīm having collected a large army confronted Sikandar at Farah,¹² which is situated at a distance of ten *krohs* from Āgra.

Most of the noted Amīrs, such as Hājī Khān Sultānī, Governor of Alwar, who was virtually a king, and Rāi Ḥussain Jilwānī¹³ and Mas'aūd Khān and Ḥusain Khān Ghilzāi were on the side of Ibrāhīm. To some two hundred of them Ibrāhīm had given royal

¹ Omit و. MSS. (A) (B).

² MS. (B) قرار داده ادای.

³ MS. (B) omits بسوی.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit خود reading در تصرف داشت.

⁵ MS. (B) omits both شدند and ملوک.

⁶ MS. (A) به امرای.

⁷ A footnote variant reads کالپی Kalpī.

⁸ MS. (A) reads یافته بودند.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) و.

¹⁰ چشم تازه زور. MS. (A) reads روز in error.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) شد.

¹² MS. (B) مقابل شد.

¹³ MSS. (A) (B) فرقه.

¹⁴ MS. (A) حلوای.

tents and standards, and ensigns¹ and kettle drums, and it frequently happened that to anyone who came and brought with him ten or fifteen horsemen he gave a sort of makeshift flag staff with a bit of red rag wrapped round it, simply to gain favour and to attract people, bestowing upon him also a grant of dignity and a *jagu*.² In this way nearly eighty thousand men flocked to him, and on the *d̄ay* when Hāji Khān came from Alwar and gave in his allegiance to him, he shewed him great favour bestowing upon him a lofty and spacious tent covered on the outside with *sagirlāt*³ of Portugal, and on the inside with Frankish velvet, had it freshly pitched for him. Moreover he lavished upon Hāji Khān magnificent carpets, and vessels of gold and silver and all other requirements on the same scale accordingly he entered the tent without hesitation and there took up his abode. This treatment occasioned great envy and jealousy⁴ among the Amirs of pure Afghan blood who became disheartened and spared not to express their discontent among themselves. Iskandar, who had a following of twelve thousand men, inasmuch as he estimated the army of Ibrāhīm as being more numerous than his own, shilly shalled and made overtures for peace, and wrote a treaty in the following terms, that from Dilli to the eastern extremity of Hindustan as far as could be arranged,⁵ should belong to Ibrāhīm Khān,⁶ and that the country of the Panjab and Multan as far as possible should belong to Sikandar, so that he might attain the object for which the Mughals came to Hindustan. The Afghāns of both

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¹ The text here reads طوق MS (A) however reads نوع The true reading should evidently be نوع which according to M Pavet de Courteilles means a standard composed of the tail of the قطاس (*qulas* or Tibetan *yak*) fixed to a pole

² MSS (A) (B) وحاجگر

³ MS (B) reads مغرولات *sagirlat* Dozy, however gives no such form of the word and the word is probably سقالات *siglat* meaning a silken stuff brocaded with gold See Dozy s v See also Yule and Burnett Glossary s v *Sacrat* also Skeat Etym Dict s v *Scarlet*

⁴ Another instance of Badaoni's use of عنة in this unusual sense

⁵ We should apparently read here تا آسما که تواند بشود MS (B) omits the words altogether MS (A) agrees with the text which however does not seem satisfactory

⁶ MS (A) omits حان

armies, who were blood-relations or connections of each other, were pleased at the prospect of a peaceful settlement, and Kālā Bhār¹ the brother of Sikandar, and the Amīrs of the *Panj Bhaiya* which means "the five brothers," who were² with the sword the marvel of the age, made this additional stipulation that if after that Ibrāhīm (Khān)³ gets possession⁴ of the treasury of 'Adli and the kingdom of Bhatta, which is near being realised, he shall make us partners in both of these gains, then all well and good,⁵ but if not we will annul the peace. Sikandar agreed to this proposition,⁶ and the majority of the Amīrs of Ibrāhīm (Khān)⁷ impressed upon him that there was no danger to be apprehended from agreeing⁸ to this proposal, inasmuch as the treasury and kingdom of Bhatta would certainly be theirs, "and then," said they, "it will require a man to oppose⁹ us (successfully), while for the present, at any rate, we shall have tided over this difficulty satisfactorily:

Verse.

Be not proud, for I hold the staff of wisdom in my hand,
The arm of riot is long (and)¹⁰ a stick has two ends.

Ibrāhīm came round to this view but Mas'ūd Khān and Ḥusain Khān Ghilz'ai with some of the new Amīrs said: "Seeing that in the end the matters in dispute between us and Sikandar will one day have to be decided by the sword, now that our party has increased, while his following is exceedingly small, why should we not decide¹¹ the matter at once,¹² and not desist until we have secured ourselves against a repetition of this in the future. To agree to peace now will be a confession¹³ of weakness on our part, and an admission of the bravery of our enemies."¹⁴ Upon 'Adli

1 MSS. (A) (B) so also *Firishta*. The text reads کالā پهار Kālā Pahār.

2 MS. (A) reads بود.

3 MS. (B) adds خان.

4 MS. (B) reads بدست آورد which seems better than the text.

5 MS. (A) omits بهتر.

6 MS. (B) reads رای for معنی.

7 MS. (B) ابراهیم خان.

8 MS. (B) omits قبول.

9 MSS. (A) (B) read که بمقابلہ ما در آید.

10 MSS. (A) (B) omit و. That is to say, a staff is a weapon both of offence and defence.

11 MS. (A) reads برسائیم but the textual نرسائیم is better.

12 MS. (B) reads قضیه را بفاصل فیصل.

13 MS. (B) omits دلیل.

14 MS. (B) reads اعدا می شود.

also, who has crept like a rat into his hole, with all his elephants and retinue, the desire of conflict with us is creeping, and that peace which had been concluded has been confounded" Ibrāhīm Khān put off fighting till after the arrival of Miyan Yahya Turan, governor of Sambhal, who was famous both as a warrior and as a man of sound judgment. Miyan Yahya in the year 961 H during the disturbances, gave battle in Badāon to twenty of 'Adli's Amirs who had been appointed to the district of Sambhal, and defeated them, he then fought a great battle on the plain¹ of the township of Kandarkhi with Raja Matar Sen Kahtariya, who was the former ruler of Sambhal and had collected a great force, and defeated him. The author of this *Muntakhab*, who was at that time accompanying his father, now deceased, was in the twelfth year of his age,² and had gone to Sambhal to study, wrote this chronogram *Chi bas khub kardā and*³ (How well have they done)⁴ Before that he could convey the news to his teacher,⁵ the prince of learned men, the guide of connoisseurs, the exemplar of the intelligent,⁶ the master of masters, the Miyan Hātim of Sambhal, this⁷ tidings had already reached him. At the time when he was by way of benediction and blessing giving instruction in the *Kanz i Fiqh*, he said, "Count the letters of this *tarikh* which I have spoken without forethought, *Fathhā : āsmānī shud*!" I replied nine hundred and sixty, which⁸ is one unit short. He answered,⁹ I said it with the hamza of *Izāfat* that is to say, *Fathhā : āsmānī*, which is in conformity with the ancient spelling in respect to the value of letters and in this way it is correct.¹⁰ He gave his blessing, and fixed a time for the lesson, and adding

¹ MS (B) reads در موضع ² MS (B) reads در سنه and حصل

³ *Chī bas khub kardā and* A footnote to the text points out that this gives the date 962 H whereas the event chronicled occurred in 961 H

⁴ Read مدرسی MS (B)

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read مقصدای جهانده instead of مقصدای جهانده

⁶ MS (A) اس حیر

⁷ فتحاً آسمانی شد *Fathhā : āsmānī Shud* They were heaven given victories. Read with hamza th gives 961 H

⁸ MS (A) reads که for و MS (B) reads کر

⁹ MSS (A) (B) read مدرسد که

¹⁰ MS (A) reads wrongly دست According to this the value of hamza is 1 and it is taken as equivalent to Alif. The hamza of *izāfat* is said to be

426. a few pages, written with his own hand to the pages which I had written containing the instruction of the Qāzī, gave them to me as a souvenir, and entrusted my instruction to Miyān Shāikh Abūl Faṭḥ, the son of Shāikh-allahdiyah¹ of Khairābād, *may God be merciful to him*, who is now seated on the throne of instruction and guidance in the room of his father; and inasmuch as Miyān Yahya after taking forcible possession of² the country of Kānt³-o-Golah and that district, going by way of Badāon had built a bridge across the Ganges at the township of Ahār,⁴ and had gone towards Ibrāhīm Khān, I accompanied my father, now departed, *may he rest in peace*, to Amroha,⁵ and was thus separated from that army;⁶ and being introduced to the presence of the late Mīr Saiyyid⁷ Muḥammad Mīr 'Adl, *may God have mercy on him*,⁸ with whom he had some hereditary connection, remained some time under his instruction. In short on the day on which Miyān Yahya joined Ibrāhīm Khān, on that very morning Ibrāhīm Khān had drawn up his army and placed Miyān Yahya in the command of the advance guard, while he appointed Hājī Khān to the command of the left division, and Rāi Ḥusain Jilwānī with the Ghilz'ais to the right division. He himself taking the centre drew up in line of battle. On the other side Sikandar Sūr

an abbreviated ی (Platts' Persian Grammar, p. 43), but if this were the case its value would justly be 10 and not 1. It thus appears more probable that the hamza of izāfat is in reality hamza, and does not represent an original ی.

¹ MS. (A) ولد شیخ الهدیه. See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 118.

² MS (B) reads بضبط آورده.

³ Kānt. Town in the Shāhjahānpur District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I. G. vii. 437. Kānt-o-Golah in Shahjahānpur according to Blochmann, J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 122.

⁴ Abār. Ancient town in the Bulandshahr District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I. G. i. 81.

⁵ Amrohā. Town in Moradabad District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I G. i. 266.

⁶ MS. (A) reads و با مروءه رفتہ after از آن لشکر جدا شدہ.

⁷ See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 126, and Āin-i-Akbarī, (B), I. p 268. The Mīr 'Adl was the officer entrusted with the duty of carrying out the finding of the Qāzī, see Āin-i-Akbarī, III. (J.) 41.

⁸ MS. (A) reads رحمة الله عليه.

also drew up his forces and came out ¹ from his camp. The right wing of Sikandar's forces (the Panj Bhāiyā), carried away the left of Ibrahim's army by sheer weight and after sacking ² the camp went on to Agra and pillaging the city issued a proclamation on behalf of Sikandar ³.

The right of Ibrahim Khan's army, however, carried away the left of Sikandar's force, and driving them back pursued them as far as the township of Hodal ⁴ and Palwal, ⁵ shouting, Prosperity to Ibrahim Khan ⁶ Haji Khan at the instant the two opposing ranks closed, passing ⁷ by the side of his tent, ⁷ and seeing it had been torn to shreds by the pillaging party, ⁸ in pretended ignorance of what had occurred hastened to Alwar. A slight engagement ensued with Miyan ⁹ Yahya Paran who commanded the advanced guard of Sikandar's army, and a wound was inflicted upon the hand of Miyan Yahya and two of his fingers were cut off ¹⁰. He did not draw rein till he arrived at Sambhal. Ibrahim Khan took up a position on the lower ground with four hundred ¹¹ men, and with his front facing down hill ¹² awaited the attack of Sikandar, the shots from whose mortars ¹³ passed over the heads of his men, so that they could not move a step.

When Ibrahim saw that the field remained empty and that his troops were scattered like motes in a sun beam, ¹⁴ he realised that Sikandar himself was present with the opposing army, so yielding to necessity ¹⁵ he proceeded to Itawa. His canopy and all his regalia ¹⁶ were taken. Sikandar pursued him as far as Itawa, ¹⁷ where he heard that Jinnat Ashiyani had reached ¹⁸ Hindustan.

1 MS (B) دور آمد

2 MS (B) reads تہمت گردید

3 MSS (A) (B) omit تمام

4 MS (A) reads لہ ہودل MS (B) read لہ

5 For Hodal and Palwal see Hultzsch I G v 437 at line 21

6 MS (A) omits حال

7 گذشتہ MS (A)

8 MS (A) omits عارت گواراں

9 MSS (A) (B) درمیان میان لحدی

10 Read with MSS (A) (B) دوی از انگشتان او

11 Supply صد from MSS (A) (B)

12 I am not quite clear as to the meaning of this passage

13 The text and both MSS seem to be incorrect we should read I think
و ضرب دنگہای سکندر The text and MS (A) read رنگہا MS (B) reads رنگہا

14 Qur'an xxv 25 MS (A) reads wrongly here سائر مملکتوں MS (B) شد

15 MSS (A) (B) ضرورت ماند و

16 MS (A) reads حجر حجر for چتر

17 MS (A) (B) اور عقب او روانہ رسید

18 MS (B) آمد

retracing his steps thence he proceeded by continuous marches as far as Sihrind,¹ he eventually fought a battle there and was defeated. Ibrāhīm leaving there went to Sambal, and collecting an army procured a fresh gold-embroidered canopy, and a month later crossed (the river) with a force of three² thousand sowārs by the ford of Kistī,³ and (?) made towards Kalpi in order that having collected a fresh army,⁴ he might fight 'Adli again. At this juncture 'Adli had appointed Hīmūn the grocer, who was his vazīr and uncontrolled agent, and had sent him from Chinhār with certain eminent Amīrs, and five hundred elephants like storm clouds (for blackness), and unlimited treasure to proceed to Āgra and Dilhī.

Hīmūn, regarding Ibrāhīm as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him; ⁵ Ibrāhīm came out to oppose him ⁶ ready for battle, and taking up a strong position shewed a resolute determination to withstand him, such as perhaps Rustum, if any-one, displayed before.⁷ But for all this, by the decree of the Almighty⁸ he was not successful.⁸ He was the possessor of all the praiseworthy qualities which should belong to kings.⁹ He was well formed and well spoken, modest, cultured and refined,¹⁰ daring and liberal, but success in war is God-given,¹¹ and it is not in mortals to command it, it was not his fate ¹² to win. Accordingly in this space of two years of disorder he must have fought ¹³ sixteen or seventeen battles, and on every occasion after gaining a success met with a defeat. *God preserve us from failure after success.*¹⁴

1 MSS. (A) (B) عاقبت.

2 MSS. (A) (B) سه هزار.

3 MS. (A) کني kanī (?), MS. (B) گيسي gīsī (?).

4 MS. (B) جمعيتي.

5 MS. (A) reads واقع for دفع.

6 MS. (B) reads درمقابلہ بمقاتلہ.

7 MSS. (A) (B) read همان قدر for نہایتش.

8 MS. (A) reads برنیايد.

9 A footnote to the text says that the word با is superfluous, MS. (A) omits با.

10 MS. (B) reads wrongly متخلق for متخلق and تواضع for تواضع.

11 MSS. (A) (B) موهبتی.

12 MS. (B) reads again بصيغۃ for نصيب.

13 MS. (A) supplies فترات.

14 نعوذ بالله من الكور بعد الكور. A tradition, meaning we have recourse to God for preservation from decrease or defectiveness after increase, or redundancy. See Lane s. v. حورية.

Ibrāhīm Khān after this ¹ defeat, leaving Kalpi made straight for ² Baiāna with all speed, and Himun pursuing him arrived at Baiāna Ibrāhīm Khān taking a body of the Nuhān ³ and Afghān cultivators ⁴ and landholders of Baiāna, again ⁵ went out to meet Himūn, and, making a night attack upon him, the following morning fought a fierce battle with him near to the township of Khānwah, ten *vrohs* distant from Baiāna, but could not prevail against his destiny, and Himūn said 'It is easy to smite a stricken foe' and rolled him up and inflicted a defeat upon him, so that ⁶ he was compelled to fortify himself in the fortress of Baiāna, which is a fort of exceeding loftiness and strength Himun thereupon, making that fortress the centre of his operations, attacked it continuously every day, subjecting the fort to a heavy bombardment, ⁷ Ghāzi Khān the father of Ibrāhīm Khān ⁸ kept the fort provided ⁹ with supplies by way of the mountain passes to the westward of Baiāna Himun kept up the siege of this fort for three months, and made inroads on the districts of Baiāna on all sides, pillaging and destroying ¹⁰ Nearly all the books which my late father ¹¹ possessed in Basāwar ¹² were destroyed A severe famine prevailed throughout the eastern ¹³ portion of Hindūstān, especially in Āgra, Baiāna, and Dīhli. It was so severe a famine that one *ser* of *jairāri* ¹⁴ grain had reached two *half-tankahs*, and was in fact not to be had (even at that price) Men of wealth and position had to close their houses, and died by tens or twenties or even more in one place, getting neither grave ¹⁵ nor shroud The Hindus also were in the same

¹ MS. (A) اس

² We should read here *val andaz* يك انداز MS (A)

³ MSS (A) (B)

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) زرعون The text reads ارغون which has no meaning

⁵ MS (A) داری

⁶ MS (A) تالالصرورة

⁷ MS (A) آتشباري

⁸ MS (A) omits حاب

⁹ MS (B) reads ميفرستاد

¹⁰ MS (A) عارت كرده MS (B) عارت می نمود

¹¹ MSS (A) (B) والد مرحوم

¹² MS (B) omits ساور

¹³ MSS (A) (B) ممالك شرق رويه

¹⁴ The *ser* is approximately two pounds *Jairari* is the Hindustani name for the small variety of millet also known as *chhoti jaurar* (*Andropogon sorghum*)

¹⁵ MS (A) reads in error مدكور for دكور

429. plight, and the bulk of the people were fain to live on the seeds of the *Mughailān* thorn¹ and on wild herbs,² also on the skins of the oxen which the rich slaughtered and sold from time to time; after a few days their hands and feet swelled³ and they died. As a date for that year the phrase *Khashm-i-Īzad*⁴ (Divine wrath) was invented.⁵ The writer of these pages with these guilty eyes of his saw man eating his fellow-man in those terrible days. So awful was their aspect that no one dared let his glance rest upon them; and the greater part of that country, what with scarcity of rain, and shortness of grain,⁶ and desolation, and what with the constant struggle and turmoil, and two years continual anarchy⁷ and terror, was utterly ruined, the peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked⁸ the cities of the Muslims. Among the strange⁹ incidents of the year 962 H., during the time of the war between Sikandar and Ibrāhīm, was the fire which occurred in the fort of Āgra. The following is a short account of this incident. During the time when Āgra¹⁰ was emptied of the troops of 'Adli,¹¹ one of the Amīrs¹² of Ghāzī Khān Sūr entered the fort of Āgra and took up his abode there,¹³ to make certain preparations and to take charge of the supplies; while he was engaged in inspecting¹⁴ the rooms of the warehouses, he happened to go early one morning into one of the rooms,¹⁵ and was going round¹⁶ carrying an open lamp,¹⁷ a spark from which fell in one of the rooms which was full of

¹ مغیالان *Mughailān* for أم غیالان *Ummu-ghailān*. According to the *Makhzanu-l-Adwiyā*. This is the tree called in Hindī *kīkar* or *babūl*. (*Acacia Arabica*) see also Ibn Baiṭār (South) I. 82, according to whom it is *Spina ægyptiaca*. *Mimosa gummifera*. See also Drury, useful plants of India who states that the seeds and pods are used as food for sheep when grain is scarce.

² حشیش جنگلی MS. (B) adds بود. ³ MS. (B) می کردو.

⁴ خشم ایزد *Khashm-i-Īzad*. Gives the date 962. H.

⁵ MS. (B) یافته شد.

⁶ MS. (B) omits غله.

⁷ MS. (B) omits فتنه.

⁸ MS. (A) omits می reading تاخندند. ⁹ MSS. (A) (B) غریبی.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits آگرا.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads عدل خان 'Adl Khān.

¹² MS. (A) reads امیری از.

¹³ MSS. (A) (B) می نمود و.

¹⁴ MSS. (A) (B) میدید. ¹⁵ MS. (A) درون. ¹⁶ MSS. (A) (B) میگرد.

¹⁷ چراغ *chirāgh* is an open lamp with a naked flame generally consisting of a small earthenware saucer of oil with a wick.

gun powder In the twinkling of an eye an explosion occurred,¹ and the flames shot up to the sky, attended with a violent shock, which led the people of the city to imagine that the judgment day had arrived, and starting from their sleep they began repeating the formula of *Tauhid* (Declaration of Unity),² and *Taubah*³ (Repentance), and *Istighfar* (seeking for pardon) Heavy slabs of stone and massive pillars were hurled⁴ through the air to a distance of several *krohs* across the river Jamna, and great number of people were killed,⁵ in fact human hands and feet, and the limbs of all kinds of animals were thrown five or six⁶ *krohs* As the name of the citadel of Āgrā was originally Badal Garh, the words *Atash* : *Badal garh*⁷ made a chronogram to record the date

In the days when Himun blockaded the fortress of Baiana God's people were crying for bread and taking each other's lives,⁸ a hundred thousand sacred lives were as nought for a single grain of barley, whereas the elephants of Himun's army, which numbered five hundred, were fed solely upon rice, and oil, and sugar, the senses⁹ were shattered by anguish upon anguish in that terrible time —

Verse

We cherish enemies we also destroy friends,

What mortal has the power to question our decrees

On one occasion Himūn was one day presiding at a public banquet and summoning the Afghan Amirs¹⁰ into his presence,

۱ آتشی در گروت که MS (A)

۲ The formula of *Tauhid* is *La illaha illa Allah wahdhu la Sharika lahu* There is no god save God He is one He has no partner

The other formula is *Istighfiru llah wa atubu ilaihi* I ask pardon of God and to Him I repent

Both these formulae are used on occasions of sudden alarm and peril

۳ MS (B) omits وتوبه ۴ MS (B) reads بریدل instead of بریدل

۵ MS (A) تلف شد ۶ MS (B) omits و شش MS (A) omits و

۷ آتشی بدلگڑه *Atash* : *Badalgarh* The fire of Badalgarh These words give the date 962 H

۸ I read here with MS (A) نان می گفند و حان می گفند Although MS (A) also reads in the margin می دادند the other reading is more probably correct and is a further statement of the terrible straits to which the garrison of Baiana were driven

۹ A footnote variant reads حلق را MS (A) reads عذاب

۱۰ MS (B) omits اعیان

to the head of the table¹. urged them to partake of food, saying: "Help yourselves to the largest morsels," and if he saw anyone of them eating slowly no matter who he was,² he would address him³ in terms of the foulest abuse saying: "How can such a nondescript nonentity as you who are sluggish in eating your victuals hope to contend against your own son-in-law the Mughul in battle." As the fall of the Afghān power was near at hand,⁴ they had not the courage to say a word to that foul infidel, and laying aside all that disregard of superior force⁵ for which they were renowned, swallowed his insults⁶ like sweetmeats, either from fear or hope,⁷ this had become a regular practice with them.

Verse.

Lay not your-hand obsequious on my foot,
Give me but bread, and brain me with your boot !

In the meanwhile news reached Hīmūn that Muḥammad Khān Sūr, Governor of Bangāla, had assumed the title of Sultān⁸ Jalālu-d-Dīn, and was marching with an army⁹ like the ants and locusts for multitude from Bangāla, and having reduced Jaunpūr was making for¹⁰ Kālpī and Āgra. Just at this juncture an urgent summons¹¹ arrived from 'Adli to Hīmūn in these words: "At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy." Hīmūn thereupon abandoned the siege, and when he arrived at Mandāgar,¹² which is distant six *krohs* from Āgra, Ibrāhīm (Khān)¹³ like a hungry hawk which leaves¹⁴ its nest and pursues the crane, pounced upon him, and hurled against him in

1 MS. (B) omits سر.

2 MS. (B) omits هرکه می بود.

3 MS. (A) reads برآو for بزبان (Text).

4 MS. (B) insert و unnecessarily.

5 I read here جهل دستبرد *Jahl-i-dastburd* instead of the textual reading. MS. (A) gives reason to think that this is correct, it reads جهل دستبرد which making allowance for conversion of د into ذ in writing gives the reading adopted. The textual reading has no meaning.

6 MSS. (A) (B) دشنام اورا.

7 MS. A omits از امید.

8 MS. (B) omits سلطان.

9 MS. (A) omits عظیم.

10 MS. (A) شده.

11 Omit نذر. MS. (A).

12 MS. (A) reads منداکر *Mandākar*. MS. (B) منداکره *Maudāgarh*.

13 MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.

14 MS. (B) reads پریده.

battle, but being defeated went towards Alwar. Then, after obtaining¹ reinforcements from Hajī Khan Alwarī,² he again set about³ accomplishing his own objects, and Himūn detailed⁴ his brother's son named Thar Yal⁵ with a fully equipped army to pursue him. Thar Yal⁶ marching with restless haste pursued Ibrahim for two stages, and joined Himūn. Hajī Khan was not pleased at Ibrahim's coming, nor would he send him any assistance. Ibrahim being disheartened⁷ turned aside, and bidding farewell to his father, brothers, and all his blood relations left them in Hindun, and, with a small band of followers took the road to Bhatta. Eventually Ghazī Khan a short time after, fell a prisoner into the hands of Haidar Khan Chaghṭa in Briana, relying upon assurances⁸ and great and small of his party were put to death, and not a single one of that line was left, as will be related in its proper place,⁹ if God Most High so will it, and now that kingdom and empire, and the independence of that family have become as an idle tale. How wonderful are the ways of God!

Masnai:

The world is a juggler decrepit and bowed,
It brings to pass one thing but promises another,
It calls you with kindness but drives you away with rancour,
All its dealings are invariably of this nature
If it calls you know not whither it calls you
If it drives you forth you know not whither it drives you
All of us, old and young are destined to death,
No one can remain in the world for ever

Inasmuch as everyone liked Ibrahim Khan who was considered by all to have a wonderful fortune in store for him in a short time large numbers gathered to him from all parts. He fought 432 with the army¹⁰ of Ram Chand, the ruler of Bhatta but was

1 کومک گروند MS (A) reads کومک گروند

2 MS (B) omits الوری

3 MS (B) کرد

4 MS (A) فرمود

5 MS (B) reads بهریال Nahar pal

6 MS (B) reads بهریال Nahar pal

7 Read here با آمدن MS (A) reads نومند (?) MS (B) نومند

8 MS (A) reads تعهد

9 MS (1) reads محکم for محل

10 Read بهوج MS (A) for بعوج

forced to flee¹ and was taken prisoner. Rājā Rām Chand, in accordance with the customs of landholders,² made him a present of a bow, and treated him with the utmost honour and respect,³ and in a personal interview⁴ presented him with a royal tent, with the apparatus of royalty, and attendants: then seating him upon the throne, standing humbly as a servant, performed the offices of attendance.

Ibrāhīm Khān⁵ spent some time there, till Bāz Bahādur the son of Sazāwal Khān, Ruler of Mālwa, who eventually read the *Khutbah* in that country, became involved in a quarrel with the Miyānī Afghāns, who summoned Ibrāhīm Khān⁶ and raising him to the supreme command, sent him against⁷ Bāz Bahādur. Rānī Durgāwati the ruler of the country⁸ of Kara Katanka also, who was embroiled with Bāz Bahādur on account of the proximity of her kingdom, rose up⁹ to assist Ibrāhīm, and went out to fight against Bāz Bahādur, who made overtures for peace¹⁰ and dissuaded the Rānī from assisting Ibrāhīm. She, accordingly, returned to her own country, and Ibrāhīm, not considering it advisable to remain there any longer, went off bag and baggage to Orissa, which is the boundary of Bangāla, and lived on good terms with the *zamīndārs*. Suleimān Karrānī, when he took possession¹¹ (of Orissa), made terms with the Rājā, and sending for Ibrāhīm with assurances of safety, slew him treacherously in the year 975 H.

Verse.

Fix not thy heart on this world, for it has no foundation,
 Speak not of life, for that too is ruined.
 The tent of life which thou placedst at first,
 Death¹² will surely uproot, were it of solid steel.

1 MS. (A) omits *فرار نمود*.

2 MS. (B) reads *میباشد* for *است*.

3 MS. (B) omits *و آداب*. MS. (A) reads *ادب*.

4 MSS. (A) (B) *دید*.

5 MS. (A) omits *خان*.

6 MS. (A) omits *خان*.

7 Read *سردادند*. MSS. (A) (B), for *سپردند* (Text).

8 MS. (B) omits *ولایت*.

9 MS. (A) *برخواست و*.

10 MS. (A) reads *استیلا*.

11 MS. (B) reads wrongly *در مقدمات*.

12 *اجل*. MS. (A) reads *حل*.

Himūn proceeded by rapid marches till he joined 'Adli¹

'Adli and Muhammad Khan Gauria were at that time sitting down over against one another, with the river Jamna between them, at a place called Chhappai Khatta, fifteen *lioks* from Kalpi 433

Gauria, confidently relying upon his superior force to overcome the forces of 'Adli, had drawn up his cavalry and infantry and elephants to a number surpassing all computation, and was every moment² expecting victory, when suddenly the scale turned against him, and Himun swept down upon him like a comet, and no sooner did he reach the ranks of the picked elephants after crossing the river Jamna,³ than he swooped down upon the army of Gauria, taking them unawares as does the army of Sleep, and making a night-assault gave no one time so much as to lift his hand

They were in such utter confusion⁴ that no man knew his head from his heels, nor his turban from his shoes. The greater part of his Amirs were slain, while the remnant who escaped chastisement took to flight. The wretched Gauria was so effectually concealed that up to the present not a trace of him has been found, and all that retinue and paraphernalia of royalty⁵ and grandeur became 'like the scattered moths and like flocks of carded wool,'⁶ and became in a moment the portion of the enemy. The kingdom is God's, the greatness is God's

Verse

In one moment, in one instant, in one breath,⁷

The condition of the world becomes altered

After this heaven-given victory and unforeseen triumph, 'Adli proceeded to Chinhar and appointed Himun,⁸ who was the commander in chief of his army, with abundant treasure and a countless host, elephants of renown, an ornament to the army

¹ MS (A) عدل ² MSS (A) (B) read دمدمدم The text reads در میدان

³ MS (A) omits پاب

⁴ Literally Crying where shall I put the cap where shall I put the case?

⁵ MS (A) omits سلطنت و

⁶ Qur an II 4

⁷ MSS (A) (B) read یک ساعت یک لحظه یک دم MS (B) reads یک for لحظه

⁸ MS (A) همدون را

and a terror to the enemy, to repel the forces of the Mughul which had taken possession of the country as far as Itāwa and Āgra, as will be presently related if God Most High so will it.

434. Just at this juncture Khizr Khān, the son¹ of Muḥammad Khān Gauria, who had been killed, succeeded his father in Kor,² issuing the currency and reading the Khutbah in his own name, with the style and title of Sultān (Muḥammad)³ Bahādur, and collecting a huge army to revenge his father's death, came up against 'Adli, who notwithstanding his distress⁴ fought bravely on that field, and contrary to expectation met with fierce resistance. After fighting manfully 'Adli was killed, and joined Muḥammad Khān whose life-blood was yet freshly spilled, fighting in hot blood. This event occurred in the year 962 H. and *Gauria bikusht*⁵ was its chronogram.

Verse.

My soul, do thou look at the world and take what it gives to
thy heart's desire ;

Live at thine ease therein a thousand years like Nūḥ.⁶

Every treasure and every store which kings have laid by,
That treasure and that store seize⁷ and take for thine own.

Every pleasure which the world contains do thou consider as
made for thee ;

Every fruit which grows in the world⁸ do thou taste and
take.

In the final round which brings the end of thy life,

A hundred times seize the back of thy hand with thy teeth
and gnaw it (in despair).

¹ MS. (B) reads *ولد* for *و*.

² MS. (A) omits *دکور*.

³ MSS. (A) (B) omit *محمد*.

⁴ The text reads *با وجود آن تنگدلی*. MS. (A) reads *تنگدگی* (sic.) MS. (B) reads *تنگدگی*. The meaning is not very clear.

⁵ *گوریه بکشت* *Gauria bikusht*. A footnote to the text points out that these words give 963 as the date. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*, p. 416) gives 964 H. as the date of 'Adli's death.

⁶ A footnote variant gives *چرخ*.

⁷ MS. (B) reads *دست* for *چنگ*.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read *بدنیا* for *بعالم*.

'Adli was so highly skilled in singing and dancing that Miẓān Tāusin, the well-known *Kalān-icat*¹ who is a past master in this art² used to own to being his pupil, and Bāz Bahādur, son of Sarāwal Khān, who was also one of the most gifted men of his age and had no equal in this life-wasting accomplishment acquired the art (of music) from 'Adli.

Verse.

They owned no rival, but surpassed them all,
May God He is exalted and glorified, pardon them.

One day a performer from the Dakhn brought into his assembly an instrument called *pakhāwaj*,³ which is in length⁴ equal to the height of a man, so large that the hands of no man could reach⁵ the two ends of it, as a sort of challenge to those who were present, and all⁶ the performers of the kingdom of Dihli were unable to play it; 'Adli, however, found out by his knowledge of other instruments how to play it, and placing a cushion on the floor beat⁷ the drum now with his hand and now with his foot. The assembled people raised a shout and all the skilled musicians owned their allegiance to him, and praised him exceedingly; and at the time when he was an Amir, and as a commander of twenty-thousand held a *jāgir*,⁸ a Bhagat boy⁹ handsome and comely who had acquired perfection in his art, used to come to his assembly from some of the villages near Badāon, and used to play.¹⁰ 'Adli was so fascinated by his beauty and skill that he kept him in his own service and took pains to educate him, giving him the name of Manjāhid Khān.¹¹ When he attained to kingly power

435.

¹ See *Āin-i-Akbari* I, (B) 612, note 1. *Kalān-icat* or *Kalāwant* is a Hindi word meaning a singer or musician. MS. (A) reads *کالانت* *Kalān want*.

² Badāoni uses the word *وادی* *wādī* a valley or desert, apparently to show his disapproval of the art.

³ A large kind of drum. See *Āin-i-Akbari* (J.) III, 235

⁴ MS. (B) reads *کالانی* *for* *دراری*.

⁵ MS. (A) *رسید*.

⁶ MS. (A) omits *همه*.

⁷ MS. (A) omits *می*.

⁸ MS. (A) reads here *احاون* *Ahāwan* MS (B) reads *اجاون* *Ajāwan*. So also footnote variant to text.

⁹ *بہکت پسری*. The Bhagatiya are "a caste of loose people who pass their time in buffoonery, singing and dancing." Sherring I, 276.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) *باری کرد*.

¹¹ MS (A) *خان*.

he made him a commander of ten thousand. His natural elegance and refinement were such that one day upon returning from the polo ground of Badāon¹ he said, "I am hungry." *Ghāzi Khān Sūr* whose tent² was at the head of the road said "What I have ready is at your service." 'Adli, for politeness sake, felt constrained to accept his hospitality; first they brought some fried sheep's liver.³ No sooner had he smelt it than he leapt from his seat, and was so disgusted that he left the company⁴ and drew rein nowhere till he reached his house; they say also that the sweepers used to gather up the remains of camphor of the finest quality two or three times daily from his dressing-room, and whenever a necessity arose⁵ he would first grow red, then pale and livid,⁶ and would faint while his countenance changed. In spite of all this leisure and luxuriousness, his fasts and prayers were never duly
 436. performed;⁷ he had entirely given up the use of intoxicants, and the day he left the world the trencherous time even grudged him two yards of cloth, and it was never known where his corpse went.⁸

Verse.

Oh ye lords of wealth beware ! beware !
 And you, ye lords of state, beware ! beware !⁹

After him, the kingdom fell away from the race of *Afghāns* and returned to its original holders, and right once more became established.

¹ The text reads *اجاون* with a footnote variant *بداون*. MSS. (A) (B) read *بداون*.

² MS. (B) omits *که دیوئے*.

³ MS. (A) *قلیئے پوتی*. The text reads *پوتی* meaning scraps of meat.

⁴ The text reads *غشیان* *ghashyān*. MS. (A) reads *غشیان* *ghashyān*. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'

⁵ *تقاضای گرفت* MS. (A). ⁶ *برمی آمد* MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) *قضانشد*.

⁸ He was, as has been described, killed in battle.

⁹ MS. (A) reads *خداوند مال* in the first line, and *خداوندان حال* in the second. MS. (B) reads *حال* in the first and *مال* in the second.

In this year, 948 H.,¹ Humāyūn married Hamīda Bānū Begam, and coming to Pāntar returned to Lohrī. Mirzā Hindāl started for Qandahār in answer to the summons of Qarācha Beg,² the governor of that district, and Yādgar Nāsir Mirzā, who had encamped at a distance of ten *krohs* from (Humāyūn's) camp also intended to proceed to Qandahār. Humāyūn thereupon sent Mir Abūl-Baqā,³ who was one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time, Persian commentator on Mir Saiyyid Sharīf, and author of other compositions, to advise him and dissuade him from his purpose, ⁴ At the time of crossing the river a party sallied out from the fortress of Bakkar and rained showers of arrows upon the people in the boats. The sainted Mir was struck by the soul-melting arrow of Fate, and was drowned ⁵ in the ocean of martyrdom. This event took place in the year 948 H. and the chronogram *Surūr-i-kāināt* ⁶ was invented to commemorate it.

Mirzā Yādgar Nāsir hearkened to this advice and counsel and remained in Bakkar, and Humāyūn proceeded to Tatta, whereupon many of his soldiers left his camp and joined Mirzā (Yādgar) and spent their days⁷ in comfort by reason of the increased pay they received. In this way Mirzā gathered strength, and Humāyūn crossing the river laid siege to the fortress of Siyāhwān.⁸ Mirzā Shāh Husain kept sending⁹ reinforcements

¹ The text reads 947 H. (٩٤٧) نهصد و چهل و هفت with a footnote saying that one MS. reads 948 H. and another نهصد و چهل و هفت و هشت 947-948. MSS. (A) (B) both read 948 H. and this is the correct date.

² MSS. (A) (B) روان شد. Firishṭa, Qarācha Khān, Bombay text, p. 409.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read میر ابوالبقا MS. (A) omits وا.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) add و.

⁵ MS. (A) شد.

⁶ سور کائنات *Surūr-i-kāināt*. Joy of created things. These words give the date 948 H.

⁷ MS. (A) گذرانید MS. (B) گذرانیدند.

⁸ Firishṭa says سہوان *Sihwān*. Sihwān or Sehwan is in the Karāchi district of Sind, lat 26° 26' N. long 67° 54' E. The river Indus formerly flowed close to the town but has now quite deserted it. The fort of Sehwan is ascribed to Alexander the Great. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 305; but Tiefenthaler (I. 123) attributes it to Husain, son of Shāhbeg Arghūn.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) آزرده.

and supplies¹ to the garrison,² and embarking on a boat, and³ coming near to the camp blocked the avenues of supplies (to Humājūn) The siege lasted for seven months, and victory seemed as far off as ever, while great distress was felt from scarcity of grain⁴ and want of salt.⁵ 438.

Verse.

Every feast which is prepared⁶ by the hand of heaven
Is either altogether without salt or is altogether so salt (as
to be uneatable).

The soldiers were reduced to such extremities,⁷ that they were forced to give up grain and content themselves with the flesh of animals, and finally⁸ they had to abandon the hope of even this.

Verse

The hungry-bellied fastened his eyes on skins,
For fur is the near neighbour of flesh

Then he sent messengers a second time to Bakkar to summon Mirzā⁹ Yādgai Nāsū, so that in conjunction with him he might repel Mirzā Shah Husain and gain possession of the fort He sent a reinforcement, which was however of no service,¹⁰ and hearing of the distress which prevailed in the camp he saw no good in going there, so remained in Bakkar¹¹ Mirza Shah Husain played upon his ambition by false promises of the rule of that kingdom, and of having the *Khubah* read and the currency issued in his name, he also promised to obey him, and also that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and thus misled him into

¹ MS (B) می فرستاد

² This is the statement of one author, but Firsihta says "The siege lasted for seven months Mirza Shah Husain Arghun also came with boats and blocked the road by which supplies of grain came, in consequence of so great scarcity of food ensued that they had to live on the flesh of animals" Bombay text 409

³ MSS (A) (B) و

⁴ MS (B) قحطی علیہ

⁵ می نمکی

⁶ Footnote variant دست ساز

⁷ MS (A) omits سر

⁸ Text reads آخر MS (B) reads اکثریہ را most of them

⁹ MS (B) omits میرزا

¹⁰ MSS, (A) (B) read پیاند

¹¹ Footnote variant بهکر Bakkar

opposing Humāyūn.¹ He further took possession of all ² the boats belonging to Humāyūn, who, in consequence of all these obstacles, any one of which was a sufficient reason,³ seeing the distress and misery of his army, abandoned the siege ⁴ of the fortress, and all unwillingly saying, "Retreat is the wisest course," turned back towards Bakkar, and remaining several days inactive for want of boats, at last by the help of two *zamīndārs* recovered two boats which Mirzā had sunk, and reached ⁵ Bakkar. Mirzā, as a means of covering ⁶ the shame he felt, before he came to pay his respects,⁷ marched by forced marches against Mirzā Shāh Husain, and putting to death or taking captive large number of the people of Tatta, who in ignorance of his intentions had left their boats,⁸ did a good deal to repair ⁹ his former defections. Then with shame and confusion he came and had an interview (with Humāyūn) and brought in countless heads of the enemy. His faults were overlooked, but in consequence of certain events which occurred, he again became rebellious, and being deceived by the wiles of Mirzā Shāh Husain, prepared for war. Mun'im Khān who eventually became *Khān-i-Khānān* also meditated ¹⁰ flight. Both of them, however, became ¹¹ aware of the folly of their design, and realising its heinousness abandoned their iniquitous intention. The men of Humāyūn's force were day by day going over to the side ¹² of Mirzā Yādgar Nāṣir. In the meantime Maldeo, Rāja of the kingdom ¹³ of Mārwar, who was distinguished above all the *zamīndārs* of Hindūstān on account of the strength of his following ¹⁴ and his exceeding grandeur, again sent letters of summons. Humāyūn not thinking it advisable to remain ¹⁵ any longer in the vicinity of Bakkar and Tatta, proceeded by way of Jaisalmir towards Mārwar. The Rāja of

¹ MS. (A) reads با پادشاه مخالفت ساخت.

² MS. (A) omits بتمام.

³ Thus the text: MS. (A) reads که کدام علتی مستقل بود از برای ویرانی لشکو.

⁴ MS. (A) از سر قلعه.

⁵ MS. (B) رسید.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) دفع.

⁷ Footnote variant بدفع.

⁸ MS. (B) reads از کشتی یدر آمده بودند.

⁹ MS. (B) reads تلافی.

¹⁰ MS. (B) اراده.

¹¹ MS. (B) مطلع شد.

¹² MS. (B) جانب.

¹³ MSS. (A) (B) ملک.

¹⁴ Omit و read قوت جمعیت MSS. (A) (B).

¹⁵ MS. (A) omits خود after بودن.

aware of their treachery from its outset]¹ returned without asking permission, and informed Humāyūn of the real state of affairs. He on the instant started with all haste for Amarkot. It so chanced that two of Māldeo's spies had arrived at that same place, and Humāyūn gave orders for them both to be put to death. In their despair one drew a knife, and the other a dagger,² and fell upon (their enemies) like boars wounded by arrows, and killed³ a large number of living things,⁴ men, women and horses, whatever came in their way.⁵ Among the number was Humāyūn's charger: Humāyūn thereupon asked Tardī Beg for a few horses and camels,⁶ he however behaved meanly, and Humāyūn mounted a camel. After a while⁷ Nadīm, his foster-brother,⁸ gave the horse which his mother was riding to the king, he himself going on foot in his mother's retinue through that bare desert, which was like an oven for heat.⁹ His mother afterwards rode on the camel, and they traversed that road¹⁰ which was so terribly difficult, amid constant¹¹ alarms of the attack of Māldeo, [and with intense labour and distress.¹² In the middle of the night they reached a place of safety; by chance the Hindūs of Māldeo's army]¹³ pursuing them through the night, missed their

1 The words in brackets are not in MSS. (A) (B).

2 Read *گارد یکی و خنجر دیگری کشیده*. MS. (A).

3 *هلاک ساختند و بقتل رسانیدند*. MS. (A). This is the preferable reading.

4 Read *جانداران* for *معاندان*. MSS. (A) (B).

5 *هرچه پیش می آمد*. MS. (B) *آید*. MS. (A).

6 This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads *جند است شیر* (*sic*).

Firishṭa says that Humāyūn's horse shewed signs of tiring, (*مست می نمود*) so that he asked Tardī Beg for a horse, who unkindly refused, and as every moment tidings kept arriving that Māldeo's army was near at hand, Humāyūn had no alternative but to mount a camel (Bo. Text, p. 410.)

7 Text *تا آنکه*. MS. (A) omits. Firishṭa writes *با آنکه* whereupon.

8 Firishṭa writes *ندیم کوکبه خود*.

9 Firishṭa gives a slightly different version of this: stating that Nadīm himself went on foot and placed his mother on his own horse leading it, afterwards mounting her on a camel. (Bo. text *loc cit*).

10 MS. (A) *آن راه را*. MS. (B) reads *روز*.

11 MSS. (A) (B) omit *و هر دم*. 12 Omit *راه* after *مشقت*. MS. (A).

13 All this passage from *بود* to *شاسب* is omitted in MS. (B).

way,¹ and in the morning, in a narrow pass, came upon the rearguard of the army, who were two and twenty in number. Mun'im Khān and Roshan Beg² Koka, and another³ party of men who belonged to that side having arrived, a battle ensued. In the very first onset the leader of the Hindus went to hell from an arrow-wound, and a large number were killed. They could not withstand the attack, and many camels fell into the hands of the Muslims. This victory was the occasion of great rejoicing.⁴ Marching from thence and being without water,⁵ after three days they arrived at a halting-place, where, on account of its depth⁶ a drum had to be beaten at the mouth of the well, so that its sound might reach the place where the oxen for drawing the water were.⁷ For lack of water, a crowd of people in their distress were lost, and⁸ disappeared like water in that sandy plain, which was a very river of quicksand, while many horses and camels

¹ According to our author's account it seems as though Maldeo's men lost their way, but Firāhta's account is as follows: "When the tidings of the approach of the infidels arrived Humayun ordered certain of his fleets who were with him to follow him in close succession, while he himself started with a small party of not more than twenty five; when night came on the officers lost their way and went in another direction towards morning the ranks of the enemy's army became visible, and in accordance with (Humayun's) orders چلایک 'Alī and the rest who were in all not more than twenty five men repeated the creed, then turned and with stout heart gave battle. Fortunately the very first arrow struck the leader of the infidels in the breast, he fell headlong to the earth and the rest fled. The Muslims pursued them and captured many camels. Humayun returned thanks to God and alighted at a well which contained a little water where the Amirs who had lost their way came up."

² MS (A) omits دنگ

³ MS (A) omits دیگر

⁴ MS (A) reads حوشرقنی.

⁵ آب برداشته, is the reading of the text and both MSS (A) (B) but it does not tally with Firāhta who writes "Marching thence, for three stages water was absolutely unprocurable, and the people were in great distress, on the fourth day they reached a well, &c." Perhaps we should read آب برداشته. Putting up with the want of water

⁶ MS (A) omits آب.

⁷ The rope was so long that before the bucket reached the mouth of the well the oxen used to draw it up, had gone so far that the sound of a drum was necessary to warn their drivers that they must stop. MS (A) reads دھلی for دھل گلو آکشی بود میرسد

⁸ MS (B) omits وعاب

drinking water after their long and unaccustomed drouth, died ¹ from surfeit of water. And inasmuch as that desert, like the midday mirage,² was as interminable as the troubles of the hapless³ wretches of the army, perforce they turned aside by a circuitous route⁴ towards Amarkoṭ, which lies at a distance of a hundred *krohs* from Tatta. The governor of Amarkoṭ, named Rānā, came out to meet them accompanied by his sons, and did all in his power⁵ to render fitting service.

Humāyūn bestowed⁶ all that he had in the treasury upon his followers, while to supply the party who had not yet arrived,⁷ he borrowed from Tardi Beg and others by way of assistance, and gave it them. He also made presents of money, and sword-belts⁸ to the sons of Rānā, who, for the reason that his father had been put to death by Mirzā Shāh Husain Arghūn, collected a large force⁹ from the surrounding country,¹⁰ entered the service of Humāyūn, and leaving his baggage and camp equipage in¹¹ Amarkoṭ under the care and protection of Khwāja Mu'zam, the brother of Begam,¹² he (Humāyūn) proceeded towards Bakkar.¹³

442.

On Sunday, the fifth of the month Rajab, in the year 949 H. the auspicious birth of the Khalifah of the age Akbar Pādshāh occurred in a fortunate moment at Amarkoṭ. Tardi Beg Khān conveyed this joyful tidings to Humāyūn at that halting-place, who after giving (the child) that auspicious name,¹⁴ proceeded

1 MS. (A) هالک گشتند.

2 MS. (A) reads سیراب سراب.

3 بالدیدگان اردو. The calamity-stricken of the army.

4 رلا گردانید. I can see no other meaning for this expression.

5 MS. (A) reads حسب المقدر. MS. (B) reads حسب المقدور.

6 MSS. (A) (B) بخش فرمودند.

7 MS. (A) کس نرسید.

8 کمر خنجر. MS. (A).

9 MSS. (A) (B) omit را.

10 از اطراف کرده اورده. MS. (B). The text is correct.

11 MSS. (A) (B) در.

12 MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاه.

13 It was now that Akbar was born, according to Firishṭa, before Humāyūn left for Bakkar. See Bo. text, p. 411. Briggs, II. 95; but from our author's text it appears that Humāyūn had left Amarkoṭ before his son was born, and only saw him at Chaul.

14 The text and both MSS. (A) (B) read این نام سعادت فرجام مانده which is not capable of satisfactory interpretation. It is suggested that we should read نهاده instead of مانده.

with all haste towards Bakhar At the camp of Chaul¹ he sent for the Prince of auspicious mien, and was rejoiced by the well-omened sight of his son His soldiers, in whose nature the craft of unfaithfulness was as firmly planted as is deceit in the nature of the times, were one by one, including even Mun'im Khan, deserting² At this time Buram Khan³ came from Gujarat and tendered his allegiance Considering it unadvisable to remain in that country Humayun determined to make for Qandahar Mirza Shah Husain thinking this an opportunity not to be lost, in accordance with a requisition⁴ sent thirty boats and three hundred camels, and Humayun crossed the river Indus At that time Mirzā Kamrān⁵ had taken Qandahar⁶ from Mirzā Hindal and had left it in charge of Mirza 'Askari, and having given Ghazni to Mirza Hindal had read the *Khutbah* in his own name After some time, however, he changed that also⁷ Mirzā Hindal having given up all royal dignity in Kabul used to live like a *dariesh*,⁸ and Mirza Kāmran yielding to the instigation of Mirza Shah Husain wrote to Mirzā 'Askari saying, 'Seize the road by which the Pādshah will proceed and take him prisoner in any way you can contrive" Accordingly when he arrived at the camp of Shal Mastāng⁹ Mirza 'Askari¹⁰ marched by forced marches from

¹ چول Chaul or Chore a village situated on the route from Amarkot to Jaisalmir, eight miles north east of the former place See Thornton's *Gazetteer*, I p 143 and map Lat 25° 25 Long 69° 51 See also Keith Johnston's *Atlas*

² MSS (A) (B) با معمم حان پیر بگاں بگاں فراری نمودند So also Firsihta who says But after a short time the army began to scatter and nothing could be accomplished Mun'im Khan also fled &c.

³ See *Āin i Akbari* I (B) 315 No 10

⁴ MS (B) omits حسب

⁵ MS (B) omits میرزا کامران

⁶ MS (A) omits ل

⁷ MS (A) reads آرا پیر تعیر نمودند MS (B) reads آرا تعیر نمودند

⁸

⁹ The text reads شال مشانگ *Shal Mashang* but both MSS (A) (B) read سال مستان منزل اردو بود *Sal Mastan manzil i Urdu bud* Firsihta Bo text, p 411, line 10 reads سال و هسان *Sal Wahsan* which is probably a copyist's error for شال و مستان *Shal o Mastan* We should therefore read *Shal o Mastang* understanding by it Mustang which lies S S W of Quetta or *Shal* at a distance of about 25 miles See Thornton's *Gazetteer*, II pp 65 and 188 The distance from Qandahar to *Shal* is about 150 miles

¹⁰ A footnote variant reads میرزا همدان *Mirza Hindal* Not in MS (A) or (B)

Qandahār and sent Chūlī¹ Bahādur Uzbaki to reconnoitre.² He however, went straight off and informed Bairām Khān, whose camp he reached at midnight, and Bairām Khān went with all haste behind the royal tent and represented the state of affairs. Accordingly he gave up all idea of Qandahār and Kābul, and in opposition to his brothers, uttering the formula³ of separation, took the road to 'Irāq, accompanied by twenty-two men, among whom were Bairām Khān and Khwāja Mu'azzam. These two he sent to bring the Queen-consort and the young prince, asking Tardi Beg for the loan of a few horses, who, however, again branding himself⁴ with the stigma of meanness and disgrace, refused to comply with this request, and further declined to accompany him. Humāyūn left the young Prince, who was an infant of only one year, in the camp under the charge⁵ of Atkah Khān⁶ on account of the great heat and the scarcity of water along his route, but took the Queen-consort⁷ with him and journeyed by way of Sistān.

Mirzā 'Askarī just then arrived at the royal camp,⁸ and alighting and tearing the veil of humanity from the face of modesty, set about appropriating the valuables. He also placed Tardi Beg⁹ in rigorous confinement, and carried off the young

¹ Footnote variant جوکی Jūkī.

² MSS. (A) (B) فرستاده. MS. (B) omits گیري.

³ MS. (A) omits کلمة. See Qur'ān xviii. 77.

⁴ MS. (B) reads كشوده for كشیده.

⁵ اتابکی atabakī. The word atābak or atābek is a Turkī word signifying "grand-père, precepteur, instituteur du fils des Sultāns." (Pavet de Courteille),

⁶ Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atgah Khān. See Āin-i-Akbarī I. (Bl.) 321. No: 15, where we learn that it was he who assisted Humāyūn to escape drowning after the defeat of Qanauj. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (anāgah) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī Anūgah."

The word انا anā means a mother in Turkī, while اناکه anākah or اناکه anākā means a nurse, as ابا atā means a father; the word اناکه atākah would mean foster father, and this is probably the name given to Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, not Atgah or Atka.

⁷ MS. (B) omits پادشاه after بیگم. MSS. (A) (B) read بردند for گرفتند.

⁸ دیوانخانہ عالی Dīwān Khāna-i-'Alī.

⁹ The words بحکم do not seem to convey any definite meaning, we should perhaps read بحکم be-ḥilm.

Prince¹ to Qandahūr, and handed him over to Sultān Begam, his own wife, with injunctions to take every care for his kind treatment and protection.² In that journey important events took place,³ which, although they were fully and elaborately detailed in the original,⁴ do not admit of relation in this place, and must be rapidly passed over as he did that long stretch of road. These events took place in the year 950 H. (1543 A.D.) In short, leaving Sistān and journeying to the city of K̲h̲urāsān, he had an interview with Sultān Muhammad Mirzā, the elder son of Shāh Tahmasp, who held the rule of that country under the tutelage⁵ of Muhammad K̲h̲ān Taklū,⁶ and receiving all the necessities of royalty, and requisites for his journey,⁷ with all honour and ceremony reached the sacred city of Mashhad (Meshed), and at each successive stage, by order of the Shāh, the governors of the provinces hastened to welcome him, and made all preparations for entertaining him and shewing him hospitality, escorting him from stage to stage. Bairām K̲h̲ān proceeded to do homage to the Shāh, and brought with him thence a letter congratulating Humāyūn upon his arrival. The two monarchs met at Pulāq-Suriq⁸ and exchanged the customary honours and courtesies.

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In the course of conversation the Shāh asked what had led to his defeat, Humāyūn incautiously⁹ replied 'The opposition of my brothers.' Bahiām Mirzā, the brother of the Shāh, who was

¹ MSS (A) (B) omit ب

² Omit و MSS (A) (B)

³ روی داد MS (A)

⁴ MSS (A) (B) در سبک اصل That is to say, in the *Tabaqat-i Akbari*. See Elliot and Dowson, V 217, et seqq

⁵ اتالیقی *Atalīqī* The termination *luq*, *luḡh*, *luq* or *luḡh* indicates either relationship, as in this instance; an abstraction, as in چو کلوق *chūqluq*, abundance; or possession. See Favot de Courteille i.

The word *patronage* would more etymologically represent *atalīqī*, but in modern usage this word has become perverted from its true sense.

⁶ Called by Nizām al-Dīn, Ahmad Muhammad K̲h̲ān Sharf al-Dīn Uḡlū Taklū (F and D, v 217) The word تكلو *Taklū* means "eau qui coule d'une vallée et des flancs d'une montagne, lieux humides et verdoyants" (P de O)

⁷ MS (B) reads دنده وما يحتاج سلطت گرفته This reading is also given as a variant in a footnote to the text

⁸ The text has ئیلاق سورتی (Sic) (?) *Ilaq Surtaq*, but both MSS (A) (B) read پلاق سورتی *Pulāq Suriq*

⁹ MSS (A) (B) omit the article, reading خالی دهی

present, was grieved at this speech, and from that day¹ forth sowed the seeds of enmity against Humāyūn in his heart, and set himself to overthrow his enterprise, [may more to overthrow Humāyūn himself as well],² and impressed upon Shāh Tahmasp, saying, "This is the son of that self-same father who taking so many thousand Qizilbāsh soldiers to reinforce his army, caused them to be trampled under foot by the Ōzbaks, so that not one of them escaped alive."³ This was a reference⁴ to that affair in which Bābar Pādshāh took Najm-i-Awwal from Shāh Isma'il⁵ with seventeen thousand Qizilbāsh cavalry,⁶ and led them as an auxiliary force against the Ōzbaks, and at the time of the siege of the fortress of Nakhshab, otherwise known as Kesh,⁷ (?) wrote the following verse upon an arrow and discharged it into the fort:

Verse.

I made Najm Shāh to turn the Ōzbaks from their path,
If I did wrong, (at any rate) I cleared (my own) path.

The following day when the two armies met⁸ he withdrew⁹ to one side, and the Qizilbāsh troops met with the treatment which was in store for them; that circumstance¹⁰ is notorious.

However, to return from this digression, Sultān Begam¹¹ the sister of the Shāh, whom he regarded as an adviser equal to the

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read از آن روز باز.

² MS. (B) omits the words in brackets. MS. (A) reads ضایع ساختن cf. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Elliot, v. 218.

³ MSS. (A) (B) زنده بدر نیامد.

⁴ The text is correct تلمیح MS. (A) reads یلمح.

⁵ In the Memoirs of Bāber, (Erskine, p. 243), he is called Nijim Sani Isfahāni. (Najam-i-Šāni Isfahānī).

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit سوار.

For an account of this see Erskine (Memoirs of Bāber), pp. 242, 243.

⁷ MS. (A) reads کس kas (?).

⁸ **نخشب** *Nakhshab*. "In Mawarān-n-nahr between the Jaihūn and Samarqand, but not lying on the road to Bokhārā, is kept on the left in journeying from Bokhārā to Samarqand, also called Nasaf, situated three stages from Samarqand." See Yāqūt, s. v. v. **نخشب** and **نسف**. In Bokhārā, see Kesh (Keith Johnston's Atlas), or Shehr-i-Sabz.

⁹ MS. (B) reads تلافی for التقای.

⁹ MS. (A) کشیده.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) قضیه. Text reads قصه.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads سلطانم *Sultānam*. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

promised Mahdī,¹ (who in the belief of the Shi'ahs lies concealed in a subterranean dwelling in the city of Samarra, otherwise known by the name of Surra man ra's,² and when necessity arises will emerge from thence and inaugurate an era of equity), and with whose opinion and advice all the affairs³ of State were bound up,⁴ dissuaded him from that mistaken step,⁵ and by the use of rational argument brought him back⁶ to an attitude of kindness and manhood, and induced him to help and assist His Majesty (Humāyūn) wrote a rubā'i (quatrain) of which the following is the last verse⁷

Verse

All kings desire the shadow of the Humā,⁸

Behold ! the Humā has sought thy shadow

On a certain occasion he interpolated this verse into a fragment from Salmān,⁹ and sent it to the Shah

¹ The promised Mahdī, or Leader who is to appear before the Resurrection See *Maḥkātū l Maḥdīh*, xxii also *Hughes' Dict of Islam*, 305

² Samarra, in 'Iraq Founded by Al Muṭaṣṣim b Illāh eight Khulafah of the house of Abbās See *History of the Caliphs* (Jarrett), p 350

Its name was changed by Al Muṭaṣṣim for the sake of good augury into Surra man ra's meaning ' Who sees it rejoices ' Samarra was at one time the capital of the Caliphate, but became once more merely a provincial town when the seat of government was removed to Baghdad remaining however a place of pilgrimage to the Shi'a Muslims for here were to be seen the tombs of two of their Imams, also the Mosque with the underground chamber, from which the promised Mahdī Al Qaim is to appear See J R A S., 1895, p 76, for the article from which this note is abridged a translation from the Arabic of Ibn Serapion, by Mr Le Strange

³ MS (A) مهمات.

⁴ MS (B) omits بود

⁵ Text ازین وادی گردانیده MS (A) reads کنیاند (P)

⁶ MS (A) آورد

⁷ MS (A) (B) بدت آهرن اس است

⁸ هما Huma, see p 57 of this work and note 2

There is an allusion here to the name Humayun in its etymological sense of relation to the Huma or bird of royal augury

⁹ Read قطع سلیمان را MS (A)

Salmān Sawajī Jamāl d Dīn, a native of Sawah Slākhī 'Alau d Dīn alah of Samnan said, "I have never seen in all the world the equal of the verses of Salman or the pomegranates of Samnan" He died in the year 669 H *Mayma u l Fuṣṣah*, II 19 See Beale O B D p 235, where Salmān is said to have died in 770 A H See also H K 8916 Firaqnāma The date of his death given in the *Mayma u l-Fuṣṣah* must be incorrect, as Salmān was the panegyrist of Amir Slākhī Hasan and of his son Sulṭān Awwis Jalayer the latter of whom died in 716 A H See *Amīr Akbarī* I (B) 100 n 6

Verse.

I hope that the Shāh will out of kindness treat me,
As 'Alī treated Salmān in the desert of Arzhan.¹

The Shāh was extremely pleased, and after innumerable banquets and associations in travelling, and hunting expeditions,² arranged all preparations on a scale of regal magnificence in Humāyūn's honour, and took much trouble in giving his assent to the religious tenets of the Shī'ahs, and to that which the later writers of that persuasion say regarding the blessed companions of Muḥammad, *may God be pleased with them*, and Humāyūn after³ much ado said "Bring them written upon a sheet of paper." Accordingly they wrote down all their religious beliefs, and Humāyūn read them with a view to copying them, and gave precedence⁴ in the *Khutbah*, after the custom of 'Irāq, to the recital of the twelve Imāms.⁵ Shāh Murād, the son of the Shāh, an infant at the breast, with ten thousand⁶ cavalry under the command⁷ of Bidāgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afshār,⁸ was nominated⁹ to reinforce Humāyūn, and it was determined that the Qizilbāsh should march

¹ One day Salmān was in the desert of Arzhan which is between Bushire and Shīrāz and swarms with lions. Suddenly a lion confronted him, and in his helplessness he called upon 'Alī for aid who appeared and drove away the lion. There is a spot known to this day as the *Muqām-i-Salmān*. He is buried at Madām. See *Isābah*, II. p. 224. Salmān Abū 'Abdī-llah al Fārsī, called in Persian Rūzbih.

MS. (A) reads instead of the first line given in the text

هست اُمید آنکه لطف با ما آن کند MS. (B) reads اُمید وارم.

² Omit و and read و ترتیب داد MS. (A). بعد التیا و المتی ³

⁴ Read here تقبل نمودند for نقل نمودند MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ The Shī'ahs apply the term *Imām* to the twelve leaders of their sect whom they call the true Imāms. They are on this account called the Imāmīyah and the Iṣnā 'Ashariyah. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, 203 and 572.

⁶ MS. (B) reads دوازده هزار 12,000.

⁷ باتالیقی Bidāgh Khān was according to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* the Prince's tutor. Hence apparently the use of this word.

⁸ See *Tārīkh-i-Raṣhidī* (Elias and Ross), p. 214 n. Afshār is the name of one of the seven Turkī tribes who had been the chief supporters of Shāh Ismail, and whom he distinguished by a particular dress, including the red cap from which the Qizilbāsh derive their name.

⁹ MS. (A) نامزد شد و.

by one route and Humāyūn by another,¹ and that Humāyūn should, after gaining the victory, hand over Qandahār to Shāh Murād Taking leave, and marching rapidly through Aḍabil and Tabriz, (Humāyūn) again went to Mashhad the holy city,² and succeeded in visiting the shrine of the fountain head of light³

At the time when one night he was walking alone in that sacred enclosure, one of the pilgrims said in a low voice⁴ to his fellow, "This is not Humayun Padshāh"⁵ The other replied "Yes it is" Then coming close, he said in the ear of Humāyūn "So! you are again laying claim to omnipotence!" This was a reference to the circumstance that Humayun used generally in Bangāla to cast⁶ a veil over his crown, and when he removed it⁷ the people used to say, Light has shined forth! He also washed his sword in the river and said⁸ "Upon whom shall I gird the sword?" When he arrived at Āgra he imposed upon the populace a new self-invented form of salutation, and wished them to kiss the ground (before him) At last Mir Abul Baqā with the Amirs and Vazirs paid the due respects, and the Amirs of the Qizilbāsh coming (by another road)⁹ arrived at Gajmsir and took possession of the whole of that territory, and had encamped within view¹⁰ of Qandahār, when¹¹ after five days Humāyūn arrived, and Mirzā 'Askari was besieged, and for three months continuously¹² fighting was kept up, and a large number were daily killed on both sides Thereupon Bairam Khan was sent to Kabul as an ambassador to

¹ MS (A) reads *قرار یافت که پادشاه قند هار را* .. . *گداورد* It was settled that Humayun should . hand over Qandahar (to Shāh Murad) MS (A) omits *مرد*

² MS (A) inserts *مقدس*

³ At Mashhad (Meshed) is the tomb of 'Alī, son of Musa ar Reza See Meynard *Dict de la Perse*, p 396 s v *طوس* See also Ain i Akbari, (J) III, 86 Firishhta reads (Bo Text, p 212)

منوچه مشهد مقدس امام علیه آلاف التحية

⁴ Insert *آهسته* after *دیگری* instead of after *را دران* MSS (A) (B)

⁵ MS (A) reads *یست* for *است*

⁶ MSS (A) (B) *می برداشتند* ⁷ Read *داشتند* MSS (A) (B)

⁸ Supply *که* MSS (A) (B) ⁹ *از راه دیگر* MS (A)

¹⁰ MS (B) reads *در طاهر* and *ساحتند* ¹¹ Omit *در* MS (A)

¹² Insert *پناهی* after *ناله* MSS (A) (B)

Mirzā¹ [Kāmran in whose behalf Mirzā 'Askarī was fighting and Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā] Suleimān Badakhshī and Mirzā Yadgār Nāsir² who had arrived from Bakkar in a wretched plight;³ and [since]⁴ the idea of the Qizilbāsh was that no sooner would Humāyūn arrive than the Chaghatai would submit to him⁵ and would all come in.⁶ This, however, did not happen, and the siege became very protracted, and a large⁷ number were killed. It was also currently reported that Mirzā Kāmran was coming to the assistance of Mirzā 'Askarī, they accordingly lost heart and meditated a return to their own country.⁸ It so happened that just at that very time certain Amīrs deserted from Mirzā Kāmran, namely, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Mirzā Husain Khān with other noted commanders, and offered their services to Humāyūn. Mu'yaḍ Beg, who was a prisoner in the fortress of Qandahār, escaped⁹ from the fort and had an interview with him, meeting with very kind treatment. Mirzā 'Askarī in his alarm, sued for quarter, and joined¹⁰ the ranks of Humāyūn's followers; his faults were pardoned and he was distinguished by especial marks of favour.

¹ The words within brackets occur in both MSS. (A) (B) which read

میرزا کامران که میرزا عسکری از جانب او مبارزه
می کرد فرستادند و میرزا هندال و میرزا سلیمان الخ

This also tallies with the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. See Elliot and Dowson, V. 219.

² MS. (A) reads *l* but it seems to be in error.

³ Omit فرستاد in this place, MS (A).

⁴ MS. (A) omits چون.

⁵ چغتیه ایل شدن - چغتیه ایل خواهند شد *Il shudan*. To become submissive. See Pavet de Courteille, s. v. ایل.

⁶ Read here. و همه خواهند در آمد MSS. (A) (B). The word باطاعت seems unnecessary and tautological; possibly it is an interpolation by a scribe who failed to understand the word ایل *il*, taking it in its ordinary sense of "tribe."

Regarding the Chaghatai, see *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, (Elias and Ross, pp. 2, 3.)

⁷ MS. (A) کثیر.

⁸ MS. (A) omits می before خواستند and reads

که بدیار خود مراجعت نمایند.

⁹ The text read پایان آمده having come down. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says "managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope." E. and D. *loc cit*.

¹⁰ MS. (A) شده.

Verse

There's a sweetness in forgiveness which there is not in
revenge

He also ordered the Amirs of Qizilbāsh that for the space of three days they should abstain from interference with the families of the Chaghatai tribe,¹ and the inhabitants of the city, so as² to allow of their all coming out, and although Humayun had no territory in his possession yet on account of the promise which had gone forth he brought Bidāgh Khan and Mirzā Murād into the fort and made over the whole of that country to them

Verse

If a man fulfils the obligation of his promise
That man rises superior to any estimate you may form of
him

With the exception of Bidāgh Khān and two or three other Amirs,³ no one remained in the service of Mirzā Murād, while the remaining Amirs of the auxiliaries, all returned to 'Iraq

Humayun was induced by the coming on of the winter winds, to ask Bidagh Khan to provide shelter for the followers of his army within the walls of the city, but that inhuman being invariably sent strangely rough answers⁴ On this account some of the Chaghatai Amirs began⁵ to take to flight towards Kabul, among them was Mirza 'Askari, who was seized in the way and brought to Humayun, who imprisoned him Many stirring events⁶ happened in those days, which⁷ led to the delivery of Qandahar from the hands of the Qizilbāsh First among these was this, that the Chaghatai Amirs urged upon Humayūn the necessity of seizing Qandahār, on account of the coldness of the weather, saying

¹ *Ulūs* : *Chaghatai* The word *Ulūs* is a Turkish word it is not found in Pedhouse's dictionary In Fazlullah Khan's Turkish Persian Dictionary its meaning is given as *قبيلة بزرگ* *qabila* : *buzurg* a large tribe

The title of *Ulusbeg* 'chief of the tribe' was a very old one among the Mughals See *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Cliss and Ross) p. 132 n. 1

² MS (A) reads wrongly *تا* for *تا*

³ Bidagh Khan 'Abul Fath Sultan Afghar and Shafi Wali Sultan Kadamu' *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* E and D, v. 221

⁴ Read *مسخان نادر* MSS (A) (B)

⁵ MS (B) reads *پادشاه کردند*

⁶ MS (A) reads *ار قضا قضای چند* The text is correct

⁷ Omit *نعمی* MS (A)

448. that after the conquest of Kābul and Badakhshān he ought¹ to bestow the greater portion of that place again upon the Qizilbāsh as compensation, so that due requital might be made them.

Secondly, the passing of Mirzā Murād on that very day,² by a natural death, from the world of existence and trouble.

Thirdly, the tyranny and oppression inflicted by Qizilbāsh canaille on³ the inhabitants of the city, and their preventing the Chaghatai from entering the fort, upon any pretext whatever.⁴

Fourthly, this incident, that a fierce⁵ *Tabarrā*, in accordance with

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit باید but it seems to be necessary.

² MS. (A) inserts قرار داد after روز "the very day of the agreement."

³ Omit نسبت MS. (B). ⁴ MS. (B) omits مطلقا.

⁵ MS. (A) reads تبرای تندي. The word here seems to mean one who is anathema, i. e., a Sunnī.

The following long note is necessary as no book I can find explains the word تبرا *Tabarrā*. This word means enmity (as opposed to تولا *Tuwallā*, affection) and is a technical term in use among the Shī'ahs. In defining *tabarrā* a distinction is to be made between مخالفت *mukhālafat* opposition, and عداوت *'adāwat* enmity, the former not necessarily involving the latter, for instance two men may be in opposition (*mukhālafat*) on worldly matters, and yet be in thorough amity (*maḥabbat*) in matters of faith, or may be opposed to one another in questions of philosophy and yet be unanimous in religious questions. Thus enmity includes opposition, but opposition does not necessarily imply enmity. And yet it is held that محبت *maḥabbat*, affection, and عداوت *'adāwat* enmity may occasionally co-exist: for the reason that عداوت *'adāwat* is of two kinds, religious, as for instance the *'adāwat* of Muslims and Infidels, who regard each other as enemies on the ground of the fundamental differences in their faith: and, worldly, as the *'adāwat* between one Muslim and his fellow Muslim on account of some conflict of worldly interests. Thus it is conceivable that *'adāwat* and *maḥabbat* may co-exist. Or again one Muslim may have an affection for another Muslim *quā* Muslim, but entertain a hatred for him as an adulterer, while he may love even a kāfir (Non-Muslim) for his good works such as alms, &c., while he hates him as an Infidel: his love being merely of a worldly nature in no way connected with religion.

The co-existence of *'adāwat* and *maḥabbat* in one person due to one consideration is however impossible.

Again, the *'adāwat* which true believers entertain against each other on account of worldly considerations is not injurious to the faith, however reprehensible it may be.

Moreover, the essential origin of *'adāwat* in religious matters is *kufr* (infidelity), therefore one must consider every *kāfir* as an enemy: thus although there may be lawful ties of worldly affection (*maḥabbat*) between a

Muslim and a Kafir, such as the relation of father and son, or brotherhood or other blood relationship or friendship, get all these considerations must be cast aside from the exigencies of religion, and 'a *laicat* must be based upon their *kufi*. Again religious affection is centred in *imān* (faith of Islām), we must therefore from religious considerations love all the brethren of this faith whether they are obedient or contumacious.

Mahabbat and 'adawat between a true believer and an unbeliever (Kāfir) has different degrees, just as there are differences of degree in the love which any reasonable being entertains for his different relations. So also in religious love there are degrees. The highest is that for the Prophet Muḥammad, next to this love for the assembly of believers who have close connection and intimate relation to the Prophet; and that assembly is confined to three parties. First, the children and relations of the Prophet who are his members; secondly, his pure spouses who are in a way his members, thirdly, his companions who elected to serve him and gave their lives for his cause.

If among the believers there be any devoid of faith (*imān*), or guilty of any sin which destroys their former works, and in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'an become worthy of 'adawat (واجب العداءت) they are excepted (from the rights of *mahabbat*) and enquiry should be made into their faith or absence of faith.

Inasmuch as *fisq* (فسق) (immorality) does not necessarily exclude *imān* (إيمان) (faith) it is not lawful to curse such an one, nor to display *tabarrā* against him, but rather to pray for his pardon, as long as he retains *Iman* it is lawful to entertain محبت *mahabbat* for him, and 'adawat on religious grounds is unlawful, inasmuch as *tabarrā* and سب *sabb* (reviling) are only justifiable when *mahabbat* for a person no longer remains, which is restricted to death in infidelity.

Now we must consider the words of the Ḥalī ah divines who consider opposition to and contention regarding the Khilafat of 'Alī as *kufi*, according to the words of Khwaja Naṣir Tusi "*Mukhalifuhu fasaqah wa muharibuhu kafarah*" "Those who oppose him are immoral and those who fight against him are infidels."

Accordingly a section who have contented themselves with opposition are not deserving of *tabarrā*, because their extreme fault is *fisq* (immorality) and the *fusiq* (immoral man) may be a true believer.

The above is translated from the *Tuhfa* : *Ima* 'aḥḥariyah of Ḥalī ah 'Abdu l 'Azīz of Dihli.

The gist of the matter appears to be this that *Tabarrā* is not justifiable for immorality, but only for infidelity. It seems therefore to take the place in Muslim Theology of the *excommunication* of the Christian Code. It is more than excommunication, inasmuch as death in infidelity is made the test of *tabarrā* which thus implies final separation and curse.

The use of foul abusive language against the companions of the Prophet would be held to be loss of *imān* (إيمان) (Iman) and hence to render the reviler liable to *tabarrā* (تبرأ) provided he died in that state. As the person referred to in the story was killed by Mirza Yadgar Nāṣir he is called *tabarrā* (تبرأ) accursed.

part of the inhabitants of the world¹ are like a flock of sheep, wherever one goes, the others immediately follow.² Mirzā Kāmārūn, losing the clue of all independent action, availed himself of the services of the *Shaiikhs* and 'Ulamā to sue for pardon. Humāyūn, upon condition of personal submission, effaced the record of his transgressions from the page of his mind with the water of forgiveness. Mirzā, in accordance with the saying "*The traitor is a coward*,"³ would not consent to an interview, and took refuge in the citadel of Kābul, where he entrenched himself, and fled thence in the dead of night to Ghaznin. The whole of his army⁴ came over to the camp of Humāyūn, who appointed Mirzā Hindāl to pursue him, and came himself to Kābul, and the hidden meaning of the sacred word "*Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur'ān for thee will restore thee to thy returning place*"⁵ was revealed, and he refreshed to the full his eyes with the sight of the noble Prince his son. This victory was gained on the tenth of the month of Ramazān the blessed,⁶ in the year 952 H. (A.D. 1545),⁷ and the following hemistich was written as a record of the date:—

*Be jang girift mulk-i-Kābul az wai.*⁸

"He took the kingdom of Kābul from him without fighting." And inasmuch as others are responsible for the relation of these events, and the compiler of this *Muntakhab* has only adapted his record from them, now however much he may desire to epitomise,⁹

1 MS. (A) مردم عالم; MS. (B) omits عالم حکم

2 MS. (B) می آوردند

3 الخاين و الخايف *Al-khāinu khāif*. MS. (B) reads الخاين و الخايف

4 MS. (A) reads سپاهيش

5 Qur'ān xxviii. 85.

6 MS. (A) omits المباري.

7 The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Elliot and Dowson, v. p. 222) says - "The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramazān, 952 H. when the Prince was four years, two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952: but God knows the truth." A footnote (I, page 223) states that the *Akbar-nāma* (vol. I. p. 823) makes the date 12th Ramazān, 952.

8 بی جنگ گرفت ملک کابل از وی. These words give 952 H. Firishṭa also gives this same hemistich. (Bo. text, p. 448).

9 Text که طاب اظناب را کشیده دارد. Lit. to draw tight the tent cords of prolixity. MSS. (A) (B) omit را; MS. (B) reads سخن for اظناب.

the thread of his discourse ¹ has involuntarily become lengthened (in accordance with the saying). *Narration has many bye-paths.*¹

To make a long story short when Mirzā Kāmṛān proceeded to Ghaznī and was unable to enter it,² he departed towards Bakkar, and Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain, who had given him his daughter (in marriage), came forward to assist him.

450. Humāyūn put to death Mirzā Yādgar Nāṣir who was meditating flight, and proceeded with the intention of conquering Badakhshān. Suleimān Mirzā gave him battle, and was defeated, and Kāmṛān Mirzā coming up in Humāyūn's absence took possession of Kābul, placing guards over the ladies ³ of high degree, and over the young Prince.

Humāyūn, after relieving Mirzā Hindāl of the government of Badakhshān, wrote a patent conferring it upon Mirzā Suleimān, and making over ⁴ the government of that country to him returned with all speed to Kābul. Mirzā Kāmṛān, after the defeat of his forces, remained entrenched in Kābul, and when he found himself in straits, out of sheer cruelty several times gave orders for the young Prince to be placed upon the ramparts of the fort within range of both artillery and musketry fire, but Māham Ānka ⁵ made her own body a shield for him against the arrows of calamity. .

Verses.

The *Sūdārs* and *Amirs*, on account of the heat of the contest in which they were engaged, began to traffic in hypocrisy,¹ and kept coming backwards and forwards, now in one direction now in another. Many of them on both sides were killed. At last,² *Mirzā*,³ having made a hole in the wall of the fort, came out in disguise,⁴ and when *Hājī Muhammad Khān*, who had been detailed with a party of men to pursue him, came up with *Mirzā*,⁵ *Mirzā* said to him "What if I have killed your father *Baba Qasḥaqa*?" *Hājī Muhammad Khān*, who was a veteran soldier, energetic and experienced, pretending not to understand him, returned, and the Prince reached his father *Humāyūn* safe and sound, and the part returned to the whole.⁶

Mayest thou live a thousand years, and a thousand years⁷ beside,

For in the prolongation of thy life are a thousand advantages

And *Mirzā Kamrān* took refuge with *Pīr Muhammad Khān*, 451
Governor of *Balḥ*, and asking his assistance⁸ seized certain of the provinces of *Badakhshān* without a struggle from *Suleiman Mirzā* and his son *Ibrāhīm Mirzā*, and took possession of them, and *Qaracha Khān*,⁹ who had done notable service, together with certain other grasping¹⁰ *Amirs*, entertained extravagant expectations from *Humāyūn*, and when their iniquitous desires were not realised betook themselves to *Badakhshān* and *Kabul*.

Within those few years the earth had quitted its accustomed state of repose, and had undergone tremblings and agitations. A certain witty writer¹¹ says with reference to this

¹ MS (A) omits *la*, *le* to make feints

² Read *تا آخر مرزا* MS (A)

³ *Mirza Kamran*

⁴ Text *بصورت ناشناسا* MSS (A) (B) read *بصورت ناشناس*

⁵ MS (A) *میرزا رسید*

⁶ Text reads *و حروء کل رءوع نموده* MS (A) has the better reading *حزو نکل رءوع نمود*

⁷ A footnote variant reads *هزار معنی را* for a thousand objects, so also MS (A)

⁸ Text *مدد خواسته* MSS (A) (B) *مدد طلبیده* ⁹ MS (A) reads *حان*

¹⁰ MS (A) reads *نمودند و اعراض* ... *حام طمع شده*

¹¹ Text *و طریقی دران باب گفته* This admits of translation also "a certain

The fortress of Kābul which in height surpasses the seventh heaven; ¹

Like the Kite which is six months female and six months ² male.

On several occasions it happened that Mirzā Kāmrān came to pay his respects to Humāyūn and had a personal interview with him. Humāyūn, out of natural kindness and innate good-will pardoned his shortcomings, and cleared his heart of all rancour against him, ³ and after he had sought permission to leave to make the pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, bestowed upon him the country of Badakhshān, ⁴ and himself going up against Balkh, fought with Pir Muḥammad Khān and 'Abu-l-'Aziz Khān, the son of 'Abdu-llah Khān, ⁵ the Ozbak king, and defeated them after a sharp engagement. But following the bad advice of his Amīrs, who were treacherous hypocrites, ⁶ and in alarm about Mirzā Kāmrān, he turned back and came to Kābul. ⁷ Mirzā Kāmrān ⁸ once more broke ⁹ his treaty obligations, and inasmuch as the untrustworthy leaders on both sides began to practise unfaithfulness, and led him out of the way, ¹⁰ and he had to fight numerous battles, ¹¹ he eventually sought

Zarīf." There was a poet of that name, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Ispahān See *Majma'u-l-Fuṣṣah*, II. 345.

¹ كيوان *Kaiwān*. The planet Saturn which is in the seventh heaven.

² See ante p. 352 n. 1.

و سینه صاف شدند ³

⁴ See Elliot, v. 229, 230.

⁵ MS. (A) reads عبید اللہ خان. 'Ubaidu-llāh Khān.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* calls him 'Abid Khān, Elliot, v. p. 230.

⁶ MS. (A) reads امرای مرائی منافق.

⁷ The account given by our author is explained by that of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which says that on the night before Balkh would have fallen, some of the Chaghatai chiefs whose wives and families were in Kābul, became alarmed because Mirzā Kāmrān had not joined the army, so they met together and advised Humāyūn not to cross the river of Balkh, but to fall back upon Darra Gaz taking up a strong position: then, after a short time the garrison of Balkh would surrender. Humāyūn agreed to this, and both friends and foes imagined that a retreat to Kābul was intended. The Osbaks took courage and followed in pursuit. A battle ensued in which Humāyūn was personally engaged, but cut his way out, and reached Kābul in safety. See Elliot, v. p. 231.

⁸ MS. (A) omits کامران.

⁹ MS. (A) کردو.

¹⁰ او را از راه میبردند

¹¹ Read نمودند for نمود MS. (A).

and from Islem Shāh, but, meeting with disappointment,¹ and returning thence, was delivered into the hands of Humāyūn by the machinations of Sultān Ādam Ghakkar at Pashala² Notwithstanding all his repeated rebellions his life was spared, but the jewel of sight was taken from him,³ (as has already been stated), and he was permitted to depart for the sacred Makka. He had the good fortune to make the *Hajj* four times, and thus made amends for his past evil deeds, and there delivered up the life that had been entrusted to him

Verse 4

Never in the garden of Faith has a blade fulfilled its promise,
Never has a shaft aimed by Heaven failed to strike the mark
The tailor of Fate has never clothed any man in a garment
which it has not afterwards torn from him

The Age has never given any coin which it has not changed.
The Time has never played any piece without practising
deception with it.

Whom has the Heaven placed in safety beneath the Sun,
That it has not made short-lived like the shining dawn
Khāqān! cast dust into the eyes of the world,
For it has caused thee pain in the eyes and has given thee
no remedy

¹ MS (B) reads از اسلیم شاه مایوس گشته

² Our author is very brief in his recital of this portion of the history, for a fuller account see Elliot, v 232 to 234 MS (A) reads پراشاله Farhala

³ Mīrzā Kamrān was blinded by the stroke of a lancet, see Elliot, v 140 and 235 in the year 960 H. Firāsiḡā gives the *tarīkh* written to commemorate it چشم پوشید ز دیدار سپهر Chāshim پوشid az bedā' i siphr He closed his eyes to the injustices of heaven It is clear that Humāyūn in destroying his brother's eyesight was only choosing the lesser of two evils, the Chaghatai leaders clamouring for his death Firāsiḡā also says that he made the pilgrimago (*Hajj*) three times, dying on the 11th of Zu Hijjah 964 H (Bo. Text, p 455) October, 1557 A D

⁴ Khāqānī, whose name was Afzal al Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī an Najjār, a famous poet, was originally a pupil of Abul 'Ala Ganjawi, he took the name Haqāsiq, as his *takhalluṣ* and entered the service of Sūrwan Shāh the great Khāqan Manuchihr, from whom he received the title of Khāqanī Having absented himself without permission, he was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Shadarwan, where he wrote many poems After his release he hastened to Makka and wrote the *Tuhfatul 'Iraqiyya* while on the way He

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī¹ wrote this *tārīkh*.

Verse.

Kāmrān,² than whom no man has been found more fitted for
sovereignty,
Went from Kābul to the Ka'bah, and there committed his soul
to God, and his body to the dust.
Kāhī spake this as a *tārīkh* to commemorate his death,
*Pādshāh Kāmrān died at the Ka'bah.*³

And the poet Waisi⁴ wrote :

Verse.

453.

Shāh Kāmrān the renowned Khusrū,
Who in majesty raised his head to Kaiwān.
Faithfully served the holy temple four years
And entirely freed his heart from worldly bonds.
After performing his fourth pilgrimage
In pilgrim garb, he yielded up his soul to his Lord.

died soon after his return, and was buried in the cemetery of Sarkhāb in Tabriz in the year 532 H.

Majma'u-l-Fuṣṣah, I, p. 200. See also Beale, *O.B.D.* s. v. Khāqānī.

¹ MS. (B) reads *مولاً*. MS. (A) reads *و مولاً قاسم کاتبی*.

² This also means, Happy is he than whom &c.

³ *Pādshāh Kāmrān baka'bah bimurd*. The letters of this line give the date 968 H. instead of 964 H.

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī otherwise known as Miṣyān Kālī Kābulī. Our author (see vol. III. p. 172 of the text), stigmatises his poetry as crude and wanting in originality, although he acknowledges that it possesses a peculiar quality unshared by any other author. He was skilled in astronomy, as well as in rhetoric and Sufism, and had also some skill as a composer of music. Badāonī laments the fact that notwithstanding all his advantages Kāhī spent his life in infidelity and impiety. The *Ataṣh-Kada* (p. 190, Bombay Edition) says, that he sprang from the Gulistāna Saiyyids; one of his ancestors came out of the city to pay his respects to Tīmūr and joined his army, whose fortunes he followed until the birth of the Saiyyid aforesaid in Turkistān. He was brought up in Kābul whence he acquired his name. He went to Hindustān in the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, where he held a position of trust and honour. No date is there given for his death, which occurred in 988 H. See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 566 n. 1; also Beale, *O.B.D.*, p. 144.

⁴ MS. (B) reads *دبسی* *Dabsī* for *وایسی* *Waisī* (Text).

One night as Waṣī was holden with sleep,
 He visited him and called him towards himself,
 And said, "If they ask thee concerning my death
 Reply, "The pardoned Shāh remained in Makka" ¹

Mirzā Kāmran was as a king, brave and ambitious, liberal and good natured, sound of religion and clear of faith. He used always to associate with the 'Ulamā and learned doctors. His poems are well-known. At one time he held such strong views of probity that he gave orders to exterminate grapes from his kingdom, but afterwards became such a slave to wine that he was not ashamed of the after effects of debruch, eventually he left the world penitent and devout. All's well that ends well ²

This event took place in the year ³ 964 H

Mirzā 'Asharī, after Qarrācha Khān was slain in the last battle before Kabul, fell a prisoner into the hands of Humāyūn's soldiery, and Khwāja Jalāla d-Dīn ⁴ Mahmūd Dīwān conveyed him to Badakhshān and made him over to Mirzā Sulaiman. He was kept in confinement for some time, ⁵ and then was released, and Mirzā Sulaiman despatched him to Balh, by which route he purposed journeying to the two sacred cities ⁶. When he reached a valley which lies between Shām ⁷ and the sacred city of Makka, without accomplishing his object he hastened from ⁸ that desert to the true Ka'bah which is the bourn of all mankind. The following is the *tārīkh* of that event —

'Asharī pādshāh i daryādī ⁹

Verse

Why dost thou soil thy fingers with the blood of the world?
 For honey is oft mingled with deadly poison ¹⁰

¹ Shāh : marhum dar Makka mand. This line gives the date 964 H

² الأمر بالعواقب *Al umuru bil 'a'waqib* Lit. Events are according to their terminations

³ MS (A) omits سال ⁴ MSS (A) (B) ⁵ MS (A) ورد

⁶ حرمین شریفین *Haramain i Sharifain* Mecca and Medina

⁷ Syria. Nizamu d Din Ahmad says "in the country of Rum," Elliot v 234

⁸ MS (A) reads از

⁹ i.e. 'Asharī the bountiful king. These letters give the date 922 H.

¹⁰ In the *Mishkat* (xxi Part I) we read that honey was prescribed by Muhammad. 'A man came to his majesty and said 'Verily my brother has a

454. The end of Mīrzā Hindāl was on this wise, that after Mīrzā Kāmran had suffered defeat in the final engagement, and had taken refuge with the Afghāns, and Hājī Muḥammad Khān¹ Kūki was executed² on account of his numerous misdeeds, one night Mīrzā Kāmran made a night attack upon the camp.³ By chance that night the dart of death struck Mīrzā Hindāl in a vital spot, and he drank the draught of martyrdom. This event took place⁴ in the year 958 H. and *Shabkhūn* was found to give the date.⁵

purging.' And his highness said : ' Give him honey to drink ' and it was done. Then the man came to his highness and said : ' I gave him honey to drink, which has increased the purging,' then his 'majesty said to him thrice : ' Give him honey.' And the man came a fourth time and said : ' it increaseth the purging.' And his highness said : ' give him honey.' Then the man said : ' I have and it increaseth the purging.' Then his highness said : ' God has said truly, *there is a cure for man in honey*, and your brother's belly lied, by not accepting of the cure.' Then the man gave his brother honey to drink again and he got well."

Honey was held in high estimation as a drug among ancient physicians. The poisonous qualities of honey gathered from certain plants is well known ; for instance, we find in the *Makḥzanu-l-Adwiyā* that honey shed by bees which have lighted in the herb Absantīn (Absinthium) and the like acquires a bitter taste, and causes diseases of the stomach and liver, while another kind of honey causes fainting and cold sweats and loss of consciousness. So also the poisonous honey of Heraclea, supposed to owe its poisonous properties to the aconite plant.

Quite recently well authenticated cases of honey poisoning have been reported in the United States. The honey in one instance was found to be impregnated with gelsemine. It is generally believed that two varieties of aconite, *Kalmia latifolia* some *Rhododendrons* *Azalea pontica* and certain other plants of the *N. O. Ericaceæ*, have poisonous properties which are communicated to the honey of bees lighting on them. It is said that the *Azalea pontica* was the plant which yielded the poisonous honey noticed by Xenophon in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand. The active poison *andromedotoxin* has been found in many *Ericaceæ*. The symptoms of honey poisoning are briefly described as vomiting, purging, acute gastric and abdominal pain and cramps, with surface coldness and pallor, and the general signs of collapse. See *Ind. Med. Gaz.*, January, 1897, p. 27. See also *Med. and Surg. Rep.* September, 1896.

1 MS. (A) omits خان. 2 MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاهی after سیاست.

3 Read شبخون براردوی آورد.

4 MS. (A) روی نمود.

5 شبخون. *Shabkhūn*. Night assault. The letters of this word give the date 958 H. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* gives another *tārīkh*. See Elliot, v. 234, which however gives 959 H.

Verse

When Fate made such a night attack¹ with the forces of the world

That the zenith became red like the twilight from bloodshed,
Hindal the world conqueror left the world,

And abandoned the world to Shāh Humāyun ,

The young plant like stature of that shapely palm tree

Was like a lamp to the sleeping apartment of the sky

Wisdom sought for a *tārīkh* of his death,² I said,

Alas! a lamp has been extinguished by reason of a *night*
attack

Mirzā Amānī also wrote³ the following —

Shāh Hindāl the cypress of the rose garden of beauty,

When he left this garden for that of Paradise,⁴

The wailing ring dove uttered this *tārīkh*,

"A cypress has gone from the garden of glory."⁵

And Maulānā Hasan 'Alī Kharjīs⁶ wrote

Verse

Hindal Muḥammad Shāh of auspicious title

Suddenly was martyred by Fate in the heart of the night ,

Since a night assault (*shabkhan*) caused his martyrdom,

Seek the *tārīkh* of his martyrdom in *shabkhan*

455

Humāyun bestowed the horses and retinue of Mirzā Hindal upon the young Prince, the asylum of the world, and confirmed to them Ghaznī with its dependencies as *Iqtā'* grants⁷

¹ MSS (A) (B) read شبا خونى

² MSS (A) (B) omit و

³ MS. (4) reads مانى Mani for اماني Amānī (Text) MSS (A) (B) read گدے for ماعت (Text)

⁴ Read صحت for صحت MSS (A) (B)

⁵ سروى از بوستان دولت رفت Same as bustan : daulat raft

To arrive at this *tārīkh* we take the value of the words *Bustan : daulat* which is 959 and then take from this the value of the *sarve* (a cypress) used here for the letter Alif, which is straight and erect like the cypress, and has the value 1, thus we obtain 958 H

⁶ MS (A) reads گدے

⁷ See *Am : Akbari* (Jarrett) II 115

The Afghāns could no longer protect Mirzā Kāmran, and it so happened that Mirzā went to Islem¹ Shāh; in the meanwhile the hidden purposes of Heaven were made manifest, so that after hearing the tidings of the death of Islem Shāh, and of the occurrence of extreme confusion and turmoil between the Afghāns of Hindustān and the tribal chiefs, Humāyūn definitely determined upon the attempt of the conquest of Hindustān.² In the meantime the lovers of contumacy, that is to say, the envious and riotous, so distorted the appearance of the sincere loyalty of Bairām Khān, in the clear mirror of the mind of Humāyūn, that it was inverted and he was represented by them as hostile. Accordingly an attack was ordered in the direction of Qandahār. Bairām Khān came out in person to receive³ Humāyūn and with all ceremony offered due service. Thereupon the disloyalty of his traducers became apparent. On this occasion Humāyūn was furnished, by the good offices of Bairām Khān, with the opportunity of meeting that Scion of the Walis, the offspring of the Saints, the seal of the Shaikhs of the Naqshbandī⁴ sect, Maulānā Zainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar.

The following is a fuller account:—

456. The aforesaid Maulavī was from Bahdā,⁵ which is a village of the dependencies of Khurāsān,⁶ and had attained to the companionship of many of the Shaikhs, *may God sanctify their spirits*, especially Maulavī Maḥdūmī ‘Arif Jāmī, and Maulavī ‘Abdu-l-Ḡhafūr Lārī, *may God He is exalted*⁷ *sanctify their spirits*, who supported themselves by giving instruction and making illustrations, and Bairām Khān having opened tutorial relations with him, used to go to take lessons from him, and now and then when he was reading Yusuf and Zulaikha and other books, they used to say,

¹ MS. (A) reads سليم شاه *Salīm Shāh*. ² MS. (A) هندوستان.

³ MS. (A) باستقبال برآمده.

⁴ The Naqshbandī Shaikhs were the followers of the renowned saint Khawāja Bahāu-d-Dīn Naqshband of Bokhārā. See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I, 423 n. 2 where the meaning of *Naqshband* is said to be the occupation of this man and his parents, who used to weave *Kamkhābs* adorned with figures (*naqsh*). See also for a long account of the Naqshbandī School. Āin-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 358, *et seqq.*

Kamāngar means a bowmaker.

⁵ Footnote variant بهداین *Bahdāyan*.

⁶ MS. (A) reads قندهار *Qandahār*.

⁷ MS. (B) omits تعالی.

"Oh, Banam what is your wish¹ You yourself are as Yusuf and Zulai²ha¹ in the world " And Humayun having ordered a banquet in honour of the sacred illuminated spirit of the asylum of the seal of prophecy, *may the blessing and peace of God be upon him*, invited the *Ākhund*,² and with his own hands took the ewer, while Banam *Khan* took the basin, intending to pour the water over his hands, seeing this the *Ākhund* indicated Mu Habibullah, the grandson of Mir Saiyyid Jamalud Din the traditionist, and said,³ "Do you not know who that person is?" Humāyūn thereupon perforce carried the ewer to the Mir, who, with the utmost confusion, poured half of the entire contents of the ewer over his hands, after which the *Ākhund* without scruple washed his hands, to their heart's content At this time Humayun enquired,⁴ "How much water is enjoined by the *Sunnat* to be poured over the hands?" They replied, "so much as is necessary to clean the hands," then first Bairām *Khan* poured water over the hands of the remainder of the assembly, and was followed in this service by Husain *Khan* the relation of the Mahdi, son of Qasim *Khan* At last the food was eaten, and Humayun found very great delight in their society, and was much benefited thereby Afterwards he sent a piece of coined gold by the hand of Bairām *Khan*, saying, 'This is a present'⁵ Inasmuch as it was his custom not to take a present from anyone, after great deliberation he accepted it, with excessive reluctance and disgust, and in return for it sent into the presence of the king several bows of his own fashioning, with something over and above (the value of the gold) saying, "Presents⁶ must be given on both sides"

The story goes that one day Bairām *Khan* caused a garment *to be made of handsome Kashmir shals*,⁷ and brought it to him 457. He took it in his hand and praised it⁸ saying, "What a valuable thing this is!" Bairām *Khan* said, "As it is a suitable garment for a *darvesh*, I have brought it as an offering for you" He thereupon made a sign⁹ with two of his fingers, as much as to say I have two of them, come give this one to some one more

¹ MSS (A) (B) omit دیگر

² آخوند a tutor teacher preacher

³ MS (A) reads نه میدانید

⁴ MS (A) reads پرسید

⁵ MS (A) reads که این بدر است

⁶ MS (A) omits هدیه.

⁷ Slawls

⁸ Text کرده MS (A) فرموده MS (B) گفته

⁹ MS (A) omits اشارت

deserving of it than I. Many¹ miraculous acts are related of him. Some few of these Shaiikh Mu'inn-d-Din, the grandson of Maulānā Mu'in Wāiz, who by the order of the Khalifah of the time was for some time Qāzi of Lāhor, wrote in a separate treatise: among them this is written, that when archery practice was going on, he used in opposition to his usual habits to come every day² to the butts, and give instruction in archery. The youths used to urge and incite Bairām Khān to practise³ archery, saying that it would surely be useful to him some day. As a fact, the very first⁴ defeat of the Afghāns occurred in the fight at Māchīwāra,⁵ when the victory was entirely gained by the archers and in all probability that eagerness and instigation had this very end in view.

In that collection of stories also is the following, that when Bairām Khān, after making over Qandahār to Bahādur Khān the brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān Sistānī, came to Kābul, he appointed on his own part a tyrannical Turkomān, so that the people groaned under his oppressive hand, and made many complaints to the Ākhūnd, till he became ill as they desired, and they enjoyed a few days' respite from his oppression, and used to bring tidings of him every day to the assembly of the Ākhūnd. At last one day, as one of them was⁶ saying "He has risen from his bed," the Ākhūnd also, looking him in the face, said angrily, "Perhaps he may rise on the morrow of the resurrection." Three or four days afterwards he again fell ill, and removed the disgrace of his tyranny from the world. It is a saying of their's that the Turk when sleeping is an angel, but when he sleeps the sleep of death he is superior to the archangels.⁷

1 MS. (A) reads خلی منقول است.

2 MS. (B) reads هروقت و هرروز. 3 Read ورزش for روش. MSS. (A) (B).

4 MSS. (A) (B) read ماچھی واره که شکست.

5 Māchīwāra. On the banks of the Sutlej in the Ludhiānā District of the Panjāb. See Tieff. I, 112. Āin-i-Akbarī (J.) II, 310; III, 69.

At page 315 of Blochmann's Āin-i-Akbarī (I), we read "The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairām. He gained the battle of Māchhī-wārah and received Sambhal as jāgīr."

6 MS. (A) omits می. The hint given by the Ākhūnd was in true Oriental fashion.

7 MS. (B) reads بهتر از فرشته خواهد بود. MS. (A) reads مهین for مهین and omits بهتر.

Verse.

I saw a tyrant sleeping at mid-day
 I said, this is a calamity; It is best that sleep should take
 him
 And that man who is better when sleeping than when waking
 For such an evil lives death were preferable.

Humāyūn, at the time of his return, had some intention of taking Qandahār from Bairām Khān and giving it to Mun'im Khān. Mun'im Khān, however, represented that now that the conquest of Hindustān was on the tapis a change of governors would be a source of dissension in the army, and it would be better to wait till after conquering Hindustān, and then to act as circumstances might demand. Accordingly Qandahār was confirmed¹ to Bairām Khān, and Zamīndāwar to Bahādar Khān. Then coming to Kābul he prepared his army with transport and commissariat, and in Zū Hījjah 961 H. set out from Kābul to march against Hindustān.² And the following *qīṭa'h* was written which gives the date in two ways.

Qīṭa'h.

Khusrā Ghāzī Naṣīru-d-Dīn Humāyūn Shāh
 Who without question excelled all former kings,
 Advanced from Kābul for the conquest of Hind;
 The date of his advance is *nuh sad wa ḥast wa yake*.³

At the halting-place of Parshāwar⁴ Bairām Khān arrived from Qandahār⁵ and presented himself before the king. By continuous marches they crossed the river Indus⁶ and Bairām Khān and Khīẓr Khwāja Khān, with Tardi Beg Khān and

¹ MS. (A) مقرر ماند.

² MSS. (A) (B) عازم هند گشتند.

³ نهصد و شست و یکی. Nine hundred and sixty-one. The value of the letters taken separately also gives 961. This is the explanation of the statement in the text that this *qīṭa'h* gives the date in two ways. Footnote to the text says یعنی صوری و معنوی that it is both in form and in literal value.

⁴ The text reads پرشادر *Parshādar*, in error. MSS. (A) (B) read پرشاور *Parshāwar*.

⁵ MS. (A) omits بر.

⁶ MS. (B) omits سند.

459. Iskandar¹ Sultān Osbak forming the advance party, went forward² and Tātār Khān Kāsi, governor of the fortress of Rohtās, evacuated the fort³ and fled. Adam Ghakkar did not present himself on this occasion.⁴

When they arrived at Lāhor, the Afghāns of that place also not being able to withstand him dispersed, and the commanders of the vanguard⁵ started off towards [Lāhor and Thānesar]⁶ Jalandhar⁷ and Sirhind. That country was taken possession of without any trouble; Shahbāz Khān and Naṣir Khān Afghān however fought a battle near Dipālpūr with Shāh⁸ Abū-l-Ma'ālī and 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī, who was eventually *Khān-i-zamān*,⁹ and was defeated. So great was the terror inspired by the Mughuls that thousands¹⁰ upon thousands of Afghāns would flee at the sight of ten of the huge-turbaned horsemen (even although they were Lāhorīs), and never looked behind them. Before Humāyūn's army crossed the river Indus, Sikandar Afghān Sūr gained the upper-hand of Ibrāhīm Sūr, and having conquered him¹¹ formed the intention of leaving Itāwa and marching to attack 'Adlī. Suddenly, however, tidings arrived that Humāyūn had crossed

¹ MS. (B) adds خان.

² MS. (A) reads پیش می آمدند. MS. (B) reads پیس پیش می آمدند.

³ Read قلعه omitting the hamza.

⁴ The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says "Adam Ghakkar although he owed service, did not join the army." Elliot, v. 237.

⁵ امرای منقلای *Umarā-i-Manqalāi*. MS. (A) reads *Umarā-i-mutafarriq*. The text is correct. منقلای *manqalāi* مانقلای *manghalāi* or مانگالی *māngalāi* is a Turkī word signifying forehead (*front*) or advance-guard of an army. See P. de C. s. v. so also Faizullāh Khān who gives only the meaning پیشانی *pīshānī* forehead.

⁶ These words in brackets should be omitted apparently. They are absent from MS. (A) and also from the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which mentions Jalandhar and Sirhind. Besides the commanders were already in Lāhor.

⁷ MS. (B) omits جلندھر *Jalandhar*.

⁸ MS. (A) reads شاهپور شاه ابولمعالی in error.

⁹ 'Alī Qulī Khān was the son of Haidar Sultān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, who had been made an Amīr in the Jām war with the Qizilbāsh.

It was in the early days of Akbar's reign that he obtained the title of *Khān-i-Zamān*. See Badāonī, Vol. II, p. 12. Lowe's Translation, p. 5. He had defeated Hīmūn near Pānīpat. See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, I, (B), p. 319.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads هزار هزار.

¹¹ غالب شده MS. (A).

the Indus, and the Afghans, wherever they were, set about planning how to save their wives and children, however one did not help the other, each one occupied himself with his own necessities, and they knew well that it was only Islem Shah who could successfully contend against the Mughals, no other person had the power. Notwithstanding this however, Sikandar, in the neighbourhood of Jalandhar, first ¹ appointed ² Tatār Khān Kāsi with Habib Khān and Nasīb Khān Taghuchi with thirty thousand cavalry, to oppose the troops under Humāyun which had been collected in that district, and he himself came on in their rear.

The Chaghātai Amīr ³ crossed the river ⁴ Sutlej, and the Afghāns followed them, at sundown the two lines met and a fierce battle ensued ⁵ The Mughals set their hands to their bows with such effect that every arrow which they freed from the bowstring bore the message of death to the ears of one or other of the enemy, and the Afghāns, whose weapons of offence ran short, ⁶ took refuge in ⁷ a ruined village, and with the object of gaining a better view of the Mughul troops ⁸ they set fire to the roofs ⁹ The result, however, was the very reverse ¹⁰ of what they desired, and their stratagem had this result, that the Afghāns remained in the light, while the Mughuls were in the darkness and riddled the Afghans with arrows. A cry went up from among them, and shouts of 'Flee! Flee!' ¹¹ rose on all sides, and the victory was gained with such ease that but few Mughuls were

¹ MS (B) omits اول

² MS (A) نامزد کردو

³ MS (A) امیر چغتای So also *Tabaqat-i Akbari* Text reads امرای حصار.

⁴ MS (B) omits آب

⁵ MS (A) واقع شد

⁶ MS (B) omits که کوتاه سلاح بودند *Ki: kotah silah budand* A footnote var ant reads *salah* which would mean 'who were ill advised' this is the reading of MS (B) but the other is preferable

⁷ Text در MS (A) و دہی

⁸ Read به نظر MSS (A) (B) for در نظر

⁹ The true reading is a little uncertain here The text reads چادرها *chambarha* which may be taken in the meaning of a roof, MS (A) reads حبر *jir* (?) while MS (B) reads چنبرہا (?) *cl anbarahā*

The account given in the *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (Elliot v 237-238) differs and makes it appear as though the Mughul troops used fire arms or fire arrows. Our author's account appears more reasonable

¹⁰ Omit روی MSS (A) (B)

¹¹ MS (B) omits افراو

slain, and horses, elephants, and spoil beyond all computation fell into the hands of Humāyūn's troops. The news of this victory reached ¹ Humāyūn in Lāhor; thus the whole of the Panjāb and Sirhind and Hissār Firūza was entirely ² subjugated. Thence he marched by forced marches straight for the environs of Dihlī, and Sikandar Sūr with eighty thousand cavalry, and elephants of note, and a strong force of artillery, collected round him the Afghāns from every direction, and came to Sirhind, digging a trench round his camp ³ after the custom ⁴ of Shīr Shāh. This he fortified, and took up his position; the Amīrs of Humāyūn's army holding a council of war, fortified Sirhind, and as far as they could, shewed they were prepared to defend it, and sending despatches to Lāhor begged Humāyūn to come in person, and then awaited his arrival. Humāyūn with all speed ⁵ marched and came to Sirhind, ⁶ and every day fierce contests ⁷ took place between the more venturesome spirits on both sides. Sometime passed in this way, till the day when the command of the advance-guard of the army fell to the turn of the young Prince of the world; ⁸ seizing his opportunity he drew up his line of battle. On one ⁹ side was the Prince, the Asylum of the world; and on the other side Bairām Khān, Sikandar Khān, 'Abdu-llāh Khān Osbak, Shāh Abūl-ma'ālī, 'Alī Qūlī Khān and Bahādur Khān made manly onslaughts. The Afghāns also, as far as they were able, ¹⁰ behaved with due bravery and valour, ¹¹ but could not contend ¹² against an adverse fate, and after a conflict beyond his strength Sikandar turned and fled. ¹³ The victorious hosts pursued the enemy for a long distance, reaping a rich harvest of slaughtered Afghāns; wealth and booty beyond all bounds, together with horses and countless elephants fell into their hands: then they turned back and erected with the heads of their enemies a column

¹ Supply رسید after بپاد شاه. MSS. (A) (B). ² MS. (A) یک قلمه.

³ MS. (B) reads لشکر for معسكر. ⁴ MS. (B) reads بطرز for بدستور.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) omit تمام.

⁶ The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* states that Humāyūn sent Akbar.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read مقابله for مقاتله. Text.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read جهانیان.

⁹ MS. (A) omits یک.

¹⁰ MS. (A) حسب امکان. ¹¹ MS. (B) reads و مردانگی دادند.

¹² MS. (B) reads بسی برنیامدند. ¹³ MSS. (A) (B) روی بفرار نهاد و.

to which Bairūm Klān gave the name¹ of Sar Manzil, which (name) is in existence at the present day, Time has many memorials of this kind and still more will follow.²

Verse³

On the road on which thou seest those particles of dust,⁴
Thou seest (it may be) the dust of Sulaimān⁵ brought
thither by the wind⁶

Another says

Verse

Every particle of dust which the whirlwind carries away
May be either a Faridūn or a Kaiqubād⁷

The words *Shamshir i Humāyūn*⁸ were found to give the date of this victory, as they say in this *Rubā'i*.

The wise writer sought for an auspicious omen,
He sought for the writing of speech from his well balanced
nature,
When he came to record the conquest of Hindustān,
He sought the date in the words *Shamshir i-Humāyūn*

Sikandar then proceeded towards the Siwalik hills while Sikandar Klān Ozbak turned towards Dihli, and the royal camp went by way of Samana to the direction⁹ of the capital of Hindustān, and a party of the Afghans¹⁰ who were in Dihli, fled hot foot¹¹ for their lives, and were scattered on all sides like a flock of sparrows into whose midst¹² a stone has fallen, and every one was saying to himself, "He who escapes with his head, verily he is fortunate," and the hidden¹³ meaning of the words "the day 462

1 MS (A) نام نهاد

3 MS (A) adds هم after هنوز

2 MS (B) reads نظم for مثنوی (Text)

4 A footnote to the text recites the reading of MS (B) وردهای گرد

5 MS (A) reads سلیمانانی

6 MS (B) reads ناد for باد

7 Cf The dust of Alexander turned to clay

May stop a hole to keep the wind away.

8 شمشیر همايون Shamshir i Humayun The sword of Humāyūn These letters give the date 962 H

9 MS (B) reads نجات پای تحت هند

10 MSS (A) (B) omit از

11 Read پا نگ MSS (A) (B) instead of the reading in the text

12 MS (B) inserts که after معركة

13 Supply سر MS (A)

when man shall flee from his brother and his mother and his father and his spouse and his sons" ¹ became evident.

Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī was detailed ² to pursue Sikandar, and in the month of Ramazān the blessed, in the year 962 H. the city of Dihlī became the seat of the imperial glory and majesty, and most of the regions of Hindustān for the second time enjoyed the honour of the *khutbah* and *sikkah* of Humāyūn. No king before this time had ever been so fortunate as to attain to the glory of imperial power a second time, ³ after having suffered defeat; whereas in this case the power of God whose glory is supreme was plainly shewed. And in this year Humāyūn apportioned the greater part of his territories ⁴ among his faithful adherents, and vowed the *pargana* of Muṣṭafaābād, the revenue of which reached the sum of thirty or forty *laks* of *tankas*, as a votive ⁵ offering to the Spirit the author of victories, the guardian of prophecy on him and on his family *bè blessings without end*. He also gave Hissār Firūza as a reward ⁶ to the Prince, just as Bābar Padshāh also had conferred it, in the commencement of his victories, as a reward, ⁷ upon Muḥammad Humāyūn, and the whole of the Panjāb he bestowed upon Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī, and nominated him to oppose Iskandar the Afghān, who, not being able to stand against him, shut himself up in the northern hills, and Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī having reached high rank ⁸ was living in great pomp in Lāhor; on this account the crow of conceit made its nest in his brain, and brought matters to this pass ⁹ that after the affair of (the king) whose dwelling is in Paradise, the queen shewed signs of contumacy and rebellious

¹ Qur'ān lxxx, 34-35.

² MSS. (A) (B) نامزد گشت.

³ The reading of MS. (A) is preferable to that in the text. MS. (A) reads. مرتبه دیگر بقر سلطنت برسد. A footnote variant reads بمقر سلطنت رسد.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) ولایات را.

⁵ Text صدقه MS. (A) نذر.

⁶ Faizullah Khān gives this word as چلدو *Childū* in the sense of انعام *In'ām*. In the Farhang-i-Anandrāj the word is given as *jildū* or *juldū* in the same sense. Pavet de Courteilles does not give the word.

⁷ MS. (B) omits بالانعام محمد.

⁸ MS. (B) reads مرتبه تمام and omits بشوکت تمام.

⁹ Text بانجا رسید. MS. (B) reads بانجام رسید.

intentions,¹ as will shortly be described, if God He is exalted² so will it. And since Abū-l-Ma'ālī had treated badly the Amirs who had been sent to support him, and had (occasionally)³ interfered in their *Aqtā's*, and not only in these but even in the public treasury and in the government lands, the Amirs became disheartened, and Sikandar daily waxed stronger; Bairām Khān was appointed⁴ to the office of tutor (*Atāliq*) to the young prince, and was sent to oppose Iskandar. Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī was appointed to *Hiṣār Fīrūza*, but had not yet started when Qibā Khān Gang was appointed to Āgā, 'Alī Qalī Khān to Mirāth and Sambal, and Qimbar Diwāna to Badāon, and Haidar Muḥammad Khān *Alkha Begī*⁵ to Baiāna. Haidar Muḥammad Khān kept Ghāzī Khān Sui,⁶ the father of Ibrāhīm Sui, for sometime besieged in the fortress of Baiāna.⁷ And inasmuch as the good fortune of the Afghāns was, like their good sense, on the decline; although before the siege and after it also, thoughtful and experienced men urged him to march on Rantanbhor and thence to Gujrat, he would not listen to them, and fell like a fish into the net.

Verse⁸

God carries the vessel whithersoever He will

Though the ship master rends his garments on his body.

The *zamīndārs* of the fortress of Baiāna sued for quarter, and had an interview with Haidar Muḥammad Khān, binding themselves by oaths⁹ to certain treaty conditions, and bringing Ghāzī Khān with his family and relations out of the fort, bestowed him in a safe place in the camp,¹⁰ and¹¹ the following day having made a careful examination of the wealth and treasures,¹² put all the

1 انار حلاف و تخيلات فاسد و زو منصف طهور شقاوت 1 The text reads wrongly
خلاف MS (B) reads خلافت

2 تعالى MS. (A) 3 MS (B) 4

4 MS (B) reads مقرر فرمودند و بدو اسکندر آغی نمودند

5 MS (B) omits آخذه بیگی Haidar Muḥammad Khān Begī was an old servant of Humayun who had given the Emperor his horse when Humayun's horse had been shot in the defeat near Balkh See Ain i Akbari, (B) I, 384

6 MSS (A) (B) 7 MS (A) omits قلعه and reads محضر for محصور.

8 MS (A) reverses the order of these two lines

9 MS (B) reads پیمان for پیمان 10 MSS (A) (B) read معین کرد.

11 The text has a superfluous و here

12 MS (A) اموال و دقابس

inhabitants to death from the full-grown man to the babe at the breast,¹ sending² the heads to the Emperor, who, however, was displeased with this;³ accordingly⁴ he despatched Mir Shihābu-d-Dīn⁵ Nishāpūrī *Bakhshī*, who received the title of Shihābu-d-Dīn 464. Aḥmad Khān, to Baiānā to verify the wealth of Ghāzī Khān. Haidar Muḥammad⁶ concealed the valuable jewels and shewed only ordinary⁷ things. Qambar Diwānā had collected a large following in the vicinity of Sambal and was saying 'What has Qambar to do with Sambal, while 'Alī Qulī Khān has a lien on the revenue of Sambal? It is as though the land belonged to one man and the trees to another.'⁸

And before that 'Alī Qulī Khān could go to Sambal Qambar Diwānā went to Badāon, and from thence passing by Kānt o Gola⁹ he fought with Rukn Khān Afghān, and gained the day, occupying the country up to the vicinity of the township of Malāūn?,¹⁰ but was subsequently defeated by the Afghāns, and having given up a large number to death in that fort¹¹ arrived at Badāon, where he exercised great cruelty and oppression; and although 'Alī Qulī Khān sent to summon him,¹² he refused to yield to him and said, "My relations with the Pādshāh are more intimate than yours,¹³ this head of mine is twin brother of the imperial crown." 'Alī Qulī Khān upon his arrival besieged Badāon, and that madman

¹ MS. (B) reads همگی را تا اطفال شیرخواره. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.

² MS. (B) reads فرستادند.

³ MS. (B) reads این معنی پسند نیامد.

⁴ MS. (A) omits بناء reading و. ⁵ MS. (B) reads میر شهاب Mir Shihāb.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ اشیای سهل را نمود. *Ashyā-i-sahl rā namūd.*

MS. (A) omits را.

⁸ Read here سنبل و قنبر چه. MSS. (A) (B). The reading in the text has no meaning.

⁹ Shāhjahānpūr. MS. (B) omits گانت.

¹⁰ The text reads مالانوه Malānwah (?) MS. (A) reads لاهه (?) Malāwah. MS. (B) reads مالوه Malāwah. I am quite uncertain as to the correctness of the suggestion in the translation. Malāūn (*See Hunter, Imp. Gaz. ix. 237*) is a hill fort in the Panjāb lat. 31° 12' N. long 76° 52' E.

Firishṭa makes no mention of this.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads جا. MS. (B) omits کسی.

¹² MS. (B) omits نزد خود. MS. (A) reads طلبیده.

¹³ MS. (B) reads زیاده از آنست.

(Diwān)¹ who knew no moderation, was at that very time preparing to tyrannise over the people even more than before, taking by force the daughter of one and the property of another, and in consequence of his want of trust² in the people of the town, used himself to go the rounds by night³ from bastion to bastion, and see to the proper state of the defences. In spite of this his imagination used to run riot,⁴ and his ideas, in consequence of his infatuation, were excited to such a degree, that he used to go for half the night into an empty⁵ room and lay his ear upon the ground, and going out⁶ from there a few steps would spy about, and then return to his original post, suddenly he called the pioneers and said, "A noise has reached my⁷ ears, dig up⁸ the ground in this spot." When they excavated they discovered a mine⁹ which 'Alī Qulī Khān had laid from outside the fortress. 465 The people who saw those¹⁰ mines said that from the side¹¹ of the fort in whatever direction they struck¹² into the mine they found the foundation of the wall of the fort reached the water, with iron rods, and pillars and baulks of *sal*¹³ wood arranged under its foundations, bound together¹⁴ for the purpose of strengthening them, with the sole exception of this place which had been excavated.

In fact, had not Qambar been vigilant, the men under 'Alī Qulī Khān would have blown down the wall by sheer force and have effected an entrance by way of that breach. 'Alī Qulī Khān was

¹ The word دیوانه *Diwana* means a madman

² MS (B) reads اعتیادی The text reads اعتیادی an incorrect form by *malā*

³ MSS (A) (B) read شبها after حود omitting شبها before میگشت

⁴ This appears to be the meaning though the word فراست is used in a somewhat strained and unusual sense. A footnote variant to the text says that the textual reading is found in one MS and in two others مسترحب

Both MSS (A) and (B) are the same as the text which seems correct

⁵ A footnote variant reads نقال for حالی The text is correct

⁶ MS (A) omits پشتر

⁷ MS (B) omits من

⁸ MS (B) reads بکاوند

⁹ Text MS (A) reads نعت

¹⁰ MS (B) omits آب

¹¹ MS (A) reads اطراف for طرف

¹² Text شروع در قف نمودند MS (A) reads کردند for نمودند

¹³ چوبهای سال *Chubha : sal*

¹⁴ Read بود MS (A)

astonished at this degree of vigilance,¹ and the people of the city by common consent despatched a message to 'Ali Quli Khān saying, "On such and such a night let the besiegers make an attack² up such and such a bastion, so that we may bring them into the fort by the help of nooses and scaling-ladders." Accordingly this they did, and having admitted the soldiery of 'Ali Quli Khān, Shāikh Habib Badāoni, who was one of the most notable men³ of the place, took his place at their head, and leading them to the bastion of the Princes,⁴ who were the relations of Shāikh Salim Chishti of Fathpūr, set fire to it. On the morrow when the sun rose, the sombre-fated Qambar, wearing over his head a black blanket which was an emblem of his wretched fate,⁵ came out of the city. They seized him as one would a jackal and brought him in, and although 'Ali Quli Khān spoke gently to him,⁶ saying "Bow thy head,⁷ that I may spare thy life," that madman, fed on dog's brains gave him an abusive answer, so that he was sent to join the dogs of hell. His tomb is well-known in Badāon. He used to spread plentiful feasts and say (to his guests) "Eat! for wealth is the wealth of God, and life is the life of God, and Qambar Diwāna is the cook of God."

When the despatch from 'Ali Quli Khān reached the Court together with the head of Qambar, the king, whose refuge is the mercy of God, was extremely annoyed. Just about this time, on the seventh of the month of Rabi'ul-Awwal, in the year 963 H., when⁸ Humāyūn had ascended to the roof of the library which he had built in the fortress of Dinpanāh in Dihli, as he was coming
466. down, the *mu'azzin*⁹ uttered the call to prayer, and he knelt out of

1 MS. (B) omits او.

2 MS. (A) reads حمله for حمله.

3 Text از مشاهیر. MS. (A) reads از اعیان.

4 MS. (A) reads شیخزاده.

5 MS. (A) باو بملایمت گفت.

6 Text reads که از کلیم بخت وی نشانه بود, but it seems as though we should read کلیم in the sense of wounded, stricken. MS. (B) omits بود.

7 Text فرود آر. MS. (A) reads فرود آورد. 8 Supply که MSS. (A) (B).

9 *Mu'azzin*. The crier whose duty it is to utter the *azān* or summons to prayer. The *Azān* was instituted at first when the Moslems came from Makka to Madīnah; some proposed the lighting of a fire, others the blowing of a trumpet, but the former was objected to as being a Jewish custom, and

respect for the *Azan*, and as he rose his staff glanced aside and his foot slipped, and he rolled down several steps¹ to the ground. When he recovered a little,² Nazar Shaiikh Jul³ was sent to the Panjab⁴ to summon the Prince and to tell him exactly what had happened, and on the fifteenth⁵ of the same month (*Humayun*)⁶ bade farewell to this inconstant world and took his way to the abode of eternity⁷ and this *tārīkh* was written to commemorate the event

Since by the mercy of God he passed to his rest within the garden of *Rizwan*

Bihisht *amad maqam* : *ākh* : *u* gives the date⁸

and Maulana Qasim Kahi wrote as follows —

Humayun, Padshah of the kingdom of reality,
No one remembers such an Emperor as he,
Suddenly he fell from the roof of his palace
And from that fall his precious life was lost
Kahi made a calculation for the *tārīkh* of that event,
Humayun Pādshah az ban *uftad*⁹

the latter as being the custom of the Christians. Then Billal was ordered to repeat *Allahu Akbar* twice in a loud voice as a signal for prayer.

The forefingers were ordered to be put into the ears while repeating the *Azan* to strengthen the voice probably this was due to the subjective sensation of increase of sound of the voice when the external meatus is closed. The *Azan* has special virtues attached to it for those who uttered it. Thus it is said. The callers to prayer may expect paradise on the day of the resurrection and again Whoever acts as *Muazzin* seven years to please God will be redeemed from hell fire. See also Hughes *Dict of Islam* s.v. see *Mishkat* iv Chapter 5 6

1 MS (B) omit پائے 2 *Firishhta* says that he was taken up unconscious

3 Footnote variant جمعاً *Jumali* 4 MS (A) کتاب پنجاب

5 *Firishhta* says the eleventh (Bo Text 459)

6 MSS (A) (B) omit پادشاه عرش پاک

7 MSS (A) (B) دار دعا

8 بهشت آمد مقام پاک او These words give the date 968 H. The meaning is Paradise became his pure resting place

9 همانوں پادشاه او نام افتاد The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is Humayun Pādshah fell from the roof

The following was also found to give the date :¹

Be not ignorant of the year of his death—See!

*Humāyūn kujā raft wa iqbāl-i-ū.*²

The following *tārīkh* was also found :

*Ai ! Ah ! Pūdshāh-i-man az bām uftād.*³

Verse.

That capital city of the kingdom which thou sawest is laid waste,

And that Nile of whose bounty thou heardest has become a mirage,

The sky gave the head of Muḥammad Yahya to ruin,

And calamity attended Sinjar the lord of slaves.

The fourth heaven became a house of mourning

The spirit of sanctity came to condole with the Sun.

467.

His age was fifty-one years, and the duration of his reign⁴ was twenty-five years and a fraction. He was a man of kingly proportions, adorned with all excellencies and perfections, both of appearance and reality, unequalled in the sciences of astrology and astronomy and all abstruse sciences.⁵ He was the preceptor of the followers of excellence and perfection, the refuge of the seekers after piety and rectitude. Fond of poetry and⁶ of poets, he used himself to compose good verses; he never remained for an instant without the *wuzū'*,⁷ nor did he ever

¹ MS. (A) reads here ایضا.

² همایون کجا رفت و اقبال او. The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is "What has become of Humāyūn and his good fortune."

³ MSS. (A) (B) insert this before the preceding *tārīkh*. Its value is also 963 H. and its meaning is 'Alas ! Alas ! my king fell from the roof.'

We must read او فتاد as in Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has افتاد.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) سلطنتش.

⁵ MS. (B) reads و دیگر فنون غریبه.

⁶ MS. (A) omits و.

⁷ وُزُو' *Wuzū'*. Ceremonial washings before prayer. There is a saying attributed to Muḥammad "Wuzū' is half the prayers," and another "When a Moslim uses Wuzū' it washes from his face those faults which he may have cast his eyes upon; and when he washes his hands, it removes the faults they may have committed; and when he washes his feet it dispels the faults

take ¹ the name of God nor of the prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, without *Tiharat*, ² and if it chanced ³ that the necessity arose for mentioning a name ⁴ compounded of this word 'Abd, or one of the *Asmāu l-hasna* ⁵ such as 'Abdu-llah or the others, in such a case he would confine himself to the word 'Abd (servant), for example he would call 'Abdu-l-Hayy, 'Abdul simply. In this same way in writing letters in place of the word "huwa" ⁶ when the necessity arose he used to write two Alifs side by side

towards which they may have carried him, so that he will rise up in purity from the place of ablution" Again "The key of paradise is prayer and the key of prayer is ablution" The prophet also said "Verily my sects will come on the day of resurrection with bright hands and feet because of Wuzu"

For a full account of Wuzu' and the acts requiring its performance, see *Mishkatu l-Muṣabih* II. 34, also see Hughes' *Dict of Islam*, art. 'Wuzu'

¹ MS (A) بحسب اتفاق

² طهارة *tiharat* This term includes all the various methods of purification enjoined by Muhammadan law

See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. *Purifications*

³ MS (A) در زمان نراندی

⁴ The text here gives some verses which are not found in MS (A)

They are given here as they interrupt the continuity of the text

• قطع •

اعتقادی درست دار چنانک - اعتمادت بدان نگرود مست
ندد رانی شک از عذاب حدای - برهاند جز اعتقاد درست

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,
Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a
lively faith

MS (B) reads

نامی اعتمادی درست دار چنانکه - اعتمادت بدایت نگرود مست هرگاه

⁵ *Asmau l hasna* The best of names See *Mishkat*, xxii 8 Verily the best of names, in the sight of God, are 'Abdu llah (the servant of God) or 'Abdu r Rahman (the servant of the Merciful One)

⁶ هو *Huwa* The name of the Almighty, written at the commencement of a document by devout Muslims, meaning, *He alone is God* It is the third person of the Arabic personal pronoun By some commentators the word is supposed to stand for the *Ismul 'azam* or most holy name, which according to Muslim divines is known to God alone See *Qur an* III, 1 *La Allahu illa Huwa* There is no God but He

thus (11), whose letters thus arranged¹ have the same value as those of the word " *Huwa*." [In all matters he observed the same reverential caution which was as it were a part of his nature].² He always spent his evenings in company and was never niggardly in entertainment, the revenues of the whole of Hindustān would not have sufficed for his expenditure. His *vakils*, for fear of (being thought to be greedy for) reward, would never mention the name³ of gold in his presence, and like his father he was not engrossed in amassing wealth; no improper word or term of abuse ever passed his lips, and if he were ever very wrath with any person he used just to say 'You stupid,' and not a word more.

468.

Whether in the house or in the mosque even by mistake he never placed his left foot down before the right, and if any one placed the left⁴ foot in his house he would say, "It is the left foot," and would make him turn back and bring him in again. From his excessive reserve he never opened his lips in a smile, nor did he ever cast an angry glance at any one. They say that Shāikh Ḥamid, the commentator of Saubal, on the occasion of the conquest of Hindustān, for the second time went to Kābul to receive him, and in spite of the extreme confidence which Humāyūn had in him, one day he fell into a passion and said "My king, I see the whole of your army are Rāfizi⁵ (heretics)." Humāyūn replied, "Shāikh, why do you say such a thing, and what have you to say about it?" He answered "Everywhere the names of your soldiers are of this kind.⁶ I find they are all Yār 'Alī (Friend of 'Alī), or Kafsh 'Alī (Shoe of 'Alī), or Ḥaidar 'Alī (Lion of 'Alī), and I have not found a single man bearing the name of any other Companion." Humāyūn was indignant at this, and dashing his drawing pencil⁷ upon the ground in anger, said "The

¹ The value of ه being 5 and of و being 6, the word هو is equivalent to eleven; Two Alifs placed side by side (11) also stand for eleven.

² MS. (B) omits the sentence in square brackets.

³ MS. (A) omits نام and reads نیاوردی.

⁴ MS. (B) omits چپ.

⁵ رافزی Rāfizi. This term was originally applied to the Shī'ahs who joined Zaid ibn 'Alī but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Sunnī Khalifahs: but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shī'ahs. MS. (B) alone reads رافزی. The Text and MS. (A) have راقضی.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read این مرتبه omitting در.

⁷ قلم تصویر Qalam-i-taṣwīr. Text and MS. (A) MS. (B) has تحریر taḥrīr writing, instead of taṣwīr (drawing), so also a footnote variant.

name of my grandfather himself was 'Umar Shaiikh¹ and I know no more than this," then he rose and went into the *haram* and returning, with great gentleness and kindness informed the Shaiikh of the purity of his faith²

Verse

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,

Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith

And in order to recount the many virtues of that monarch who has obtained pardon and remission, *may his resting place be happy*, a separate record would be necessary. Countless³ poets, the wonder of the age, sprung from under the skirt of his auspicious reign⁴. Among these, in Bada^{kh}shān was Maulāna Jununī⁵ 469 Bada^{kh}shī the enigmatist, who composed a *qasidah* made up of thirty eight couplets in honour of that⁶ monarch, whose refuge is the pardon of God, during the time that he was a *Mirza*, and certain *tours de force* which had escaped the net of the *qasidah* which *Mir Saiyyid Zu l-fiqar Shīrwānī* composed in honour of Khawja Rashid Vazir, and the *qasidah* of *Salman Sawajī* which he wrote in honour of Khawja Ghias Vazir, this poet⁷ seized, for example the *mu'amma*,⁸ and *Izhar i muzmar*,⁹ and the *tarikh*¹⁰ and other (tricks) of this kind, and in very truth that work of art is a veritable *karnāma* (record of deeds), a miracle in the world of speech. The following are the opening couplet and another, taken from it

¹ Umar Shaiikh Muza, second son of Timur was the father of Babar. See *Āin i Akbarī* (B) I 209

² MS (A) reads *ملاکت و رفیق شیع را بر حسن عقدی خوش اطلاع دادند*
So also MS (B) except that *را* is omitted

³ MSS (A) (B) read *بشمار*

⁴ MS (A) *از دامن دولت او*

⁵ Text reads *حدوی Junubī* but MS (A) reads *حدوی Junnī*

⁶ MS (B) omits *ک*

⁷ MS (B) *او* is *او*

⁸ *معما* *Mu'amma* Enigma. A saying of which the meaning is hidden. See *Garcin de Tassy Rhétorique et Prosodie* p 165

⁹ See *Garcin de Tassy op cit.*, p 191

¹⁰ *تاریخ* *tarikh* chronogram. Several examples have been given see page

Verse.¹

Shahanshāhā *rukḥ-i-tū lāla o nasrīn lab-i-tū jān*
 Hamī bīnam *lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangīn shuda khandān*
 Namī gūyam *khatt-i-tū sabza o raiḥān khad-i-tū gul*
 Shavad *zāhir qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān dam-i-jaulān.*

And by taking all the verses of this *qaṣīda* after the manner of an acrostic,² the following opening couplet is formed :—³

Shahanshāh-i-dīn pādishāh-i-zamān
 Zi bakht-i-Humāyūn shuda kāmran.

While again, if the *hashw* ⁴ of the two first couplets are written in red ink, the following opening couplet results, which may be read in three different metres.⁵

¹ MS. (A) قصیده *qaṣīda*.

The following is the translation of these lines which are given in the original in the text, as the whole sense of the passage following turns upon the form and not upon the meaning of the couplets.

King of kings, thy cheek is the tulip and jasmine, thy lip is the life.
 As I look, thy lip like the bud in its redness, expands in a smile
 I say not, thy bloom is the verdure and perfume. thy cheek is the rose
 Life itself, from thy figure entrancing, appears in thy gait.

² توشیح *Taushih*. The initial letters of each verse when taken together from the couplet given. Thus in the four lines given the initial letters are ش *sh* ه *h* ن *n* ش *sh* forming *Shahansh*. See Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

³ The couplet when translated, reads :

Emperor of the faith, Pādishāh of the age,
 From thy good fortune thou hast become prosperous.

The play on the words Humāyūn and Kāmran will be observed.

⁴ The first foot of the first *miṣrā'* (hemistich) is called *ṣadr*, while the last foot of the same hemistich is called '*urūz*'; similarly the first foot of the second hemistich is called *ibtidā*, while the last foot of this hemistich is called *ṣarb*. All the feet intervening between the *ṣadr* and the '*urūz*', or between the *ibtidā* and *ṣarb*, are called *hashw* which means literally the stuffing of a pillow (*Āgīn-i-bālīsh*). In the above the *hashw* of the verses is printed in red ink.

The scansion is as follows :—

| | | | |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| Shahanshāhā | rukḥ-i-tū lā | la-o-nasrīn | labitū jān |
| Mafā'i lun | Mafā'i lun | Mafā'i lun | Mafā'i lun |

The metre is thus *Hazaj-i-Muṣamman*.

⁵ The three metres in which these lines may be read are—

(i) *Hazaj-i-muṣamman*. See note 4 above.

Rukh 1 tū lāla o nasīn khatt 1-tu srbzr o raīhān
Lab-1-tū ghuncha-1-i-angin qadd-1 tu fitna-1 dāuān 1

And if they be read in reversed order a couplet is formed which may also be referred to three several metres,³ and with a change of *qāfiyah*⁵ and *radif*⁴ in the following manner ⁶—

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Khatt-1-tū srbzr o raīhān, rukh-1-tū lāla o nasīn
Qadd-1 tu fitna 1 dāuān,⁶ lab 1-tu ghuncha-1-i-angin

And from that which remains in black letters, a distinct opening couplet remained⁷ Other *tours de force* also existed in this opening couplet, which are explained in the marginal notes to the work.

(ii) Ramal 1 musamman makhbun, and the scansion is

| | | | |
|-----------|---------|----------|--------|
| زۀ وریکان | حط توسب | لہ و سرب | رح تول |
| فعالتن | فعالتن | فعالتن | فعالتن |

(iii) Mujtas 1 musamman makhbun and the scansion is

| | | | |
|-----------|---------|----------|---------|
| زۀ وریکان | حطی تسب | لہ و سرب | رخى تلا |
| فعالتن | معالن | فعالتن | مفا على |

See Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody (Ranking) pp 49, 67, 90

1 MS (B) reads ستان in place of دوران so also footnote variant

2 The three metres are those given in note 5, on the preceding page

3 *Qāfiyah* This signifies the rhyme, of which the essential letter is called the *raui*, which may have also other letters preceding it and four following

4 *Radif* is the name given to a quiescent *alif* following a *fatha*, a *wāo* quiescent following a *zamma* or a *ye* quiescent following a *kasra*, in other words it is one of the letters ا, و, ی placed as a letter of prolongation before the *raui*. It is more accurately called *ridf*

Thus in the lines now cited the *Radif* is the letter *ye* in the words *rangin*, and *nas'rin*, whereas in the former verses the *radif* was *alif*, as in the words *raīhān* and *dauran*. MS (A) omits وردیف See also Garcin de Tassy, op cit, p 370

5 MS (B) omits بان طریق

6 MSS (A) (B) read بوستان *bustan*

7 For example, we can read

Shrī anghaha lab 1 tu jān
Hamī binam ghuda khandañ,
Hamī guyam khāñd 1 tu gul
Shayad zahīr dam 1 jūñan

King of kings thy lip is life
As I look it wreathes in smiles,
I say not thy cheek's a rose
Blooming as thou passest by

And from the four¹ couplets of a *qaṣīdah*² some of the words of which are written in red ink, the following *qiṭaʿ*³ containing the conquest of Badakhshān may be obtained, and the *qiṭaʿ* also has a hidden meaning, the explanation of which is obtained from certain verses extracted from these two *qaṣīdahs*.⁴

Qiṭaʿ.

Tū-ī Shāh-i-Shāhān-i-daurān ki shud

Hamīsha turā kār fath o zafar.

Girifti Badakhshān o tārikh shud.

Muḥammad Humāyūn Shāh-i-baḥr o bar.⁵

Rubāʿi.⁶

Until the weak body of the beggar became the dust of his threshold,

His heart on account of his sorrow and vexation, fell desolate.

The life of this helpless one left him because of desire for the beloved,

His love exceeded all bounds, if haply at that time that king might summon him.

¹ MS. (A) reads چهار.

² MS. (A) قصیدہ.

³ The قطعه *qiṭaʿ*. Must contain not less than two couplets nor more than a hundred and seventy. The first two hemistiches need not rhyme, but the second hemistich of every verse must rhyme with the final hemistich of the opening verse.

The قصیدہ *qaṣīdah* In this form of poem the two opening hemistiches must rhyme. It must consist in Persian of not less than twenty-five couplets and not more than a hundred and seventy. See also Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie* for an explanation of these and other terms, and Gladwin, *Dissertations*.

⁴ The reading in the text and in both MSS. (A) (B) is unintelligible, we must evidently read این دو for آید. The footnote to the text merely states that the reading in the text is found in all three MSS, but makes no attempt to explain the true reading.

⁵ محمد همایون شه بکرو بر. These words give the date 927.

The translation of these verses is :

Thou art king of the kings of the age,

Whose continual object is conquest and victory.

Then did'st seize Badakhshān, and its tārikh was

Muḥammad Humāyūn king of sea and land.

⁶ MS. (A) adds مظہر *muzhar*.

Gushwāra.¹

Tell the good tidings of the victory of the king of my faith
And if my life should obtain a few days grace from that exact-
ing creditor² Death, this *qasidah*, together with all the *qasidahs*
and such useful information as I have written down in a separate
note-book in the course of my travels, shall, should opportunity
offer, be included among the contents of the second volume of the
*Najātu-r-Raḥīd*³ which I am anxiously longing to complete, 471
should God, who facilitates our undertakings, so will it

Another poet⁴ is *Wafā'i*, by which *taḥkallus* *Shaiḥ* Zainu d-
Dīn *Khāfi*⁵ is commonly known, who was *Sadr-i-mustaḥīl* (Judge-
plenipotentiary)⁶ during the reign of Babar Padīshāh. There

¹ گوشواره *Gushwāra* Lit, earring The first line of a *gha al* or *qanda*,
following immediately upon another

Read گوشه رفتن شد دین ما MS (A) گوشه رفتن شد دین ما and گوشه رفتن شد دین ما
footnote variant reads

² The following is the correct reading Immediately after the *gushwāra*
و اگر عمر روزی چند از غریب متقاضی اجل مهلت یافت این قصیده
مع سایر قصاید و موارد که در مدت ایام سیداحی در بیاضی علیحدہ نوشته شده
آن موارد مراد را الخ - MS (A)

³ نجات الرشید *Najātu-r-Raḥīd* There is a MS of this work of Badaoni,
belonging to the College of Fort William, in the Library of the Asiatic Society
of Bengal, No $\frac{E}{204}$ (See J A S B xxxviii p 136) The title of the work

gives the *tarikh* of its composition on the second and last pages The "second
daftar" here mentioned by our author does not appear ever to have been
written, though from his statement it would seem he had commenced the
work

⁴ MS (A) reads دیگر و فانی که

⁵ One Zainu d Dīn *Khāfi*, was a famous saint His life is given in the
Nafahatu-l Uns Calcutta edition p 569, but the one meant in this passage is
the *Shaiḥ* Zain who read the *khutbah* in Dihli in Babar's name after the
battle of Panipat, see *Firāšta*, Bo Text p 381 and Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*,
p 308

Khāfi or *Khawāfi* means 'coming from *Khawāf*' which is a district and
town in *Khurasan* Our maps have *Khaff* or *Khāf* due west of Herat See
'*Am-i-Akbari*' (B) I p 445 and footnote also p 592 and footnote

⁶ صدر مستقل *Sadr-i-mustaḥīl* The *Sadr* was an officer of justice whose
power appears to have been almost unlimited, his edict was necessary to
legalise the accession of a new king

is a mosque in Agra to his memory,¹ and a school situated on the other side of the river Jamna. He was the possessor of excellencies both bodily and mental, and in the construction of enigmas and chronograms, and in extempore versification, and in all the minutiae of poetry and prose, and in rhetoric, he was unapproachable in his own age.

They say that in the very first assembly in which he made homage to Bābar Pādshāh, he asked, what is your age? Without premeditation he answered, *Qabl azīn ba panj sāl chih sāla būdam, wa hālān chihāl sāla am, wa ba'd az dū sāl-i-dīgar chihāl tamām mī shavad.*²

It should moreover be known that (Bābar Pādshāh) also asked (a riddle) of the author of this *Muntakhab* saying: *Pish azīn ba yak sāl panjah sāla būdam, wa hālān panjāh sāla am, wa ba'd azīn ba dah sāl panjāh sāla mī shavam.*³

It is well known that one day *Shaiikh* Zain went to visit the brilliant resting-place of Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya may God sanctify him, and having heard that story of the *Shaiikh* about "*Al Ilidāyā mushtarāk wa tankā khushṭurāk*"⁴ repeated this *qit'ah* on the spot:

His duties were to enquire into the circumstances of persons before grants were made to them. Under his orders were the *Qāzī* and the *Mīr 'Adl*. See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, (B) I. 268-270.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read *اورا مسجدیست* instead of *او صاحب مسجدیست* (Text).

² That is to say "Five years ago I was *chil* (چل) years of age and now I am *chihāl* (چهل) years of age, and two years hence my *chihāl* (forty) years will be complete.

چل (*chil*) stands for 33 thus چ = 3 ل = 30

چهل (*chihāl*) stands for 38 thus چ = 3 ه = 5 ل = 30

while چهل *chihāl* is the Persian for forty.

MS. (B) completely loses the point by reading چل *chil* throughout."

³ That is, A year ago I was fifty (*panjah*) years of age, now I am fifty-one (*panjah* with the addition of *Alif*) years of age, ten years hence I shall be پنجاه (*panjah*) years of age.

پنجاه (*Panjah*) stands for 60 : thus

پ = 2 ن = 50 ج = 3 ه = 5

Apparently we should read پنجاه (*Panjāh*) which would give 61.

⁴ This refers to a visit paid by Amīr *Khusrū* of Dihlī to Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya, when he saw another visitor who had brought a present for Nizāmu-d-

Qit'ah.

Oh our Shakh ! may there come to thee from God gifts without ceasing,

What am I that I should say "*Al Hudāyā mushtarak*"

Thou styest "*Tanhā khushṭarak*" as thou didst say before

Make it "*Mushtarak*" if thou dost not say

"*Tanhā khushṭarak*"

Verse.

Grief has seized me by the sleeve, why should I hide my head
in my sleeve ?

Desire has grasped my skirt, why should I withdraw my foot 472
within my skirt ?

Ah ! my sleeve in desire for thee and my skirt also are torn
to rags,

Why should I hide my head in my sleeve and withdraw my
foot within my skirt without thee ?¹

He wrote a *tarīkh* dealing with the circumstances² of the conquest of Hindustan, and explaining its wonders, in which he did full justice to the claims of erudition

His death occurred near Chihār in the year 940 H and he was buried within the precincts of a college which he himself had founded

Another (poet) was Maulānā Nadī-i-Samarqandī, who was one of the wonders of the age, of excellent qualities, and a compendium of perfection³ He had a strong attachment for a beautiful youth named Nizām, and the following well known solution of an enigmatical meaning, was composed for him

Verse

I the broken hearted tell the praises of Nizām the famous,

Dīn Auliya Amir Khusru exclaimed '*Al hidaya mushtarak*' 'The gifts are in common' whereupon Nizām d D n Auliya replied

'*Al hidaya mushtarak lakin tanhā khushṭarak*'

"The gifts are truly in common, but I should be better pleased to enjoy them alone"

¹ MS (A) transposes the last two lines

² MS (A) omits احوال

³ MS (A) reads واصل جامع برد. See *Din-i-Akbari* (B) I 605 x

For my heart, when absent from him, lies disordered¹ and enfeebled.

Rubā'ī.

I am grieved, and in my heart on thy account I hold a hundred sorrows,
Without the rubies of thy lips, I am matched against pain hour by hour;
I am in despair for this life, I the poor, the dejected,
I hope that the road of annihilation may become my refuge.

Gūshvūra.

I sing the praise of the locks of my beloved.
And the following verses are part of the fruit of his fertile genius.

*Ghazal.*²

How wondrous graceful is my loved one's form,
I yield myself a slave to that figure and carriage;
My loved one would not look towards me with compassion,
Perhaps she displayed an inclination towards strangers.
Nādirī! go towards the wineshop
And pledge thy head and turban for wine.

Verse.

473. Though I remained my whole life-long there at the head of thy street,
I swear by my life, that I never enjoyed a moment's peace;
Wherever I bowed my head with the intention of obeisance
Thou wert there the Ka'bah³ towards which I turned.
A whole world was admitted to intimacy, and yet I remained forlorn,

¹ نظامی *Nizāme*, lit. a governor, one who orders and directs. The play upon the word cannot be preserved.

² غزل *Ghazal*. The *ghazal* or ode must consist of at least five couplets but must not exceed fifteen. Its first two hemistiches must rhyme.

³ سجدہ *Sajdah*, commonly pronounced *Sijdah*, means a prostration in which the forehead touches the ground: as a religious observance the prostration, is on seven members: on the forehead, the two hands, the two knees, and the toes of both the feet; women must touch the ground with the elbows, men on the contrary must keep the elbows up. The palms of the hands

All were accepted there but I was rejected ;
 Why do you ask Nādiri, what is thy condition in that road,
 At one time I am unhappy, at another I was happy¹ there.
 He also wrote this *Qaṣīdah* in honour of the deceased
 Emperor.

Qaṣīdah.

Thanks be to God that with a settled mind
 Intimate² friends sat together in pleasure ;
 The rose-garden is the pleasure-resort of people, for there in
 the presence of the rose, the nightingale sorrowful at the
 absence of his beloved became rejoiced by its presence.
 It may be that the beloved one of the garden had been
 stripped naked by Autumn,
 So that she has woven a patchwork garment of the hundred
 petals of the rose.
 The rose and the jasmine, the spikenard and the basil are in
 one place,³
 See ! the Emperor of Spring has come with his retinue and
 troops.
 The birds are singing the praises of the Emperor of heavenly
 grandeur⁴
 On the branches of the trees, like the preachers from their
 pulpits.
 The glorious Khāqān, the Emperor of dignity like Jamshīd,
 Humāyūn,
 Who has a powerful hand and a sturdy heart by the decree
 of the Almighty.
 From his intelligence springs the wisdom of the learned,
 From his insight arises the perception of the men of acute
 vision. 2.

must be placed upon the ground, with the fingers in the direction of the
 Qiblah, which was originally Jerusalem, but was afterwards changed to the
 Ka'bah. *Mishkātul-Maṣābiḥ*, Cap. xv. part i.

See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. Ka'bah.

¹ MS. (A) خوشنودم الجا.

² The text reads معاصر contemporary, but MSS. (A) (B) read معاشر
 intimate.

³ MS. (A) reads یک جانب. ⁴ Text فلک مرتبه. MS. (B) reads مرتبه.

Since prohibited things are unlawful by the statutes of religion.
He hastens to perform the deeds for which there is divine
sanction.

474.

There have gathered together, to secure the victory of the
army of Islām,

The unrivalled warriors of his army, the brave men of his
troops,

Beneath his victorious standard, on the field of Fortune,

May the favour of the Everlasting be his protector and ally.

Oh thou by the generosity of whose hand all things have
their being,¹

By the sharpness of whose sword all properties both acci-
dental and essential² obtain permanence.

In the first day of eternity, the object of creation for the
Lord of the world was the evolution of thy form from this
revolving sphere,

Should Gabriel a second time be the bearer of revelation,

Pure passages³ will be revealed in thy glory.

Every subtilty of science which thy ruby lip pronounces

Has become as famous in the world as the uninterrupted
tradition.⁴

It is well-known that this is a commentary on the books of
mathematical science, this wonderful composition of thine
on the discovery of circles.

How can any one deny the vastness of thy knowledge?

None but a stubborn disputant⁶ will deny self-evident truths.

1 **قوام** *qiwām* is the stay or support of any thing, that in virtue of which
it subsists.

2 **اعراض و جواهر** *A'rāṣ o jawāhir*. By **عرض** *'Araṣun*, is meant in the
conventional language of Muslim theologians, a thing that is not permanent,
"an accident," as opposed to **جوهر** *jauharun*, "an essential," see Lane, s. v.
عرض also *kashshāf*, s. v. v. **عرض** and **جوهر**.

3 MS. (A) reads preferably **آیات طواهر** for **آیات ظواهر**.

4 These two lines commencing **هر نکته حکمت** occur in MS. (A) before
the line commencing **در روز ازل** as well as in this place.

5 **مبنی**. Founded on certainty, equivalent to **مسلم**.

6 **مکابر** *mukābir*. One who contentiously upholds a proposition which he
knows to be false.

I cannot estimate thy perfections, for in every art thou hast become perfectly skilled ;

When compared with thy philosophic intellect and good fortune, the angelic essence becomes as one of the common material¹ objects.

Thy generosity is of such a nature that at the moment of bestowing 475.

Thou knowest without asking all the hidden desires of the mind.

This enigma upon the name of Kibār² is also by him :

Verse.

That face³ is the Qur'ān, and that down on the cheek is the sign⁴ of tyranny and oppression ;

The cheek of that heart-ravishing one has no endowment of the mole of fidelity.⁵

¹ Read احساس for اجناس. MS. (A).

² MS. (A) reads كبا MS. (B) reads كيا.

³ The text reads أنور with a footnote saying that all three MSS. are the same. MS. (B) reads ابرو.

⁴ The text reads آيت, MS. (B) reads آينه.

⁵ The verse in the original runs thus :

Mushaf ast ānū wa ān khaff āyat i jaur o jafā st

'Arz i ān dīl-sitān bī bahra az khāl i wafā st

The word مصفف *mushaf* here has two meanings, (1) a collection of pages مصف *ṣufuf*, written upon, and placed between two boards, hence a copy of the Qur'ān, (2) affected by *taḥḥīf*, which is a technical expression for so altering a word by changing diacritical points and altering the order of its component letters, that it acquires a different signification.

In accordance with this second meaning, in the word أنور the letter و *wāw* is first dropped leaving أنر *dar* then د *dal* is changed into ب *bā* giving ابر *ābr*, by transposing these letters we get بار *bār*.

The word خط *khṭ* has also two meanings, (1) down on the cheek, (2) a letter or character. Hence we may translate "that letter is the sign of tyranny and oppression." Now کائن *kāftan*, cutting or cleaving, is such a sign, and may be represented by its root کاف *kāf*, which is the letter of the alphabet required, and when prefixed to the syllable بار *bār* above 'found' gives the word کبار *kibār*, thus completing the *mu'ammā* or enigma.

The death of the aforesaid Maulānā took place in the year 966 H. and Mir Amānī Kābuli wrote the following *tārīkh*¹ of the event.

Verse.

Alas ! the pity of it, that the discerner of subtilties Nādirī
has departed,
That rare poet² who did full justice to eloquence in the world ;
I sought to express the date of his death by way of enigma,
Wisdom answered *one has gone from among the masters of
speech*.³

Another is Shāikh Abul Wāhid⁴ Fārighī, who was deeply imbued with the feelings of a *darvesh* and was⁵ renowned for his sweet singing ; the following is taken from his poems :

Verse.

So great is the habitual oppression of that seeker after tyranny
That a morsel of mercy from him, seems a great beauty.
And in his impassioned style he says :

Verse.

Praise be to God that I am freed from the love of an ill-
conditioned sot,
Who used to fall, as did his eyes, from drunkenness in every
road,
Who, like the cup, for the sake of a draught, was lip to lip
with every man,
Who like the flagon bent himself to every cup in every place.

¹ MS. (A) reads در تاریخ.

² آن نادری که This we may read *Ān Nādirī ki*. That Nādirī who : or, *Ān Nādirē ki*.

³ رفت یکی از سخنوران *Raft yake az sukhun warān*. If from سخنوران *sukhun warān* the value of which is 967, we remove یکی that is one, we have left 966.

⁴ Footnote to text says that the *Nafā'isu-l-Maāṣir* reads Abūl Wājid MS. (B) reads ابوالوجد Abūl Wajd.

⁵ MSS (A) (B) omit بود after مشرب and insert it after مشهور.

The following is also by him

Verse

At that time when my heart was blest with thy companionship,

It did not seem that such a blessing could be expressed,

In short, the whole of my life's reckoning had passed in separation from thee,

Who can count the joy of meeting¹ what a store of happiness it was¹

Strangers last night² were near you, while Fārighī at an immense distance was burning like rue³ upon the fire of disappointment

This is also his

Verse

Oh my intimate companions do not break the bond of union

In dispersion is distraction, do not break it and depart.

And again he writes

Verse

When thou drawest out thine arrow from my breast leave its point there,

Grant me my heart to yield my life in thy service manfully

His death occurred in the year 910 H, and he was buried in the monastery⁴ of Shaiḫ Zaynu d-Dīn⁵ at Agra, and in consequence of the extremity of their unanimity and concord both left the world in the same year. It is said that at the time when these two eminent men went to Hindustan owing to their excessive profligacy they possessed nothing but an old *postin*⁶ between them. Shaiḫ Zaynu d-Dīn⁶ said to Shaiḫ Abul Wajid,⁶ "I will take this to the bazār of Kabul upon the condition that you won't come and indulge in any pleasures." He agreed, and a purchaser having run it up to a most extravagant figure

¹ سِپَند Sipand Rue is said in the *Ghīyāṭ l lughat* to be burned to avert the evil eye Rue was called "herb of grace" from its supposed efficacy in exorcism

² Omit پیش MSS (A) (B) ³ MS (A) ⁴ A sheepskin coat

⁵ MS (A) ⁶ MS (B) MS (A) reads ابو الوجد

477. was ready to give five *shahrūkhīs*¹ but Shaikh Zain kept demanding more. At last Shaikh Abūl-Wajd came up in a disinterested way and was acting as broker, after a deal of haggling he said, "Ah! you cheat! why this door mat² itself contains³ five *Shahrūkhīs* worth of fleas and lice"! so the bargain was at an end, and Shaikh Zain was annoyed and said, "What sort of time was this for the stupid jokes you are so fond of? We wanted the price of a loaf, and this is the way you're going to pay for⁴ it"! Shaikh Abūl-Wajd fell into a fit of laughter.

Another is Jāhī Yatmān,⁵ who was from Bukhārā, and having acquired a reputation on this account in Kābul, offered his services at the time when the late Emperor proceeded towards Hindustān⁶ obtained great favours from Humāyūn, and rose to a confidential position, and at the time when Shāh Muḥammad Khān Sālū⁷ was left in Kābul as revenue commissioner,⁸ he treated⁹ the Mulla just like the rest of the people, and caused him serious annoyance. The Mulla accordingly composed an elegant *tarkīb*

¹ The *Shahrūkhī* was a coin equivalent to 16 *dams*, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ to a rupee. They were so called because they were first coined by Shāh Rukh the Mughul Sultān of Persia, A. H. 807-850. Thomas, *Pathan kings*, p. 381. The purchaser was thus willing to give about two rupees for the *postīn*. The *postīn* is a jacket made of dressed sheepskin dyed a yellow colour and more or less handsomely embroidered in yellow silk. It is worn like Brian O'Linn's breeches "with the fleshy side out and the woolly side in." They cost about thirty or forty rupees, according to their embroidery.

² Text reads بتیل. *Batīl*. In the text this word is followed by a (P) MS (A) has what may be پتل *patal*, in which case the meaning would be "a mat," and this in consideration of the matted condition of a filthy *postīn* seems the true reading.

³ MS. (B) omits باشد.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) ادای شما این است.

⁵ MS. (A) reads دیگری حامی تهمان *wa dīgare Ḥāmī Tambān*. MS. (B) reads جاهی یتمینان *Jāhī-i-yatmīnān*. A footnote to the text gives یتمینان and says that *Nafā'isul-Maāğir* writes "Jāhī Yatmīyān was from Bukhārā, his father Yatmīyān was a native of that place, for which reason he was commonly known by this name."

⁶ MS. (A) reads سند *Sind*.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read سالو *Sālū*. The text reads شاپور *Shāhpūr*, but in a footnote gives سالو.

⁸ بجهت سزاوولی *ba-jihat-i-sazāvalī*.

⁹ MS. (B) reads تصور نموده for تصور نموده.

band lampooning Sālū,¹ and inasmuch as the Emperor had the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sālū² in his service, he made an exception³ in his favour alone, and erased the names of all the members of his family, male and female, consigning them to ignominy. Inasmuch as Humāyūn was also incensed against that ass⁴ who had been the source of all this mischief, he had that lampoon read⁵ in Sālū's presence by the Mulla in full assembly, and evinced the greatest delight and merriment, and made him give a large sum as a reward. By degrees that lampoon became more and more disgracefully scurrilous, accordingly I have restricted myself to citing one extract from it in this place, which is as follows :—

“ I am the poet of Shāh Humāyūn and the dust of his thresh- 478.
hold,

The retinue of my poetic worth casts the moon's brightness
into shade.

My poem is the Emperor, and my noble verses are his cavalry
and soldiery,

I experienced oppression from a fool,⁶ without any fault or
crime of mine.

If a fragment of paper has become blackened by my ravings,

If my meditations turn towards⁷ satirizing him,

The object is that that these idiotic asses

May have a regard for the honour and dignity of this class.

Alas, for that man who contends with the tribe of poets,

Whoever contends with me contends against calamity.”

The Emperor interfered at this verse saying, “ Why do you
not word it thus :

“ Whoever contends with me contends with God ”

The following verses are also by him :—

¹ MSS. (A) (B).

² MSS. (A) (B).

³ MSS. (A) (B) مستثنی ساخته.

⁴ The Text reads خر *Khar* but M.S. (A). reads خسر *Khusur*, father-in-law.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) استماع فرموده.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read بیخردی *be-khārada*. The text reads قبحه زنی *qaḥḍa-zane*. Whoremaster.

⁷ Text روی برآ with a footnote زده for برآ.

Verse.

As long as we have existed we have been lovers and have
 incurred ignominy,
 Yet we have been constant to the true proportions of lovers.
 This is also his:—

Verse.

479.

Ye, beauteous ones, are all devoid of love and faithfulness,
 Ye treat your captives with tyranny and oppression,
 Ye promised to be faithful, but have vowed falsely,
 Say truly, why are ye all thus false ?
 Not in this city alone are we disgraced on your account.
 Everywhere ye are the cause of our disgrace,
 How often will ye ask what is your object in the world ?
 I say truly that ye are, ye are, ye are.
 Jāhī cannot save his life from your hands
 For ye are a calamity of the calamities sent by God.

The following is also by him :

Verse.

Last night the moon of the 'Īd appeared in the form of a
*miṣqal*¹
 Because from the vapours of fasting the mirror of the heart
 was clouded.
 Was this the new moon ? or by reason of the leanness of
 their bodies,
 Did the bone of the rib of the thirsty-lipped fast-enduring
 ones appear ?
 Or was it that they had fashioned a saddle² for the camel of
 Laili ?
 Or was it the bowed body of Majnūn who had become pale
 and wan through grief ?
 The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among thy servants,

¹ مِصْقَل *miṣqal* or مِصْقَالَة *miṣqalat*, called also خُرْزَة *kh̲arazat*, is a shell used for polishing swords, mirrors, &c., *Tājū-l-'Arūs*.

MS. (B) reads مِصْقَال *muṣaqqal* which suits neither metre nor sense.

² MSS. (A) (B) read حَطْب for حَطْب. A footnote variant to the text is خَصْب.

And for that reason has bent the bow in order to string it ¹
 Moreover thy messenger has bound on his bells, ² and has
 placed the feather of distinction on his head,

He is going from Rūm to bear tidings from Zanzibār

It must be borne in mind that this verse ³ *Khvash rā dar silk i
 khuddamī tu mikhwahad falak* (The very heaven wishes to enrol
 itself among your servants) he has taken from a couplet of the
qasidah of Nizām Astaiābādī, which runs thus,—

Shab nujum az majma' i mardum nishān āwarda and

Waz mah i nau tāza harfe darmiyān āwarda and

At night the stars have appeared like an assembly of men

And have brought into their midst a new idea in the shape of
the new moon,

The Shāh of Zangbar has taken his seat upon the throne of **480**
 Empire

And the stars have brought the bow as an offering to him

Rubā'i

The down which encircles thy cheek is the cause of my dis-
 traction,

Thy locks are the cause of my helplessness and distress,

That dusky ringlet is bent upon my undoing,

All these charms are the cause of my distraction

The following is also his

Come, for the sky has prepared for your pastime ⁴

The sun as the golden gourd, and the crescent moon as the
 hook ⁵

بهره گذار (Text) MS (A) reads بهره گذار MS (B) reads بهره گذار

¹ *Basta zang* The dak runners in the East carry a cluster of
 globular bells called *Zang* or *rang* tied to one end of the staff carried over
 their shoulders to the other end of which the mail bag is attached, as a signal
 to clear the way *Zang bastan* has the secondary meaning of acquiring
 importance MSS (A) (B) read رنگ for رنگ

² MS (A) reads اس بیت را که

³ *qabaq buzī* *Qabaq* signifies in Turkish a gourd, in ancient times
 the Turkomans used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, but
 in later times a bowl was substituted for the gourd

⁴ *kajak* The name given to the hook upon which the bowl is sus-
 pended in the game of *qabaq a dazī* (*ghiaṭ* i l l *ghat*)

Bairām Khān has a well-known *qaṣīdah* with this same rhyme, but in a different metre, of which the following is the opening-couplet:—

Verse.

Thy shaft has carried away the loop of the *qabaq*¹ from its hook,

Thy meteor, by the help of the crescent-moon has erased the form of the Pleiades.

These two opening couplets are derived from the opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* by the celebrated Niṣārī Tūnī. The death of Mullā Jāhī took place in the year 956 H. and was due to some poison which a servant introduced into his cup.

Another poet is Ḥaidar Tūniā'i, a man of parts, and unequalled in the technicalities of harmony, he had a competent faculty for both poetry and music. He spent the greater part of his life in Hindustān. The lampoon upon the *Maliku-l-munajjimīn*² of the time of Humāyūn Pādshāh, which he wrote at Panjgāh, is one of the marvels of the age, and a rarity for all time.

The following opening couplet which he wrote for his threnody on the death of the saintly martyred Imām,³ accepted of God, murdered by man, offspring of the Prophet, by descent from the pure⁴ Fāṭimah, *upon them be peace*,⁵ is read during the 'Āshūrā in the assemblies for the commemoration of the death of Husain.⁶

1 The text reads **كَبَك** *kabak* and a footnote states that all three MSS. have the word written with *kāf-i-kaliman* (**ك**). MS. (A) however has **قَبَق** *qabaq*. The crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife (**مَحْكَة**)

2 Prince of Astrologers.

3 Husain, the second son of 'Alī by his wife Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad, was slain at Karbalā, A. H. 61. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*.

4 **الْبَتُول** *Al-Batūl*. The word *batūl* literally means an offset of a palm-tree, cut from the parent tree and independent of it. With the article **ال** *al*, in its application to Fāṭimah, it denotes her distinction from other women on the ground of chastity, excellence and religion. See Lane s. v.

5 **عليه السلام** *'alaihimas-salām*. MS. (A) The text reads **عليه السلام**, with a footnote variant **رضي الله عنه**, and stating that the expression in the text is not found either in the dual or plural in any MS. Clearly the editor had not MS. (A) before him.

6 **معارك** *m'aārik* lit., battle fields.

Verse

The month of Muharram has come and our eyes are constrained to weep,
We let fall tears of blood at the thought of Husain's parched lips ¹

Rubāʿī

Thou art he whom in envy they call the sun and moon,
Thy troops, both horse and foot, they call the moonfaced ones
Thou art worthy of this, with this grace and beauty of thine,
That all the kings of the age should call thee sovereign lord

The following is also by him —

My heart thou hast no friend to compare with sorrow for him,
Thou hast no comfort in life like sympathy for him

And this —

Every moment my heart's desire has some fresh allurement,
To bear her coquetry costs my life, what of that? it is her life

How can I liken the lips of my love to the bud of the rose,
The bud is tightly pursed it is true but is dumb and silent

The son of this man Haidar Tunī was an arrant coward and spiritless, ² accordingly in the months ³ of the year 985 H. he had 482 entered the service of Humayun, one day he was describing the circumstances of a journey by boat and its terrors, in such a way that the effects of fear were evident from his behaviour ⁴ I asked saying, May be you regret having gone on the Hajj? ⁵ and I repeated as appropriate to the occasion that verse which his rivals said to the poet Qudsi ⁶

¹ The pathetic story of the death of Husain slain in his attempts to quench his thirst forms the theme of the annual ceremonies of the Muharram. See Hughes *Dict. of Islam* artt. Muharram and Al Husain where a full account of Husain's death is given

² MS (A) reads پسرشی MS (B) omit وندل

³ MS (A) omits شهر

⁴ Text اداهاش MS (A) اداهاش MS (B) دهانش

⁵ حج Hajj or greater pilgrimage

⁶ Mir Husain Qudsi of Karbala see *Ain-i Akbari* (B) I 602

Verse.

From the hardships of the desert path, and its thorns, ¹
Of the coming to the *Ka'bah* you are probably repentant.

He replied instantly, "Yea! verily." The king said, why should he repent of having visited the *Ka'bah*, though he may indeed repent of sitting in a ship. At that same moment Mathīn ² *Khān*, the elegant and accomplished mime, in accordance with a hint from the king, made himself up ³ to represent a mad man bitten by a dog, and began to bark like a dog, and seized *Haidar*, ⁴ and dragged him forward with his turban flying one way and his shoes another. He began running in all directions, ⁵ till at last he rolled on the ground, and set them all laughing immoderately. When he learned the truth he was desperately ashamed. The king attempted to console him, but it ended by his being obliged to leave Hindustān. Another is *Shāh Tāhir Khwāndī* ⁶ *Dakkanī*, the younger brother of *Shāh Ja'far*; the '*Ulamā* of '*Irāq*, however ridicule his pretensions to descent from *Khwāndī* stock, and have prepared a document bearing upon this question, to which both his opponents and supporters subscribed their signatures, ⁷ as is mentioned in the *Kāmīlu-t-tawārīkh* of Ibn Aṣīr Jazarī, ⁸ and also in the *Lubbu-t-tawārīkh* ⁹ of Qāzī Yahya Qazwīnī, and other works. He claimed to be intimately connected with *Shāh Tahmasp*, but

¹ خار مغیلان *Khār-i-mughailān*. See ante, p. 550 n. 1.

² MSS. (A) (B) منہی *Mathī*.

³ MS. (B) reads ساختہ.

⁴ MS. (A) reads ابن حیدر را.

⁵ MS (A) omits هوسو.

⁶ MS. (A) reads *Khondī* خوندی. *Shāh Tāhir Junaidī*, See Beale *Dict. Or. Biog.*, p. 250. See also Briggs *Firishṭa*, vol. iii. reign of Burhān Nizām *Shāh*.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) خط نهادند. The text reads نهاد MS. (B) reads خطا.

⁸ The author of this celebrated history which is also called *Al Kāmīl fi-t-tārīkh* (the perfect history) or more commonly *Al-Kāmīl*, was *Shaiḫ* Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abī-l-Karīm Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu-l-Karīm ibn 'Abdu-l-Wāḥid ash-Sharbānī commonly known as Ibnu-l-Aṣīr.

He is called *Al-Jazarī* (the islander) from his birth-place the island of Ibn 'Umar, Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul. He was born 555 H. (1160 A.D.) and died 630 H. (1232 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson, II. 244, and Hāji *Khalīfah*, 9733.

⁹ لب التواریخ *Lubbu-t-Tawārīkh*. (Marrow of History). The author of this work was Yahya ibn 'Abdu-l-Latīf Qazwīnī (*Dimishqī*) who died 960 A.H. (1552 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson IV. 293 and Hāji *Khalīfah*, 11076.

eventually he was led, by the abuse which was heaped upon him in connection with the aforesaid claim to relationship,¹ and the excessive annoyance caused him by Mir Jamālu-d-Din Ṣadr Astarābādī, to proceed to the Dakkan, which is famed as the refuge for the oppressed, where he met with a favourable reception² from Nizām Shāh, the ruler of that country, and was rewarded with considerable advancement, and attaining the highest dignities³ reached the rank of *Jumlatu-l-Mulk* (Chief finance-minister of the State). The Shī'ah tenets spread widely, in fact we may say they were really inaugurated in those regions through the instrumentality of Shāh Tāhir.⁴ Nizām Shāh Bahri, who was afflicted with an incurable⁵ malady of long standing, was cured by the virtue⁶ of a charm pronounced over him by Shāh Ja'far, and that occurrence, which was in reality was of the nature of *Istidrāj*, he attributed to the miraculous powers (*karāmāt*) of Shāh Ja'far,⁶ and acting upon his instigation abandoned the religious

1 MS (A) reads نسب.

2 MSS (A) (B) ومشير ومشار إليه گردیده

3 Shāh Tāhir, by prophesying the recovery of his son 'Abdu-l-Qādir, who was dangerously ill, induced Nizām Shāh to reject the names of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uṣman, who are the three first *Khalīfahs* of the Sunnis, from the *Khuṭbah*, and to substitute those of the Imams, thus proclaiming himself a Shī'ah. See *Firāshta*, Bo text, II 220 et seqq Briggs, (III 228) merely mentions the fact but does not give the story.

4 Read لا علاج له MS. (A)

5 بطفيل فسون خواني. *Batufail : fusūn khicāni* This is a very strange expression, and although it occurs in the text and MSS. (A) (B), I would suggest we should read بفضل *ba faẓl*. The use of spells and charms for the cure of disease was permitted to Muslims provided there was in them no suspicion of شرك *shirk*, that is, of associating anything with God. We read in the *Miṣḥkāt* that spells were permitted to be used "to counteract the ill-effects of a malignant eye; and on those bit by snakes or scorpions, and for sores in the side" They were also directed to be used for jaundice which was held to be an effect of the evil eye. See *Miṣḥkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, XXI. Part II.

MS. (B) reads صحتی می دارد

6 استدراج. *Istidrāj* In the *Kashshaf* this is defined as follows "A praternatural occurrence brought about by the agency of an unbeliever or an impious man, and in conformity with his desires" Another definition is also given from the *Shama ilu l-Muhammadiyah*. " *Istidrāj* is a praternatural occur-

tenets of *Sunnat*¹ and *Jamā'at*,² which he held as one of the *Mahdawīyah*,³ and became a fanatical heretic.⁴ What cruel and vexatious treatment as accursed and excommunicate did not these two ill-starred ones⁵ inflict upon the '*Ulamā* and *Shāikh*s of that land ! So that at last their disgraceful conduct led to the expulsion of the true Muslims, and heresy⁶ from that day again became firmly rooted in that country.

Shāh Tāhir was in natural descriptive poetry comparable to *Nizām Astarābādī* in astronomical poetry. The following is from one of his *qaṣīdahs* written in eulogy of *Humāyūn Pādshāh*. In it he has imitated *Anwarī*.

Verse.

When the golden litter of the sun enters the resting-place of
Hamal,⁷

The tulip lights its lamp, and the narcissus its torch ;

rence brought about by the agency of infidels or evil-doers." It is generally understood that a miracle brought about by one who claims to be a prophet, if it be in accordance with his desires is called *mu'jiza*, while if it be contrary to his intention it is called *Ihānat*. Again that which is brought about by any other than a prophet, if he be faithful, pious, and perfect in the knowledge of God, is called *karāmat*; that performed by the ordinary believer is called *ma'ūnat*, but that which is performed by infidels is to be called *istidrāj*.

Kashshāf I. 463.

1 The word سنة *Sunnat* means literally 'a path' and the Sunnīs are known as أهل سنة *Ahl-i-Sunnat* "the people of the path." The Sunnīs have claimed for themselves this title in virtue of their acknowledging the first four *Khalīfahs* to have been the rightful successors of *Muḥammad*, and receiving the "six books" of tradition.

2 جماعة *jamā'at*, Assembly. It is here used in its technical sense of سنة مؤكدة *sunnatun mu'akkadatun* an authenticated traditional practice. The Sunnīs are commonly called *Ahl-i-sunnah wa jamā'ah*.

3 For an account of the *Mahdawī* sect, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B.) I., pp. iii. iv.

4 متروك غالى *mutaraḥḥiz-i-ghālī*. The meaning appears to be "became more of a *Shī'ah* than the *Shī'ahs* themselves." The form of the word *mutaraḥḥiz* requires some such translation.

5 مشنوم *mash'ūm* MSS. (A) (B) read مبدشوم.

6 رفس *Rafz* lit. forsaking. The Sunnī Muslims call all *Shī'ahs* *Rāfiḥī* or heretics.

7 حمل *Hamal*, Aries. The sun enters Aries in Spring.

Now the mountain is freed from the headache caused by
Bahman and Dai,¹

And the spring cloud washes from its forehead the sandal ²

The following *Qasidah* in praise of the Prophet³ is also
his, although the *guriz gah*,⁴ nay even the commencement of the
Qasidah in its entirety, is not suitable to the dignity of the holy 484
Commander (of the Faithful) on him be peace ⁵

Qasidah

Once more the time has come when in accordance with the
summons of the sky

The rose spreads its crimson blanket on the couch of the
garden,

The clouds of Naisan, with the keen blood hued dagger of
the lightning

Erases the word "ice" ⁶ from the pages of the earth's
surface

The close eyed darlings the buds, like an army of Ozbaks,⁷

Make a night attack at early dawn upon the army of Dai,

Behold the forms of bud and of rose with the sky for a
branch!

The conical shadow of the earth is the bud, the sun in
heaven is the rose

¹ بهمن و دی Bahman o Dai Dai is the tenth and Bahman the eleventh
month of the Persian year they answer to December and January See
Al Biruni Chronology p 52

² صندل Sandal Santalum album N O Santalaceae

The wood ground into powder is much used in Ind a made into a paste with
water as an application to the forehead in headaches The *Makhzan al Adwiyah*
recommends the addition of a little camphor and rose water See Ibn Baitar
II, 138 See ante p 434 n 1, also Drury, *Useful Plants of India* p 383

³ منقبت Manqabat This word is used to connote eulogy of either the
Prophet or holy men (Wals)

⁴ گریزگاه Guriz gah Point of departure This name is given to that
portion of a *qasidah* in which the poet leaves his original theme to descant
upon the qualities of the person eulogised

⁵ MS (A) omits حضرت also عليه السلام and تعالى

⁶ Text حرف بری harf : barf MS (B) reads حرف حرف harf : harf

⁷ The Turks are called *tang c/ashm* close eyed and the red petals tightly
folded in the bud are likened to the taj or red caps of the Qizilbash

And for this reason that the assembly of the rose may not be
 without a minstrel,
 The nightingale has become the lute-player, the rose-branch
 with its buds are the lute;
 The garment of the rock would have become wet from the
 moisture distilled from the clouds
 Had not the mountain covered its back with the woollen
 cloak¹ of verdure,
 Had not the lightning smitten its god upon the head of the
 elephant-like cloud
 It would have laid in ruins the stately edifice of the sky,
 The garden became the table of 'Isa, and the dew lying on it²
 Looked like salt sprinkled here and there upon that table,
 In order that the people may not receive base gold from the
 hand of the jasmine,
 The tulip cambist carries hidden under his arm the touch-
 stone.
 Every perfect thing which is not secure from the defects of
 decay,
 Seems in the sight of the wise and noble but a small thing.
 The beloved of the garden is of perfect beauty but it had
 been well
 If this beauty and comeliness had not been separated from it.
 Alas! for that moment when at the instigation of desire the
 army of Dai
 Became emboldened³ to lay waste the garden of roses.
 The time is near at hand when the staff-bearer of the days of
 Autumn
 Will knock with his staff at the gate of the rose-garden.
 The crow will then hold in derision the impassioned⁴ night-
 ingale,
 And the withered petals will lie blackened beneath the
 hundred petalled rose (the sun).

485.

1 Text reads کپنک. MSS. (A) (B) read کپنک *kapanak*, a felt garment which poor persons wear on their backs in winter. *Ghiāgu-l-lughāt*.

2 Read و بروی شبنم MSS. (A) (B).

3 Text reads شیرک but we should read سترک. MS. (A).

4 MS. (A) reads شوریده for شوریده.

The wind has cast the diadem from the head of the garden-glory,¹

While the Siprah² sets itself up in antagonism to the cheek of the rose

With a view to the construction of that courtyard of which Dai³ has laid the foundation in the garden,

Everywhere there lie scattered about bricks of ice and mortar of snow,

[For aged people who have experienced the tyranny of Autumn

The optician Dai makes spectacles of the crystal ice

[Soon will it happen that from fear of the staff of the watchman of Dai

The people of the sweet herbs will take to flight one after another]⁴

It is better for the wise man that he determine to make the tour of such a garden

Where the autumn cannot be persuaded to go even by force

That garden is the rose garden of the praise of a king of so high dignity

That the very angels descend from heaven to frequent his Court

Murtaza⁵ the king, both of form and reality, inasmuch as he is the source of the union of shadow and substance

That one who, from the impetuosity of his royal falcon's talons, 486.

1 بوستاب افروز *bustan afroz* A red flower without odour, called also Tāj-i-Khurus (Cockscomb) and Gul-i-Yusuf (Burhan-i-Qatī) *Amaranthus candatus* Love lies bleeding or *Celosia cristata* (Cockscomb) N O *Amaranthaceae*

2 سڀرک *Siprah* a herb, which when boiled dyes yellow (Steingass) This line may also be translated, Measles has become opponent to the cheek of the rose

3 MS (A) reads گل for دی

4 This complet is in MS (A), as follows —

زود باشد که از سم کتک شجده دی

گربرد رعایای رنجین یک یک

The text reads پیش از ایدم instead of زود باشد

5 مرتضی *Murtaza* The Chosen A title of 'Alī

Breaks the wing of the heavenly Eagle ¹ as though it were a duck.

Such a king is he that, in the train of the attendants at his door,

Birjis ² bears the name Sa'd, and 'Utārid ³ that of Zīrak.

The table-steward of the sky, for the use of his lordly table,
Has brought the Pleiades ⁴ in his hand as salt-cellar and salt.
The moon has become the censer of his ⁵ assembly, and the rays of the moon,⁶

Are the smoke of the aloes-wood which issues from that censer,

From behind the mirror of the heavens, in accordance with the rules of approval,

Whatever he said, Fate repeated the same like a parrot.⁷

[Who else is there whom they can bring into his train,

We recognise his other competitors, each one of them.

He bears no relation to tyranny-loving strangers,

The connoisseur perceives the difference between turquoise⁸ and glass beads;

¹ نسرین فلک. *Nasrain-i-falak*. The constellations Eagle and Lyre.

² برجیس. *Birjis*. The planet Jupiter, which is one of the سعدان *Sa'dān*, or two auspicious planets, the other being Venus.

³ عطارد. *'Utārid*. The planet Mercury, which is held to rule over intelligence, hence it has the name زبرک *Zīrak*, intelligent.

The names Sa'd and Zīrak are commonly given to servants.

⁴ ثریا *Ṣuraiyyā*. The Pleiades; as being the most beneficial of the planets from its influence on the autumnal rains, is called by the Arabs

النجم *An-najm*. The constellation, cf. Job. xxxviii. 31. The poet apparently draws his simile from the form of the constellation itself, and also from the nebula, which he compares to the salt grains. If this latter is really the case it would be interesting, as the nebula of the Pleiades is claimed to have been comparatively recently discovered, first by photography.

⁵ MS. (A) reads وی for تو.

⁶ The expression جرم قمر *jirm-i-qamar* is not very clear, and properly would hardly bear the meaning given to it in the translation. The word جرم *jirm* is said to be used in the sense of the separate members of the body (see Lane s. v.) and on this analogy the word is here translated rays.

⁷ The text has here a footnote saying that in two MSS. there follows here *In maḥla'i ū nāz mashkhūr ast*. So MS. (B).

⁸ To look each morning upon the turquoise is said to enhance the brilliancy of the eyes. It is also said that the wearer of a Turquoise so set that it

Virtual justice and the decree of courts are mistakes,
For this reason that this question was decided in the case of
Faddak¹

The widow of time, since she was not meet for marriage,
He divorced her openly and irrevocably, then he left her]²

The following opening couplet of his³ is also well known — 487.

Verse

In this grief populated world joy has departed from my
sorrowful heart,⁴

We are quite accustomed to grief to such an extent has joy
been forgotten

Verse

We have been defamed because of the crime of love, as the
devotee is blamed for his hypocrisy ,

Both of us are defamed, but what a vast difference there is
between us?

The following is also his —

Verse

Come not out, for you will be the calamity⁵ of the age,
We shall be slain and you will be disgraced.

The following *qasidah* also⁶ is a very happy production of his —

Every man who sets his heart upon worldly desires

In the judgment of men of wisdom is not wise ,

touches the skin may fall from any height without injury as the stone attracts to itself the whole force of the blow *Mani Midid* I p 88 It is also supposed to change colour with the state of the wearer's health The Turquoise is commonly worn set in an amulet

¹ Faddak was a village which belonged to the prophet Muhammad After his death, when his daughter Fatimah had assumed possession, the Khalifah took it from her by force, saying, 'I have heard the prophet say 'we prophets will not leave legacies to our heirs but what is left at our death will be given in clarity''

² The verses in brackets are omitted from MS (A)

³ MS (A) omits او

⁴ Text reads در غم آباد جهان عیش از دل ناشاد رفت MSS (A) (B) read در غم او لذت عشق از دل ناشاد رفت In grief for her the joy of love has left my sorrowful heart

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read قصد for شهوة ⁶ Insert بیدار after قصد MS (A)

Thy form is straight like the letter Alif [may his shadow be lengthened),

And thine eyebrows are extended like the *madda* over the Alif.¹

Thou hast cast the die of acceptance on the words of others,
But through the words of lovers thou has drawn the line of refusal;

Thou endurest troubles, do not attempt to draw her, O painter of Chin,

Wert thou to draw a hundred, never would there come eyes and locks like her's.

Firāqī, be not over-desirous of the wealth of union with her,
Thou hast suffered boundless tyranny and spite at the hands of thy beloved.²

The king, who has now taken refuge in God's pardon, in spite of that unseemly behaviour was excessively fond of the *Khawājah*.

Accordingly, so³ desirous was he of his society that he joined him in the marriage-bond to one of the Begams, in the hope⁴ that he would adopt the manner of life of people of probity and rectitude, but the *Khawājah* was held so close a prisoner⁵ by his evil habits, that he could not abide companionship with the king.

Verse.

When once evil habits have taken possession of the nature
They will never leave it till the day of death.

490. He put forward various flimsy pretexts to that end, and not even contenting himself with this, one day while in the king's assembly he was guilty of a breach of decorum which one blushes to mention. The king, out of the exceeding kindness and goodness of his nature, overlooked his fault, and merely remarked, "My dear *Khawāja* what sort of manners are these!" The *Khawāja* sought permission to proceed to Makka the revered, the blessed,⁶ and after duly setting in order the requisites for his journey and the

¹ An Alif 1 with a curved line written across it horizontally ٱ is called *Alif mandūda*. This cross line was originally the word *مد*, *madd* which means lengthening or prolonging.

² MS. (B). transposes the two last lines. ³ MS. (A). *که از بس* omits *که*.

⁴ MS. (A) reads *تا شاید که*. ⁵ MS. (A) reads *گرفتاری*.

⁶ MS. (A) omits *معظمه مبارکه* MS. (B) omits *معظمه*.

requirements for a sea-voyage,¹ he bade him farewell. When he embarked he enquired of his companions, what² are the advantages of going thither? They replied, "Purification from past sins." He rejoined, "I will wait then till I have fulfilled the catalogue of sins, and then be purified, so that I may have no further desire to sin"³. Thus he remained destitute of that grace, and abandoning himself to his desires, gave the rein to his passions. Sultān Bahādur of Gujrat in consideration of pleasant companionship and good-fellowship, appointed⁴ him a daily allowance of one *ashrafī*⁵ for his expenditure. One day when he was passing through the bāzār of Ahmadābād, seeing the Khwāja in the Tirpauliya mosque,⁶ he reined back and with great kindness and *empressment* asked "How is the Khwāja faring?" He replied "On the fare which you have allotted me, one of my limbs even cannot obtain sufficient sustenance, why do you ask such a question?" Sultān Bahādur notwithstanding this rudeness doubled his allowance.⁷

Just at that time too Shāh Tahir Dakhani came to Gujrat with all pomp and circumstance on the occasion of his embassy from Nizam Shāh Dakhani, and having heard such high praise of the Khwāja, arrived at his house, which had neither a mat nor a pitcher of water. A very pleasant colloquy followed, each reciting his own and hearing the other's verses, and on the next

¹ سفر حجاز MS. (A) The text reads اسباب سفر و حجاز and adds a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS and also suggests that we should perhaps read سفر حجاز MS (A) is however evidently correct here

² MS (A) reads چه چیز است

³ Read here تا ارضایی نماید MS (A), instead of the reading in the text تا ازودتی نماید

⁴ MS (A) فرمود

⁵ The *Ashrafī* is a gold coin weighing ten *maṣḥas*, which first obtained currency in the reign of Ashraf Padshah (*Qhāṣu l lughat*)

⁶ MS (A) reads بازار for مسجد The word تیرپولیہ *tirpauliya* is a Sanskrit word meaning *having three doors*. It does not appear which mosque is meant, but Hunter in the *Gazetteer of India* Vol I, pp 97 98, speaking of the architecture of Ahmadābad, points out the compromise of form between Hindu or Jain and Muhammadan types. He says 'Even the mosques are Hindu or Jain in their details with a Sarconic arch thrown in occasionally, not from any constructive want, but as a symbol of Islam'

⁷ MS (A) omits ٧

Verse

The wicked sees all the vices of others,
From the pitcher that distils which it contains ¹

God He is glorified and exalted, preserves all of us from that which is wrong and improper, and as at this time ² the writer has not with him a selection from the anthologies of the eloquent and learned poets, accordingly he has found it necessary to restrict himself ³ to the brief mention of these few poets by way of an example.

Should this inconstant and transitory life give a few days respite, and should the days, in opposition to their usual habit afford assistance, and should Fate give its help, he will make mention of the poets of former times, and the contemporary poets of Hindūstān, especially of those whom he has seen or heard and appreciated in his own lifetime, together with extracts from their poems included in their biographies

Mine is the endeavour, its perfection is from God ⁴ Should this not come to pass, this much will suffice as a memorial of the author

Qita'h

If I remain in life, I will repair
The garment which exile has rent,
If I should die, ⁵ accept this my excuse,
Many are the hopes which crumble into dust

¹ This proverb in one form or another is well known The Arabic proverb runs كل إباء ينضح بما فيه Every vessel exudes what it contains.

² MS. (A) دریں هنگام ³ MS (A) (B) اقتصار واختصار

⁴ تعالیٰ و تقدس MS (A) (B) which omit می الله

⁵ MSS (A) (B) بمردیم

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- poet, contemporary of 'Asjadī, Ansurī and Firdausī, 17 n 3
- Farrukh Shāh** of Kabul, grandfather of **Shāikh Farid Ganjī Shakkār**, 132 n 6
- Farrukh Zīd**, **Sulṭān**, ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd **Ghaznawī**, 51
- Farḥur**, old name of **Peshawar**, 66 n 6
- Farukhabad** district, N.-W. P., 377 n 3 See also under **Farukhābad**
- Fāruq** or the *Discerner*, a name of 'Umar, the second **Khalīfah**, 59 and n 3.
- Faryab** a town of **Mawarān n Nahr** (*Transoxiana*), 339 n 4
- Faṣṣ**, prayers enjoined in the **Qur'ān**, 458 n 7 [**'Alī**, 557 n
- Fāsiq**, immoral man, one who opposes
- Fatehgarh**, town in **Farukhābad** district, N.-W. P., 377 n 3, 381 n 4
- Fatehpur**, 325 n 3 See under **Fathpur**.
- Fatepour**, 80 n 5, for **Fathpur** (q v).
- Fath Khān**, son of A'zam **Hamāyun Shīrwānī**, one of the **Amirs** of **Sulṭān Ibrahim Lodī**, 433
- Fath Khān**, son of **Sulṭān Bahlul Lodī**, 418
- Fath Khān**, son of **Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh**, of the **Tughlaq** dynasty, 324 and n 2, 328, 334.
- Fath Khān Harawī**, of the **Amirs** of **Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shārqī** of **Jaunpur**, 403 and nn 2, 3 and 4 See also the next
- Fath Khān**, of **Herāt**, **Shahzada**, of the **Amirs** of **Sulṭān Muḥarak Shāh** of **Jaunpur**, 361 Same as the above (q. 1).
- Fathābad**, founded by **Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī**, 47 and n 1.
- Fathabad**, founded by **Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh**, of the **Tughlaq** dynasty, 324 n 2, 325 n 3, 365.
- Fathpur**, otherwise known as **Sikrī**, one of the dependencies of **Multān**, 80 n 5, 97, 325 n 5, 363, 365, 366, 375, 433, 442, 445, 446, 486, 508, 535 600
- Fathpur District**, N.-W. Provinces, 456 n 6
- Fāṭimah**, daughter of the Prophet **Maḥammad** and wife of 'Alī, 151 n 5, 156 n 5, 303 n 4, 622 nn 3 and 4, 631 n 1.
- Fatwas**, legal decisions by a **Muftī** (q v.), 317 n 6, religious or judicial rulings, 507 and n 7.
- Faṣīlat**, **Qazī**, or **Qazī Ignominy**, 474 and n 6 See under **Qazī Faṣīlat**.
- Faṣīlat**, **Qizī**, the **Qazī** of the army of **Shīr Shāh**, popularly known as **Qazī Faṣīlat** (q v.), 474 and n 4
- Faṣlū llāh Balkhī**, **Malik**, styled **Qutlugh Khān**, one of the **Amirs** of the **Tughlaq Shāhī** dynasty, 351 and n 2.
- Faṣlū llāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary**, 482 n 2, 483 n 2, 497 n 1, 575 n 1, 580 n 5, 592 n 5, 596 n 6
- Faṣṣ**, the first arrow in the game of *masir*, 369 n 1
- Ferīḡhta** See under **Firīḡhta**.
- Fidaīs**, the,—disciples of the chief of the **Mulāhidah** heretics, 73 and n 2, 122 and n 3.
- Filband**, a stratagem in the game of chess, 114 n 2

Figār, vertebrae of the back, 74 n 2.

Fiqh, the two chief divisions of, 5 n 4.

Firangī, the, 458 and n 6. See also under the Franks.

Firāqī, *takhallus* or poetical name of Khwājā Aiyūb ibn Khwājā Abū-l-Barakāt (q. v.), 633, 634.

Firāqnāmah, one of the poetical works of Salmān Sāwajī, 571 n 9.

Firdausī, the celebrated author of the *Shāh-nāmah*, 17 and nn 1 and 3, 32 and n 1, 88 n 2, 461 n 6.

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- Firozabad, a town on the banks of the Jamna, at ten miles from Dihli, built by Sultan Firoz Shāh of the Tughlaq dynasty, 325 and n 3, 342, 343, 344, 345, 350, 351, 354, 356, 359, 366 Written also Firuz abād
- Firozabad, a fortress at the village of Gawin on the banks of the Jamnā, built by Firoz Shah, 327 and n 5
- Firozabād, later name of the town of Panduah, 325 n 3
- Firoz 'Alī, Malik, son of Malik Tāju d-Dīn, one of the Amirs of Firoz Shah, called also Khan i Jahan the Wazīr, 342 and n 2
- Firoz Khān, one of the Afghan Amirs under Babar, 444
- Firoz Khan, son of Islem Shah Sur, succeeds his father under the title of Firoz Shah, 535, 537
- Firoz Khan ibn Yaghrash the Khulji, styled Shayista Khān (q v) eventually becomes Sultan Jalāl d-Dīn Khulji (q v), 226, 230.
- Firoz Koh, capital of Ghur See under Firuz Koh
- Firoz, Malik, son of Malik Rajab same person as Firoz Shah of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty (q v), 302, 315, 322
- Firoz Nāib Barbak, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shah 312
- Firoz, Rai, a contemporary of Sultan Muḥarak Shāh, of the Saiyyid dynasty, 382, 390 [535, 537
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- Firoz Shāh, canal of, 325 n 3, 326 n
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- Firuzā, fortress of, 364 n 6, 375, 378. See under Hissar Firuzah
- Firuzabad, on the Jamna See under Firozābad
- Firuzī Amirs, the,—partisans of the House of Sultan Firoz Shah (q v), 337, 345, 350, 351, 352
- Firuz Koh, capital of the country of Ghur, 60 n 2, 63 and n 1, 68, 78
- Firuzpur, fortress of, built by Sultan Firoz Shāh in Sīhrind 331, 334, 378 489 Written also Firozpur.
- Firuzpur, town of, 336 Called also Akhūripur as the *Last city built* by Firoz Shah.
- Firuz Shāh, Sultan See under Firoz Shāh

Fisq, immorality, does not exclude *Imān* (faith), 577 *n*.
 Follis, a Roman coin, origin of the word *fals*, 18 *n* 1.
 Forty Slaves of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 184.
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 Freytag, *Arabic Dictionary*, 509 *n* 5.
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 Freytag, *Hamāsah*, 287 *n* 1.
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 Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, servant of

Saiyyid Sālīm of Tabarhindah (*q. v.*), 388 and *n* 2, 389, 390, 391, **393**.

Fu-mā, in Chinese, equivalent to the Mongol *Gurgān*, which means "Son-in-law," when applied to princes, 353 *n* 1.

Furruckābād, N.-W. Provinces, 218 *n* 3. Properly Farrukhābād.

Furū', one of the two chief divisions of *Ilm-i-Fiqh*, 5 *n* 4.

Futūḥu-l-Buldān of al-Bilāzurī, 11 *n* 3.

Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn, an historical work, 314 and *n* 9.

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Gabriel, the Angel, 58 and *n* 2, 93, 106 *n* 5, 111 *n*, 151 *n* 6, 374 *n* 5, 614.

Gajpatis, or "the Lords of Elephants," title of the Lion Dynasty of Jāj-nagar, 125 *n* 3.

Gakkhars, the,—a tribe of the Hindūs, probably the same tribe as the Khūkhars, 67 and *n* 3.

Gandaba, fortress of, 28 *n* 4, 29 *n*. Called also Kandama.

Gandak river, the,—in the Gorakh-pūr District, 409 *n* 5.

Ganes, Rāi,—or

Ganesh, Rāi, the Rājā of Patiālī, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 413 and *n* 8, 419.

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Ganj-Bakhsh, surname of Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭu, contemporary of Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī, 357 *n* 3.

Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd, a famous Muḥammadan Saint of Hindūstān, 132 and *n* 6, 133 *n*, 135 *n*, 233, 362 *n* 2, 416 *n* 13.

Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musulman*, 428 *n* 2, 605 *nn* 8 and 9, 606 *n* 2, 607 *n* 4, 608 *n* 3.

Gardaiz, a district lying between Ghazna and Hindūstān, 66 *n* 1. Called also Kardiz.

- Garha Katanka, name of a country north of the Dakhan, 433 n 3
- Garhi, a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihar and Bangala, 457 and n 5
- Garmair, a province of Khurāsān, 49, 65 and n 1, 81, 86 573
- Garshasp, Shah of the first dynasty of Persian Kings, 84 and n 2 85
- Gaster's translation of the "*Record of Moses*," 141 n 4
- Gate of Paradise, a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine of Shāikh Faridu d Din Ganji Shakkār at Pakpattan, 362 n 2
- Gatilā, Sanskrit name of the Indian Spikenard or *nard*, 374 n
- Gaṭwaras the,—a tribe of the Jats, 122 n 1
- Gaur, old capital of Bengal 82 nn 3 and 4 83 and n 2 458. Name changed to Jannatabad by Humayun
- Gauria See under Muhammad Khan Gauria and also Khizr Khan Gauria
- Gaus Ahmad, of Guzarate, 357 n 4 Same as Sulṭān Ahmad Shah, the ruler of Gujarat
- Gawars, the —a race of gypsies in India, 312 and n 7
- Gāwin, village of,—on the banks of the Jumna, 327 n 5
- Gayōmarth, the Adam of the Persians, 280 n 3 [of, 330 n 8
- Gaz, a measure of length, three kinds
- Gaz, tenth son of Japhet, son of Noah, 61 n 5
- Gazetteer of the Countries on the North West of India*, Thornton s, 567 nn 1 and 9
- Gelaeddin, 91 n 2, for Jalālu d Din Mangburni (q v)
- Gemini, the, 39
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- Gen, one of the heroes of the Shah-namah 116 n 5
- Geography of Ancient India, Cunningham s. See under *Ancient Geography of India*.
- Gersiwāz, one of the attendants of Afrasiyab, in the Shah-namah of Firdausi, 180 n 2
- Gesenius *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language* 104 n 2, 394 n 5.
- Ghaggar river, the, 326 n See also the next
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- Ghalkars, the,—a Hindu tribe, 491, 498, 499, 500
- Ghālib Khan, Governor of Sāmāna under the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty, 338, 352, 360 [465 n 6
- Ghalla-jawari, the smaller millet,
- Ghānim ibn 'Ulwan one of the three chief lords of Shaddad ibn 'Ad, 262 n
- Ghari Ju, village of, 503 n 5. Called also Ghari Khu (q v)
- Ghari Khu, village of on the bank of the river Behat, 503 and n 5
- Gharjistan a country between Herāt, Ghor and Ghazni 13 n 1 22 n 2, 63 n 1 Called also Gharshistān
- Gharshistān, 22 n 2 See under Gharjistan

Ghāt-i-Sākūn, name of a place, 283 *n* 5. Called also Badra-i-Sākūn.

Ghanr, a province lying between Herāt and Gharjistan, 43 and *n* 4.

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Ghaṣṣu-l-Ālam Ḥayrat Shaykh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyāi, the Mul-tānī, 133 and *n* 2. See under Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyāi. [6 *n* 4.

Al-Ghāyatu fī-l-Fiqh of Qāzī Baiḥāwī, Ghazal, ode, 612 and *n* 2.

Ghāzī Khān, son of Daulat Khān Lodī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 435 *n* 9, 436, 437, 438 and *n* 5.

Ghāzī Khān Sūr, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty of Afghāns, 549, 550, 553, 558, 597, 598.

Ghāzī Maḥallī, one of the confidential servants of Islem Shāh Sūr, 487, 488.

Ghāzī Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān ʿAlāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, succeeds to the throne of Dihlī under the style of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 291, 292, 293, 294 and *n* 4, 295, 296 and *n* 3. See Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh and also Tughlaq Khān.

Ghāzī, one who fights in the cause of Islām, 356 *n* 4.

Ghāzīs, the, 18. See under Ghāzī.

Ghāzīu-l-Mulk, Malik Chaman of Badāon, one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 396 and *n* 1, 398.

Ghazna. See under Ghaznīn.

Ghaznavide dynasty, the. See under the Ghaznivide dynasty.

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Ghaznivide dynasty, the,—founded by Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Sabuktigīn, 13 *n* 1, 14, 62 and *n* 4, 63, 64 and *n* 1.

Gheins-ood-Deen, grandson of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 338 *n* 1. See under Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II.

Ghibla, unusual use of the word by Badāonī, 508 *n* 3, 543 *n* 4.

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Ghīās Vazīr, Khawāja,—Salmān Sāwajī's Qaṣīdah in his honour, 605.

Ghiyāṣī Amīrs, the,—of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 223, 224, 231, 232, 233. [Mughulpūr, 236.

Ghiyāṣpūr, commonly known as Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn Sām Ghorī, Sulṭān of Ghor and Ghaznīn, 62, 63 and *n* 1, 64 and *nn* 2 and 3, 65, 68, 71, 73 and *n* 1, 77 and *n* 1.

- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Hallan, Sultan, of the Slave dynasty of Dihli, 97, 121 and n 7, 124 and n 4, 126, 127, 135, 183, 184 and n 1 and 4, 195, 197, 199 n 1, 210, 220 n 2, 221 and n 1, 222, 223, 224, 227, 228, 231, 232, 233. Before his accession he was called Ulogh Khan (q. v.)
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Hasan Chishtī, father of the famous saint Khwāṣṭ Muḥammad-d-Din Chishtī, 70 n 2.
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din 'Iwaz, the Khalī, Sultan of Lakhanauti and the last of the Muḥammadī Sultans (q. v.), 85, 87 and n 4. See also the next and under Husayn-d-Din 'Iwaz.
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Khilji, Sultan, 91. Same as the above.
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Mahmūd, son of Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Muḥammad Firuz Ghori, Sultan of Ghôr and Ghaznin, 77 and n 1.
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din, son of Sultan Mahmūd Khilji of Mālwa, 370.
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Mahmūd Shih, son of Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shih, 324.
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Muḥammad, Ghori, Sultan. See under Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Abu-l-Fath.
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Muḥammad, the Maḥdūmāda-l-Haghdādi, a prince of the House of 'Abbās, the Khalīfa of Haghdād, 311 and n 4.
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Muḥammad Shih, the ruler of Oudh, son of Sultan Shams-d-Din Iyāl-timish, 98.
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Tughlaq Shih, Sultan, first of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihli, 296, 298, 299, 300, 301, 304, 321. Before his accession he was called Qizī Malik (q. v.)
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Tughlaq Shih II, Bin Fath Khan il-n Sultan Firuz Shih, 324 n 1, 341.
- Ghiyāṣ-d-Din, a lexicographical work, 60 n 3, 108 n 4, 142 n 1, 145 n 1, 152 n 2, 163 n 1, 221 n 2, 617 n 1, 621 n 3, 624 n 1, 635 n 2.
- Ghor, country of, 13 n 1, 22 n 2, 62, 64 n 4, 63, 64 and n 2, 65 n 2, 68, 71, 77 n 1, 81 and n 2. The name is also written Ghor and Ghor.
- Ghor, Kings of, 62, 64 n 4, 63. See also under the Ghor dynasty.
- Ghori, fortress of,—in Ghaznin, 21 and n 3.
- Ghor dynasty of Dihli, 64, 68, 228. See under Kings of Ghor.
- Ghal, centre of a Turkish army, 439 n 4. Also called Qal.
- Ghar. See under Ghor.
- Gharjistan, same as Gharjistan (q. v.), 22 and n 2, 63 n 1, 68.
- Ghurrat-l-Kamāl of Mir Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihli, 134, 197 and n 1, 216.
- Ghuzz, tribe of,—a tribe of Turks 61 and n 5, 65, 107 n 3, 291.
- Gillān, a province of Persia, 93 n 4.
- Gilaurī, note on, 303 n.
- Gilī, town, 250 and n 4. Called also Kilī.
- Gir, Malik, son of Malik Qabūl Khalifati, one of the Amirs of Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shih, 316.
- Girāi, one of the poets of the time of Sultan 'Alāu-d-Din Khilji, 266.

- Girāt Singh, Rāi, Governor of Gwālār, contemporary of Sultān Bahlūl Lodi, 408.
- Girgīn-i-Milād, one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusrau in the Shāhnāmāh of Firdausī, 116 and *nn* 4 and 5, 180 *n* 2.
- Gisāi, a place, 549 *n* 3.
- Gladwin's *Dissertations*, 608 *n* 3.
- Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, Yule and Burnett's, 495 *n*, 543 *n* 3.
- Glossary on Muqaddasī*, De Gooje's, 217 *n* 2.
- Gobind Chand, Rājā,—one of the Rājās of Hindūstān at the time of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, 25.
- Godī river, the, 222 *n* 3. Called also the Gumtī and the Kowah (*q. v.*).
- Gooje, de, *Glossary on Muqaddasī*, 217 *n* 2.
- Gog and Magog, Wall of, 191 *n* 2. Commonly known as the rampart of Sikandar.
- Gogra, the, 222 *n* 3. Called also the Ghāghar and Ghāgra.
- Gohana, a district of the N.-W. Provinces, 122 *n* 1.
- Gokultāsh, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.
- Golius, *Dictionary of the Arabic Language*, 509 *n* 5.
- Gonds, the,—a tribe of Hindūs, 433 and *n* 4.
- Gonor, a place at 24 miles from Dihlī, 21 *n* 4.
- Gorakhpūr District, 409 *n* 5.
- Gorgang, the capital of Khawārazm, called Jurjān by the Arabs, 23 *n* 1. See under Gurgān.
- Gour, country of, 456. Read Gaur, a name of Bengal from its capital.
- Goyā, or Kanhaiyā, minister and agent of Rāi Māldeo, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 478 and *n* 7. See also under Kanhaiyā.
- Grand Trunk Road, the, 386 *n* 3.
- Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, 265 *n* 4.
- Great Larās, town, 326 *n*, 327 *n* 1. Called Rās by Badāonī.
- Grecian Emperor, the, 18 *n* 1.
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- Gūgird-i-Aḥmar or Sulphur, notes on, 340 and *n* 2.
- Gujarāt. See under Gujrat.
- Gujerāt. See under Gujrat.
- Gujrāt, 9 *n* 2, 12, 17 *n* 4, 27 *n* 4, 28, 66, 71, 89, 255, 256 *n* 4, 257, 267, 274, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 313, 314, 315, 324, 333, 334, 337, 346, 354, 357 and *nn* 3 and 4, 379, 389, 450, 452, 454, 456, 472, 533, 534, 559 and *n* 8, 567, 597, 635. The name is also written Gujarāt, Gujerāt and Guzerāt.
- Gulāngabīn, confection of rose and honey, 148 and *n* 4.
- Gulbarga, town, 311 and *n* 6.
- Gulistān of Shāikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, 187 *n* 2, 467.
- Gulistān Sa'iyyids, the,—a family of Sa'iyyids, 584 *n* 3.
- Gul-i-Yūsuf, a red flower without odour, 629 *n* 1.

- Gulnār* tree, called also *Nārān*, 172 n 3
- Gulqand*, confection of roses, 452 and n 2
- Gulrukh*, the pseudonym of *Sultān Sikandar Lodī*, 126
- Gumtī*, the, 222 n 3, 329 n 2 Called also the *Godī* and the *Kowāb*
- Gungūna*, fortress of, one of the dependencies of *Malot*, 437 and n 7.
- Gurdāspūr*, town, 383 n 8
- Gurgān*, town of,—the *Jurjān* of the Arabs, 37 n 7, 38, 117. See under *Gorgang*
- Gūrgān*, a surname of the great *Timūr* and a title applied to the sons in-law of a *Mughul* Emperor, 103 n 3, 353 and n 1.
- Gargāon*, a district of *Miwāt*, 134 n 1, 366 n.
- Gargīn* : *Milād*, one of the chief warriors of *Kai Khusrāu* in the *Shah namah* of *Firdausī*, 116 and nn 4 and 5, 180 n 2
- Guriz gah*, a term of *Prosody*, 627 and n 4.
- Gurjistan*, 43 n 4, for *Gharjistan* (q v)
- Gurkan*, a *Mongol* title, 103 n 3 See under *Gurgān*
- Gūrkhān*, or universal king, hereditary title of the Kings of *Karā Khūā*, 103 n 3.
- Gūrkhān* of *Qarā Khūā*, the contemporary of *Sultān Maḥammad Khwārazm Shāh*, 71 n 7.
- Gushtāsp*, an ancient King of *Irān*, 35 n 2
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- Guzarate*. See under *Gujrāt*.
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- Guzr* i *Ganjīna*, a ford on the *Jamna*, 406 n 6
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- Habīb Badāoni*, *Shāikh*, one of the notable men of *Badāon* at the time of *Humāyūn*, 600
- Habīb Khan Tughluq* or *Taghūchī*, one of the *Afghan* Amirs under *Sikandar Khān Sur* (q v), 542, 593
- Habībullah*, *Mir*, grandson of *Mir Sayyid Jamālud Dīn* the traditionalist, 589.
- Habshi*, original name of *Sultān Ghiyāṣud Dīn Muhammad Sam Ghuri*, 65 n 2.

- Ḥabūlī, Rāi, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 388 n 3.
- Ḥadah, Shaiḵh, a learned physician of Bihār in the time of Sher Shāh and Islem Shāh, 521 n 4.
- Ḥadāyan, a *Maṣṇawī* in Hindī relating the loves of Lūrak and Chandā, 333 n 6.
- Ḥādī, son of al-Mahdī, the 'Abbāsido Khalīfah of Baghḍād, 75 n.
- Ḥādī Sabzwārī, Ḥājī Mullā, author of the *Sharḥ-i-Manẓūma*, 181 n 2.
- Ḥadīqat-u-l-Ḥaqīqat wa *Sharī'atu-t-Tarīqat*, otherwise known as *Fakhrī-nāmah*, the most celebrated work of the famous poet Sanā'ī, 35 n 1, 56 n 2, 57 and n 1, 60.
- Ḥāfiẓ, the famous Persian poet, 100 n 5, 101 n 1, 121 n 3, 151 n 6, 412 n 1, 487 n 6.
- Ḥāfiẓ Niẓām of Badāon, *Imām* of Islem Shāh, 535.
- Haft andām*, the seven members of the body, 165 n 2.
- Haft Aurang*, a series of seven poems by Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.
- Haft Jūsh*, seven metals melted together, 321 and n 2.
- Haft Khwān, the seven great labours of Isfandiyār in the *Shāh-nāmāh* of Firdausī, 116 n 3, 321 and n 1.
- Haft Paikar*, a poem of Shaiḵh Niẓāmī Ganjāwī, 298 n 4.
- Haft rang*, a variety of the Khīrī flower, 173 n 3.
- Ḥaiātu-l-Ḥaiwān*, a work on natural history, 108 n 1, 157 n 1, 171 n 2, 178 n 4, 191 n 3, 352 n 1.
- Ḥaiātu-l-Qulūb* of Aghā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, 110 nn 3 and 4, 149 n.
- Haibat Khān A'zam Humāyūn of Lāhor, 490. See under A'zam Humāyūn Haibat Khān.
- Haibat Khān Jilwānī, a subordinate of Sulṭān Sharq of Baiāna, 414.
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- Ḥaidar-i-Karrār, a name of 'Alī ibn-Abī Tālib, 93 n 4, 207.
- Ḥaidar Khān Chaghta, 553. Same as Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī (*q. v.*).
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- Ḥaidar Tūniā'ī, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 622, 623, 624.
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- Haiyatul Hawanat* See under the *Haiyatul Hawan*
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- Haji Khalifa*, author of the *Kashfu z Zunan fi Asma i Kutub wa l Funun*, 5 n 4 33 n 1, 34 n 9, 35 n 1, 49 n 3 50 n 2 73 n 1, 181 n 2, 197 n 1 221 n 2, 222 n 1, 270 nn 1 and 4, 272 n 1 427 n 1, 428 nn 2, 3, 5 and 6, 467 n 2, 521 n 5, 533 n 1, 571 n 9, 624 nn 8 and 9
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- Harar ibn Muhammad al Khâkî ash Shîrâzî, author of a *Muntakhabu t-Tawarîkh*, 11 n 1.
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- Harcaran, a Hindu Prince, founder of Banghar, 71 n 2
- Hardat, Governor of the fortress of Mirath at the time of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavî's invasion, 24 n 1
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- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Jānī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 87 and n 3.
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- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Yahyā, *A'ḡamu-l-mulk*, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḡammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 308.
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- Jalālābās, called also Arail, a town near Allahabad, 415 *n* 4.
- Jalāl*, greatness, 515 and *n* 6, 516.
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- Jalālu-d-Dīn Jānī, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sultān Nūsirū-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 132.
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- Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburnī, Sultān, son of Sultān Muḥammad Khawārazm Shāh, 91 and *nn* 1 and 2.
- Jalālu-d-Dīn, son of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 124, 125, 131.
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- Jalālu-d-Dīn, Sultān, title assumed by Muḥammad Khān Sūr, Governor of Bangāla (*q.v.*), 552.
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- Janjūhah, one of the two tribes inhabiting the Jūd hills, 128 *n* 3.
- Jannat Ashīyānī, invades Hindustān, 547.
- Jannatābād, new name of Gaur the capital of Bangāla, so called by Humāyūn, 82 *n* 3, 458.
- Jānoha, a tribe of the Hindūs, 500.
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- Jarrett's *History of the Caliphs*, 12 *n* 2, 15 *n* 4, 17 *n* 2, 18 *n* 1, 29 *n* 2, 571 *n* 2.
- Jartaulī, a famous city of Mawās, 386 and *n* 5.
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- Jatāmānsī, Sanskrit name of the *nard* or Indian Spikenard, 374 *n*.
- Jāts, the,—a tribe of the Hindūs, 29 and *n* 4, 121, 122 *n* 1, 129 *n* 2.
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- Jauhar, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.
- Jauharan, a term of Muslim theology, 614 *n* 2.
- Jaun, the,—a name of the river Jumna, 23 *n* 3, 24 *n* 4. Called also the Jon (*q. v.*).
- Jaunān, original name of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 329 *n* 2.
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- Jawanghar*,—or
- Jawangul*, left wing of a Turkish army, 439 n 4
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- Qamurgha, a hunting ground in Turkī, 258 n 5.
- Qāmūs, the Arabic Dictionary of Firūzābādī, 176 n 1, 182 n 4.
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- Qanauj or Qanaḡ, the Hindū capital of Northern India, 23 and n 2 and 4, 24, 25 n 4, 70, 114 n 2, 125, 312, 329 n 2, 346, 347, 348, 360, 301, 302, 303, 361, 401 and n 5, 409, 413, 431 and n 4, 434, 443, 444, 452, 463, 472, 540, 503 n 6. See Qanauj.
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- Shāh Muḥammad Farmalī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 499 and *n* 7, 538, 539, 540.
- Shāh Muḥammad Khān Sālū, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 and *n* 7, 619.
- Shāh Muḥammad Shāhābādī, Mullā, translator of the *History of Kashmīr*, 8 *n* 3.
- Shāh Murād, son of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, 572, 573 and *n* 1, 575, 576.
- Shāh Najaf, grandson by his mother's side of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 260 *n* 7.
- Shāh Nāmah. See under the Shāh-nāma.
- Shāh Rukh, grandson of the Great Tīmūr, Sulṭān of Persia, 618 *n* 1.
- Shāh Tābir Junaidī, the poet, 624 *n* 6. Same as the next (*q. v.*).
- Shāh Tāhir Khondī,—or
- Shāh Tāhir Khwāndī Dakkanī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 624 and *n* 6, 625 and *n* 3, 626, 632, 635, 636.
- Shāh Tahmāsp, King of Persia, contemporary of Humāyūn, 453, 455, 456, 466, 569, 570; 572, 624.
- Shāh Turkān, mother of Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 98 *n* 1.
- Shahāb. See under Shihāb.
- Shāhābād, district and town in Bengal, 330 *n* 7, 334, 439, 466 *n* 6.
- Shahābu-d-Daulat. See under Shihābu-d-Daulat.
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- Shāhanshāh Sayyid Zādu-i-'Alawī a descendant on the mother's side from Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 260 and *n* 7.
- Shāhbāz Khān Lāhānī, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 490 and *n* 4, 592.
- Shāhik Bārbak, the Khān-i-Jahān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād Balbanī, 221.
- Shāhik Wazīr Khān, one of the Maliks of the Balbanī dynasty, 220.
- Shāhīn, Malik, known by the title of Wafā Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Khiljī dynasty, 284.
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- Shāhjahanpūr District, N.-W. Provinces, 546 *n* 3, 598 *n* 9.
- Shahna-i-Shahr, City Constable, 401.
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Shamā'ilu-l-Muḥammadīyah, name of a book, 625 *n* 6.

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- Shamsu l Mulk, one of the Malika of Mubarak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 390, 392
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- Shar', agh, the sacred canon of the Qur'an, 4 n 1
- Sharaf, a poet, 68
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- Sharafu l Mulk Aḡari, one of the Amirs of the Shamsiyah Sultans, 125
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- Sharḥain : Miftah, two commentaries on the Miftāḥ l 'Ulum, 428 n 2
- Sharḥ : Manzuma of Haji Mulla Hadi Sabzwār, 181 n 2
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- Shatladar, name of the Sutlej in Sanskrit, 23 n 3
- Shaula, name of one of the mansions of the moon, 115 n 3
- Shāyista Khan, son of Qarra Qumar, one of the courtiers of Sultan Qutbu d-Din Khilji, 291, 293, 295 and n 3
- Shāyista Khān, title of Firoz Khān ibn Yaghrash the Khilji, afterwards Sultān Jalālu d Din Khilji (q v), 226, 227, 228, 229, 230 and n 1.
- Shehr : Sabz, in Bokharā, 570 n 7
- Shekel, a weight and a coin of the Hebrews 25 n 1
- Shēr Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultan Mu'izzu d Din Kaiqubad of the Balbanī dynasty, 226 and n 1
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- Shibla, a village in the dependencies of Osrūshna in Transoxiana, 59 *n* 1.
- Shiblī, a famous Muḥammadan Saint, 59 and *n* 1.
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- Shihāb, Mīr, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 598 *n* 5.
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- Shihāb Nāhir, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 351, 359.
- Shihāb-i-Mutmara, Maulānā, one of the poets of the reign of Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyāl-timish, 99 and *n* 2, 100 and *n* 1, 103, 112, 271 and *n* 2.
- Shihābu-d-Daulah Mas'ūd, son of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29, 33, 35. See under Sultān Mas'ūd.
- Shihābu-d-Daulah Mandūd, son of Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 43 *n* 7. See under Sultān Mandūd.
- Shihābu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Muẓaffar Ghorī, 62, 63 and *n* 1, 64 and *n* 2, 65 and *n* 2, 66, 70, 72, 133 *n*. See under Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām.
- Shihābu-d-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 598 and *n* 5.
- Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist, Maulānā, a learned man in the time of Bābar, 449 and *nn* 3 and 9, 450 and *n* 1.
- Shihābu-d-Dīn Ḥakīm Kirmānī Jaunpūrī, author of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī, 230.
- Shihābu-d-Dīn ibn Jamālu-d-Dīn Mutmara, known as Shihāb-i-Mutmara (*q. v.*).
- Shihābu-d-Dīn Nishāpūrī Bakhshī, Mīr, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 598 and *n* 5.
- Shihābu-d-Dīn Sultān, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311.
- Shihābu-d-Dīn 'Umar, son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 268, 272, 273 and *n* 4, 274 *n* 1, 284.
- Shihābu-s-Sāqib, a name of Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist (*q. v.*), 450 *n* 1.
- Shikārpūr, town of, 487 and *n* 2.
- Shikebī, Maulānā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 453 *n* 7.
- Shiqḍārān, officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces, 407 *n* 2.
- Shīr Khān, son of Ḥasan Sūr, afterwards Shīr Shāh, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471 and *n* 1, 472, 475, 521, 541. See also under Shīr Shāh.
- Shīr Shāh, the first of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 461 and *n* 5, 472, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481 *n* 5, 482, 483, 484, 490, 492, 495, 496, 500, 502, 504, 526, 527, 535 *n* 7, 538, 542, 563, 594. See the above. The name is also written Sher Shāh.

- Shir : salak, the constellation Leo, 498 n 5
- Shir : Khuda, the Lion of God, a name of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 93 n 4
- Shir madar, foster mother, 580 n 5
- Shiraz, the city of, 6 n 4, 38 n 4 187 and n 2, 572 n 1.
- Shirgah, the new name of Qanauy, 472
- Shirin, the wife of Khusru King of Persia, 279 n 3
- Shirin wa Khusru, a poem of Mir Khusru, the famous poet of Dihli, 269 n 5
- Shirk, polytheism, 183 n 2, 625 n 5
- Shirwān Shah Khagan Manuchihr, King of Persia, patron of the famous poet Khaqani, 583 n 4
- Shiwar, town of, 389 and n 8, 391, 392 and n 5
- Shrines of the Shaykhs at Multan, 392.
- Shujā' u l Mulk, son of Saiyyid Salim of Tabarhindah (q v), 388
- Snalkot, fortress of, 49 and n 1, 66 and n 7, 67 and n, 436, 437, 465
- Sibi, town of, 425 n 2
- Sicilians, the, 76 n
- Sidaran or Sidharan, son of Kangū Khatri, a protégé of the Mubarak Shāhi family, 393 n 3, 395, 396, 397
- Siddiq, As, title of Abī Bakr, the first Khalifah, 59 and n 2.
- Sidh Pal, grandson of Kajwī Khatri, a protégé of the Mubarak Shāhi family, 394 395 397.
- Sidhan, Rai of Satgarh, contemporary of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq, 329 n 5
- Sidharan Khatri, 395. See under Sidaran
- Sidi Maula, Saiyyid, contemporary of Sulṭān Jalāl u Dīn Khilji, 233 and n 4, 234, 235, 248, 507 and n 2, 525
- Sidra, the,—or
- Sidratu l Muntahā, the lote tree of Paradise in the seventh heaven, 58 n 3, 150 and n 2
- Siffin, a celebrated battle between 'Alī and Mu'awiyah 157 n 2
- Sihān, arrows used in the game of maisir, 369 and n 1
- Sihri, town of, 330, 331 and n 3, 378, 380, 382, 383 n 11, 406, 437, 438, 486, 498, 548 See also under Sirhind
- Sihru l Halal, lawful magic, 151 n 6.
- Sihun (Jaxartes), the, 159 n
- Sihwan, in the Karachi district of Sind, 560 n 8
- Sijdah, a prostration in prayer, 612 n 3
- Sijistan, province of, 15 n, 34 n 4, 70 n 2
- Sijz a village in the province of Sijstān, 70 n 2
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- Sipand*, rue, burned to avert the evil eye, 102 n 3, 617 and n 1
- Sipar, Rai, Governor of Itawa, contemporary of *Khizr Khān* of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 380 and n 5, 381.
- Siparak*, a herb, 620 and n 2
- Sipra river, the,—in *Mālwa*, 05 n 4
- Siprak*, a herb, 620 n 2
- Siqlat*, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 n 3
- Sir, Rai, ruler of *Baitāh*, contemporary of the *Firuz Shāhī* dynasty, 360 and n 3
- Sirāj 'Afif, the Historian See under *Shams* : *Siraj* 'Afif.
- Siraj ud Din Abu Ya'qub Yusuf bin Abi Muhammad ibn 'Alī as Sikkakī, author of the *Miftah al 'Ulum*, 428 n 2
- Siraj, bridge across the fire of Hell, 113 n 1 See also the next
- Siraj : Mustaqim, the hair like bridge over Hell, 372 and n 2 See also the above
- Sirhind, town of, 331 n 3 401, 520, 592 and n 6 594 See also under *Sihhind*
- Sirhindī, Yahyā ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abdu Ilab, author of the *Tarīkh : Mubarak Shāhī*, 10 n 2 67 n 2
- Siri, one of the three cities of *Dihli* 247, 269 n 1, 295 n 10, 311 n 5 351, 361 n 1, 366 and n 1, 396
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- Sirmur, hilly country of, 120 and nn 1 and 3, 131 251, 324 337, 338 341
- Sirmur, town of, 326 n 2
- Sirmur Bardar, hills of, 120 n 1
- Sissoo tree, the, *Dalbergia sissoo*, 129 n 2
- Sistan, province of, 569 See also under *Seistan*, *Siwistan* and *Sijistan*
- Siwalik hill-range, to the north of *Hindustan*, 70, 93, 132 n 4, 358 and n 6, 438, 595
- Siwī Siyupur, province of, 425 and n 2.
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- Siyahwan, fortress in the *Karsachi* district of *Sind*, 560 and n 8
- Siyaru l 'A'ifin of *Shāikh Jamālī* Kanbawī of *Dihli*, 430
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- Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, 46 n 5 332 n.
- Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 23 n 1, 30 n 1, 35 n 2 394 n 5
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Sobha Nath, or *Lord of Beauty*, name of the idol of Somnāt, 28.
 Soghdi, the, name of an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 n 1.
 Sohrāb, son of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Irān, 499.
 Solimūn (Solomon), 148 n 1.
 Solomon, King of Israel, 108, 112, 136, 148 and n 1, 205 and n 3, 206 n, 485, 505 n 6.
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 Soma, name of the moon in Sanskrit, 79 n 2.
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 Somanātha, south-west of the Peninsula of Gujarāt on the sea-shore, 17 n 4, 27 n 4. See also the next.
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Subhān-Allah, to express surprise or astonishment, 515 n 7.
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